



## Press Release on August 24, 2004

### HKU POP SITE and Civic Exchange releases the 15<sup>th</sup> 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 and the methodology 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 from August 18 to 22, previous findings dating back to August 4 are available in the websites mentioned.

#### Feature questions

The latest territory-wide rolling surveys (i.e. August 20 to 22) revealed that, 56 % of the voters interviewed stated that they would not follow the instructions on the strategic allocation of votes given out by the camp they supported, while only 20% would. The relevant figures are summarized as follows:

Territory-wide rolling surveys				
Date of survey	<u>18-20/8</u>	<u>19-21/8</u>	<u>20-22/8</u>	<i>Latest change</i>
Sample base	1,113	1,099	<b>1,134</b>	--
Overall response rate	73.6%	73.6%	<b>73.7%</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	<b>+/- 3%</b>	--
Would follow instructions on allocation of votes	18%	18%	<b>20%</b>	<b>+ 2%</b>
Would not follow instructions on allocation of votes	55%	56%	<b>56%</b>	--
Not yet decided/Didn't know	27%	26%	<b>24%</b>	<b>-2%</b>

\* "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.

The rolling surveys in individual constituencies from August 18 to 22 showed that, there were around 49-58% of voters interviewed who would not follow instructions on allocation of votes in each of the 5 constituencies. The largest proportion was found in Hong Kong Island, New Territories East and New Territories West (58%), while the smallest in Kowloon West (49%). Figures obtained in the surveys

conducted in each of the 5 individual constituencies earlier and the latest rolling surveys are summarized as follows:

Rolling survey: Hong Kong Island			
Date of survey	<u>24/5</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	<b><u>Latest change</u></b>
Sample base of voters	294	<b>364</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 6%	+/- 5%	--
Would follow instructions on allocation of votes	22%	<b>17%</b>	<b>-5%</b>
Would not follow instructions on allocation of votes	69%	<b>58%</b>	<b>-11%</b>
Not yet decided/Didn't know	9%	<b>25%</b>	<b>+16%</b>
Rolling survey: Kowloon East			
Date of survey	<u>9-11/7</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	<b><u>Latest change</u></b>
Sample base of voters	161	<b>287</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 8%	+/- 6%	--
Would follow instructions on allocation of votes	22%	<b>15%</b>	<b>-7%</b>
Would not follow instructions on allocation of votes	69%	<b>57%</b>	<b>-12%</b>
Not yet decided/Didn't know	9%	<b>28%</b>	<b>+19%</b>
Rolling survey: Kowloon West			
Date of survey	<u>24-27/6</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	<b><u>Latest change</u></b>
Sample base of voters	203	<b>279</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 7%	+/- 6%	--
Would follow instructions on allocation of votes	17%	<b>22%</b>	<b>+5%</b>
Would not follow instructions on allocation of votes	72%	<b>49%</b>	<b>-23%</b>
Not yet decided/Didn't know	11%	<b>29%</b>	<b>+18%</b>
Rolling survey: New Territories East			
Date of survey	<u>24-27/6</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	<b><u>Latest change</u></b>
Sample base of voters	197	<b>470</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 7%	+/- 5%	--
Would follow instructions on allocation of votes	18%	<b>18%</b>	--
Would not follow instructions on allocation of votes	76%	<b>58%</b>	<b>-18%</b>
Not yet decided/Didn't know	6%	<b>24%</b>	<b>+18%</b>
Rolling survey: New Territories West			
Date of survey	<u>9-11/7</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	<b><u>Latest change</u></b>
Sample base of voters	203	<b>483</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 7%	+/- 5%	--
Would follow instructions on allocation of votes	17%	<b>20%</b>	<b>+3%</b>
Would not follow instructions on allocation of votes	71%	<b>58%</b>	<b>-13%</b>
Not yet decided/Didn't know	12%	<b>22%</b>	<b>+10%</b>

\* "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.

Besides, the latest territory-wide rolling surveys (i.e. August 20 to 22) revealed that, 64% of the voters interviewed stated that they would not follow the instructions on allocation of votes because this violated the essence of democracy, and voters should be able to decide on their own. For the scenarios in individual constituencies, please refer to the websites for details.

Territory-wide rolling surveys				
Date of survey	<u>18-20/8</u>	<u>19-21/8</u>	<u>20-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sub-sample base	609	606	<b>625</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 4%	+/- 4%	<b>+/- 4%</b>	--
<b>Reason of not following the instructions:</b>				
Violate the essence of democracy/Should let the voters decide on their own	58%	62%	<b>64%</b>	<b>+ 2%</b>
Have not thought about this at all	11%	10%	<b>10%</b>	--
Dislike strategic allocation of votes	12%	10%	<b>10%</b>	--
Beyond comprehension/Too complicated	12%	11%	<b>9%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
Strategic allocation of votes deems to be unsuccessful	1%	1%	<b>2%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Heard from others that strategic allocation is no good	<1%	<1%	<b>1%</b>	--

\* "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.

## Knowledge of the election

The latest territory-wide rolling surveys (i.e. August 20 to 22) revealed that, 44% of the voters interviewed had no idea on any list in their geographical constituency, while 56% knew at least one list. For the scenarios in individual constituencies, please refer to the websites for details.

Territory-wide rolling surveys							
Date of survey	<u>15-17/8</u>	<u>16-18/8</u>	<u>17-19/8</u>	<u>18-20/8</u>	<u>19-21/8</u>	<u>20-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	1,131	1,151	1,132	1,113	1,099	<b>1,134</b>	--
Overall response rate	73.6%	73.4%	73.0%	73.6%	73.6%	<b>73.7%</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	<b>+/- 3%</b>	--
Totally no idea on the list in their constituency	44%	42%	43%	45%	43%	<b>44%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Knew at least one list in their constituency ^	56%	58%	58%	56%	58%	<b>56%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
Knew at least half of the lists in their constituency ^	24%	26%	26%	24%	25%	<b>23%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
Knew all lists in their constituency ^	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%	<b>2%</b>	--

\* "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.

^ Since overlapping exists among these 3 answers, the total would add up to over 100%.

## Propensity to vote

The territory-wide rolling surveys from August 20 to 22 revealed that, the registered voters' propensity to vote was 82%. 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>15-17/8</u>	<u>16-18/8</u>	<u>17-19/8</u>	<u>18-20/8</u>	<u>19-21/8</u>	<u>20-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	1,131	1,151	1,132	1,113	1,099	<b>1,134</b>	--
Overall response rate	73.6%	73.4%	73.0%	73.6%	73.6%	<b>73.7%</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	<b>+/- 3%</b>	--
Proportion of respondents definitely will vote	56%	55%	54%	54%	55%	<b>56%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Propensity to vote (summation of "definitely will" and "most likely will" vote)	82%	83%	84%	84%	85%	<b>82%</b>	<b>-3%</b>

\* "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.

## 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 August 18 to 22 showed that, there were around 26-31% of stray votes in each of the 5 constituencies, while the largest proportion of stray votes was found in Kowloon West (31%) and the smallest in New Territories East (26%). The figures are summarized as follows:

Rolling survey: Hong Kong Island							
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<u>18-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	337	344	353	363	371	<b>364</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	<b>+/- 5%</b>	--
Proportion of firm voters	61%	62%	58%	57%	53%	<b>49%</b>	<b>-4%</b>
Proportion of stray voters	19%	18%	23%	25%	26%	<b>29%</b>	<b>+3%</b>
Proportion of "no-votes"	19%	20%	19%	19%	21%	<b>22%</b>	<b>+1%</b>

Rolling survey: Kowloon East							
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<u>18-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	328	326	321	317	290	<b>287</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	--
Proportion of firm voters	51%	54%	56%	53%	54%	<b>52%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
Proportion of stray voters	27%	26%	24%	25%	25%	<b>27%</b>	<b>+2%</b>
Proportion of "no-votes"	22%	21%	21%	22%	21%	<b>22%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Rolling survey: Kowloon West							
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<u>18-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	284	283	280	289	282	<b>279</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	--
Proportion of firm voters	53%	52%	55%	52%	53%	<b>49%</b>	<b>-4%</b>
Proportion of stray voters	23%	25%	25%	27%	26%	<b>31%</b>	<b>+5%</b>
Proportion of "no-votes"	24%	23%	20%	21%	22%	<b>20%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
Rolling survey: New Territories East							
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<u>18-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	445	456	456	459	472	<b>470</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	--
Proportion of firm voters	54%	54%	52%	51%	50%	<b>49%</b>	<b>-1%</b>
Proportion of stray voters	26%	26%	26%	26%	26%	<b>26%</b>	--
Proportion of "no-votes"	20%	21%	22%	23%	24%	<b>25%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Rolling survey: New Territories West							
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<u>18-22/8</u>	<u>Latest change</u>
Sample base	457	460	468	459	445	<b>483</b>	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	--
Proportion of firm voters	50%	50%	50%	51%	52%	<b>50%</b>	<b>-2%</b>
Proportion of stray voters	29%	27%	26%	27%	26%	<b>27%</b>	<b>+1%</b>
Proportion of "no-votes"	22%	23%	24%	23%	22%	<b>23%</b>	<b>+1%</b>

\*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 August 18 to 22, the support ratings 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>	Error margin*	Candidates surpassing threshold	
<b>Hong Kong Island Constituency ( seats = 6, threshold = 17% )</b>									
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	--	--	--
Sample base	337	344	353	363	371	<b>364</b>	--	--	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	<b>+/- 5%</b>	--	--	--
Audrey Eu's list	23%	21%	23%	23%	24%	<b>23%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-4%	Audrey Eu
Yeung Sum's list	21%	20%	18%	16%	18%	<b>17%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-4%	Yeung Sum
Rita Fan's list	16%	15%	14%	15%	12%	<b>12%</b>	--	+/-3%	--
Ma Lik's list	10%	9%	10%	9%	7%	<b>6%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-2%	--
K. S. Tsang's list	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	<b>1%</b>	--	+/-1%	--
K. F. Wong's list	0%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<b>&lt; 1%</b>	--	+/-<1%	--
Not yet decide	26%	28%	30%	32%	34%	<b>37%</b>	<b>+ 3%</b>	+/-5%	--
Others^	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%	<b>5%</b>	<b>+ 1%</b>	+/-2%	--
<b>Kowloon East Constituency ( seats = 5, threshold = 20% )</b>									
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	--	--	--
Sample base	328	326	321	317	290	<b>287</b>	--	--	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	<b>+/- 6%</b>	--	--	--
Y. H. Chan's list	18%	19%	18%	19%	19%	<b>18%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-5%	--
Albert Cheng's list	13%	13%	14%	14%	13%	<b>13%</b>	--	+/-4%	--
Alan Leong's list	11%	12%	13%	13%	14%	<b>13%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-4%	--
W. M. Li 's list	13%	12%	11%	10%	9%	<b>10%</b>	<b>+ 1%</b>	+/-4%	--
K. L. Chan's list	8%	8%	9%	7%	8%	<b>6%</b>	<b>-2%</b>	+/-3%	--
Not yet decide	35%	34%	32%	34%	33%	<b>37%</b>	<b>+ 4%</b>	+/-6%	--
Others^	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%	<b>4%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
<b>Kowloon West Constituency ( seats = 4, threshold = 25% )</b>									
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	--	--	--
Sample base	284	283	280	289	282	<b>279</b>	--	--	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	+/- 6%	<b>+/- 6%</b>	--	--	--
James To's list	22%	22%	21%	19%	19%	<b>18%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-5%	--
Jasper Tsang's list	14%	14%	15%	15%	15%	<b>13%</b>	<b>-2%</b>	+/-4%	--
Frederick Fung's list	12%	11%	12%	10%	13%	<b>12%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-4%	--
C. S. Lau's list	12%	12%	12%	13%	12%	<b>12%</b>	--	+/-4%	--
S. L. Liu's list	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%	<b>1%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-1%	--
Y. S. Lau's list	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	<b>0%</b>	--	--	--

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	
Not yet decide	34%	36%	34%	37%	35%	<b>41%</b>	<b>+6%</b>	+/-6%	--
Others^	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	<b>4%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
New Territories East Constituency ( seats = 7, threshold = 14% )									
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	--	--	--
Sample base	445	456	456	459	472	<b>470</b>	--	--	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	<b>+/- 5%</b>	--	--	--
Andrew Cheng's list	32%	30%	27%	24%	25%	<b>24%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-4%	Andrew Cheng
K. W. Lau's list	8%	9%	10%	12%	12%	<b>13%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	+/-3%	--
James Tien's list	12%	13%	13%	14%	13%	<b>13%</b>	--	+/-3%	--
Andrew Wong's list	4%	5%	5%	5%	5%	<b>5%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
K. H. Leung's list	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%	<b>2%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-1%	--
W. W. Tsoi's list	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	<b>1%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-1%	--
Not yet decide	34%	33%	34%	34%	35%	<b>36%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	+/-4%	--
Others^	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	<b>6%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
New Territories West Constituency ( seats = 8, threshold = 13% )									
Date of survey	<u>13-17/8</u>	<u>14-18/8</u>	<u>15-19/8</u>	<u>16-20/8</u>	<u>17-21/8</u>	<b><u>18-22/8</u></b>	--	--	--
Sample base	457	460	468	459	445	<b>483</b>	--	--	--
Sampling error of percentages*	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	+/- 5%	<b>+/- 5%</b>	--	--	--
Y. C. Tam's list	9%	8%	10%	11%	11%	<b>14%</b>	<b>+3%</b>	+/-3%	Y. C. Tam
Selina Chow's list	8%	9%	9%	9%	9%	<b>9%</b>	--	+/-3%	--
C. Y. Ho's list	11%	12%	11%	11%	11%	<b>9%</b>	<b>-2%</b>	+/-3%	--
W. T. Lee's list	7%	8%	9%	9%	9%	<b>8%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-2%	--
Y. C. Leung's list	9%	8%	8%	8%	7%	<b>7%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
C. Y. Lee's list	7%	6%	6%	5%	7%	<b>7%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
Albert Chan's list	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	<b>3%</b>	--	+/-2%	--
T. S. Yim's list	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	<b>1%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	+/-1%	--
P. T. Chow's list	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<b>&lt; 1%</b>	--	+/-<1%	--
T. L. Ng's list	0%	0%	0%	<1%	<1%	<b>&lt; 1%</b>	--	+/-<1%	--
Stephen Char's list	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<b>0%</b>	--	--	--
H. T. Lui's list	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	<b>0%</b>	--	--	--
Not yet decide	41%	40%	39%	39%	37%	<b>37%</b>	--	+/-4%	--
Others^	3%	4%	3%	4%	5%	<b>5%</b>	--	+/-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.

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

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. Please refer to the websites for the exact phrasing and wordings adopted.

It must be stated that since many voters have not yet made their choice, while most candidates have not started their full-scale election campaign, the influence of these stray votes is yet to be seen. For the results of other rolling surveys, please refer to the websites for detailed figures and updates.

### **Other points to note**

POP will release the latest results of the rolling surveys every day at 2 pm via our POP Site. 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.