

A Discourse Analysis of HK Mainstream Newspapers on Poll Reporting of the Reclamation Plan

Abstract

This paper addresses local newspapers' reports on public opinion polls of HKSAR government's reclamation plan, the Lantau Tomorrow Vision, examining both news bias under selective reporting according to the source of the selected poll and the quality of reporting according to the presence and accuracy of the methodological details of the poll in the news report. Content analysis on over 83 pieces of news reports published by local mainstream news outlets during May to November has been conducted and it revealed the leaning of a newspaper has appreciable influence on the news angle inclination of poll - related reports and the selection of poll results to cover. It has also been noted in the content analysis that opinion poll results reported in newspapers are basically treated as background information or presumed as reliable indicator of public will with their limitations rarely discussed. Former studies have found that communication is biased as information is selected by journalists, and thus it's journalist who decides whether a piece of information will be transmitted to the public or not (McQuail, 1992). Moreover, the accuracy of polls has been commonly recognized as questionable by scholars (Anderson, 2000) and the deviation of news reporting on polls has also been discussed in previous study (Tian, 2015). This paper confirms the existence of news bias in local mainstream newspapers by presenting the appreciable relationship between a newspaper's leaning and the inclination of reports published on corresponding news outlets, and the unbalanced

selection of poll results to cover across newspapers with different coordinates in the political spectrum is another indicator of news bias. Furthermore, this paper aims to discuss how a public opinion poll itself can be biased with real-life demonstration of polls conducted on the reclamation plan in the past 5 months. With the disclose of bias on several levels, is poll results coverage still crucial to news? How can public opinion polls keep their independence and credibility? These are questions that can be discussed in future studies as the extend of this paper.

Introduction

Lantau Tomorrow Vision, a new reclamation plan proposed by Carrie Lam in the 2018 HKSAR Policy Address in October, has caused great controversy in the society ever since it came into public attention at the end of April as an optimal choice to alleviate land scarcity in the Big Debate on Land Supply. In the past 5 months from May to October, the plan has been a focus of public attention along with heated discussion and debate. Meanwhile, in order to reflect public will on the plan, there has been varies opinion polls conducted by different organizations, and an extensive media coverage on those poll results to denote public inclination of the plan. However, instead of an average coverage of poll results, different newspapers tend to choose different polls with widely varied supporting rates of the plan to write about.

Some analysis in the paper is conducted by introducing the Social Construction of Reality theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and the Narrative Paradigm theory (Fisher, 1985).

Besides, the 1997 Canadian federal election and the 2016 United States presidential election will be used as living cases to further illustrate the issue of news bias on polls.

Literature Review

In the book *Precision Journalism*, American journalist Philipp Meyer (1973) indicated that the traditional method of news production is out of date, through which the news media were mainly focusing on emergencies and screwhead rather than in-depth reporting. Therefore, Meyer suggested introducing the research methods from social science studies to news reporting, which includes opinion survey, field experiment, content analysis and so on. Since then, opinion polling has been getting more and more popular among western media. At the same time, the different perspectives from scholars and media practitioners show that mass observation may have multi-faceted effects on public opinion. This literature review will be presented in two distinct sections, basic theories related to the topic of this study and previous case studies done by scholars. Furthermore, the part for theory introduction will cover the Social Construction of Reality theory and the Narrative Paradigm theory, in which the concepts and relationship between them will be discussed. The part for case study will be presented with the illustration of 1997 Canadian federal election and the 2016 United States presidential election.

In the first place, public opinion is influenced or even decided by personal experiences (interaction with other subjects). In the case of different turnout of opinion polls, such

lapses of neutrality of surveys will misguide the public opinion to a great extent.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), the outlook in people's mind towards the society is entirely generated from their interaction in a social system, either with other people or the whole system. The concept of the Social Construction of Reality showed how external factors are deciding individuals' perspective, which will "make the choice" for them. Berger and Luckmann also stated that social behaviours could be classified by objective reality and subjective reality. For instance, on account of the precondition that social order is not part of the 'nature of things' and it cannot be derived from the 'laws of nature', institutionalisation, as a factor of objective reality, makes people believe that they are voting for the personal and collective interests. And the public will therefore regard their votes as rational choices as well.

Another theory called the Narrative Paradigm conceptualised by Walter Fisher is highly related to Berger and Luckmann's Social Construction of Reality under this topic. Fisher (1985) brought forward the concept of Narrative Paradigm that is in contrast to the rational world paradigm. The communication theory considered humans as storytellers who are easier to understand and accept information through narrative than rational deduction. Besides that, Fisher pointed out that decision making and communication is based on "good reasons" which are determined by subjective elements including character, biography, culture, history, etc. Deeming the world is filled with various stories, Fisher interpreted the dream of Cartesianism (descriptive, explanatory and predictive knowledge) by different ways of how people assimilate stories to behave themselves. Based on the above proposition, the Narrative Paradigm could also conclude that public opinion is definitively affected by how the media chooses and reports the opinion polls.

Apart from the above supporting theories, some further case studies on the poll events should be taken into account likewise. A survey of the 1997 Canadian federal election highlighted that the voters' standpoint is particularly influenced by the messages that the mass media sends them (Anderson, 1998). After collecting the statistics of 17 Canadian polling firms' methodologies and the polling result data for five months before the election, Anderson concluded that news reporting on the election call and the nationally televised debates had a significant effect on voting leaning behaviours. More specifically, during the period of the election, the Bloc Québécois and Liberals underwent a fall-off while the support rate of the Reform Party and PC Party was going up. From the perspective of poll methodology, Anderson raised the proposition that the overall investigation was instructive, especially when all the survey institutions used some form of probability sampling instead of substandard practices, which lent legitimacy to the news reports of pre-election polls. The method above has a model significance of primary event polling.

The second case is the 2016 United States presidential election, in which, however, media coverage on opinion polls played a passive role. According to Tian (2017), the pre-election poll statistics released by a poll website, Real Clear Politics, showed that among the 180 poll results, 161 polls believed that Hillary Clinton would win while the remainder insisted on Donald Trump. On the contrary, an artificial intelligence system from India named MogIA analysed the presidential election result based on the big data from Google, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc. and concluded that Trump would win eventually. As we all know, the election result proved that big data is more accurate than opinion poll surveys in this case. But beyond that, the most significant part of Tian's

research is the motivation analysis of the opinion poll surveys. The first motivation pointed out by Tian is the political orientation of the media, which could most likely be explained by the antithesis political views of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Secondly, since most media are for-profit organizations, economic motivation ought to be taken into account. The press is inevitably being connected to the economic sphere, which makes it difficult to hold a neutral position since it might not be able to fawn on either group of the audience. The third motivation is about public credibility, the media is regarded as the fourth estate referring to the separation of powers.

All in all, from the Social Construction of Reality conceptualised by Berger and Luckmann (1966) and the Narrative Paradigm imagined by Fisher (1985), people's opinion is highly affected by external factors such as news. And the analysis done by Anderson (1998) and Tian (2017) has evidenced the above theories and further elaborated the influencing factor to news coverage on poll results using the cases of 1997 Canadian federal election and the 2016 United States presidential election as examples. For further analysis, it may be necessary to navigate the adverse effects that the media report on polls brings about.

Research Questions

1. How does news reporting on poll results affect the public's social construction of reality?
2. Does the leaning of a news outlet influence its news angle, or inclination of news reporting on the reclamation plan?

3. Does the leaning of a news outlet influence its selection of poll results to cover?
4. Are there flaws in the methodologies of opinion polls that may lead to biased result?

Methodology

The content analysis in this study is based on 70 news articles that covers poll results of the reclamation plan published by mainstream local newspapers from May to November selected from 224 news articles retrieved by the news retrieval tool WiseNews denoting the retrieval keywords "poll (民調 or 民意)" and "reclamation (填海)" in Chinese .

The 83 news articles are from 19 news outlets, mentioning 15 polls from different sources in total. Since the official English names of some news outlets and poll organizations are not available, they will be quoted as their Chinese names in this study. For the purpose of unify and accuracy, names of outlets and poll sources in collective data visualization will all appear in Chinese.

There are two elements needs to introduce for the illustration of the findings of this paper. The first one is the news angle or inclination of a news article on the reclamation plan, which can be told if there's a strong suggestion that an article is wrote from the perspective of the advocates or opponents, is divided manually into the angel of advocates, the angel of opponents and the angel of no obvious stand. The second element is the leaning of news outlets, it can be either pro-establishment, pro-democratic and

neutral. There has not been an authoritative or accurate political spectrum of local news outlets, but there is some popular social consensus on the approximate leanings of local mainstream newspapers which is adopted in this study.

Data analysis and visualization has been conducted in this study. The raw data along with a codebook is made into an open source in the form of google sheets document for further studies. The access to the document can be found in the annex of this paper.

Result

The study confirms that the leaning of a local newspapers generally has appreciable influence on both the inclination of news articles published on it and the selection of poll results to cover. This study first analyses the relation between a news article's inclination and the corresponding news outlet's leaning.

According to the social construction of reality theory, news is not an objective recount of reality. Instead, it's a sampling of sources' portrayals of reality. After analysing 83 articles about reclamation plan during May 1st to Nov 15th published on 19 major news outlets in Hong Kong, this study has found that news article's news angle is strongly connected to the news outlet's leaning on which it's published.

News article's news angle is strongly connected to the news outlet's political stand on which it's published

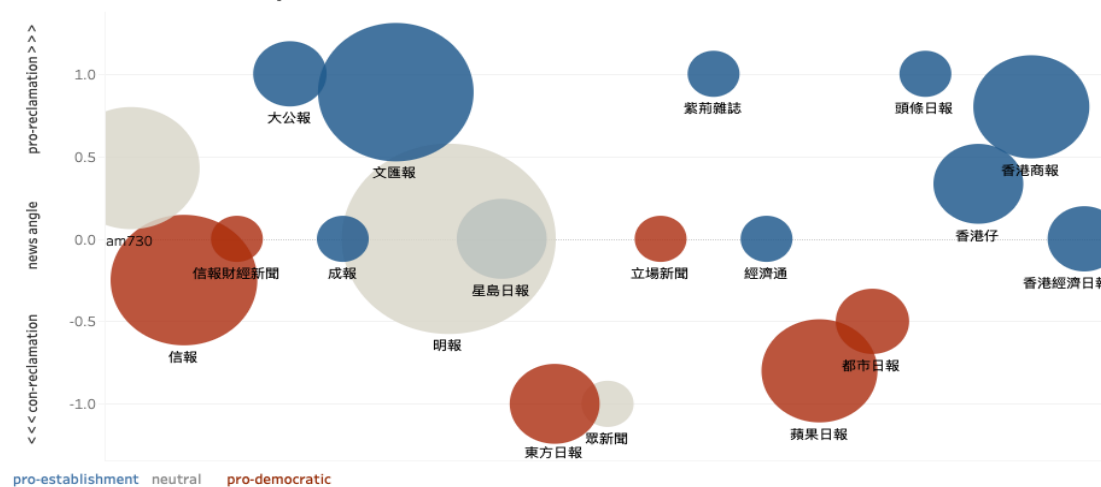


figure 1 Interactive edition and details on

https://public.tableau.com/views/reclamation-outlet/Sheet1?:embed=y&:embed_code_version=3&:loadOrderID=1&:display_count=yes&publish=yes

In figure 1, each bubble represents a Hong Kong news outlet, and the colour of the bubble represents its leaning. Red for pro-democratic, blue for pro-establishment and grey for neutral. The vertical position of each bubble represents the average news angle of news articles on reclamation published on that outlet, the higher, the more positive the attitude the news on that outlet has toward reclamation. The size of the bubble represents the number of articles published about reclamation on that outlet from May to November.

As we can tell from the chart, the blue bubbles are crowded on the upper part while the red ones are on the down part, which means most articles on news outlets with the leaning of pro-establishment are written from the angle of advocates of reclamation, while on outlets with a pro-democratic political position, reclamation is mostly reported from opponents' perspective.

For news outlets which is normally recognized as neutral for its leaning at present, Ming Pao has published most articles among all news outlets during the research period and the index for average news angle of these articles is equal to zero, which means it has published the same amount of reports from both the advocates and the opponents' angle.

However, another news outlet that is also regarded as neutral, turns out to have a skewed publication on the advocates' angle among the seven articles published on it. Several coloured small bubbles join Ming Pao in the middle of the y-axis, which means they have only released one article on reclamation without a clear angle from the advocates or opponents. The limit of the sample size of these outlets made them fail to represent the relationship between outlet stand and news inclination. But the existence of the relationship is confirmed by other outlets.

Therefore, the news outlet's leaning is generally consistent with the inclination of publications on it. According to the social construction of news theory, journalist with certain inclination on an issue tend to have a selective reporting practice to choose only the favorable data write about to make their point. Therefore, we assumed pro-establishment newspapers preferred to cover polling results with a high supporting rate on the reclamation plan, and vice versa. Furthermore, if the relationship between newspaper's political leaning and news article inclination and selection of poll sources both exists, there should be a relationship between the news article inclination and the poll results selection, and it can be the cross-validation to the former deduction. This paper presents another two figures to confirm the hypothesizes.

The study finds the selection on polling reports by outlet did exist, and the proof is shown in figure II below. Each square represents a source that published polling reports on reclamation, and there is a total of 15 sources quoted in the 83 articles. The colour of the square represents the average political leanings of news outlets quoted that source. The bluer it is, the more significant portion of pro-establishment news outlets among all the outlets that cited that source and vice versa. The size of a square represents the number of times that source has been quoted.

Stands of news outlets lead to selection on polling report sources mentioned in articles published on it

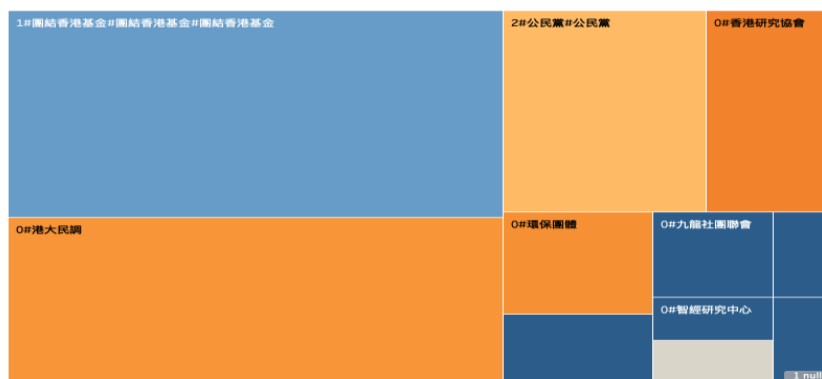


Chart 2 interactive edition and details on

https://public.tableau.com/shared/YXR3HTJD5?:display_count=yes

Polling reports from Hong Kong University Public Opinion Programme (HKUPOP) and Our Hong Kong Foundation (OHKF) has been quoted for most of the times, and there is a clear division of the stand of news outlets on their preference to either source. News outlets with pro-establishment political position prefer to quote the polling reports from OHKF, and news outlets with pro-democratic leaning prefer to quote from HKUPOP. The supporting rate for reclamation according to OHKF is 45% while for HKUPOP is 39%. As mentioned above, most articles published on pro-establishment news outlets are from

the angle of advocates so that they may prefer polling reports with a higher supporting rate.

News angle of news articles lead to selection on polling report sources mentioned in it

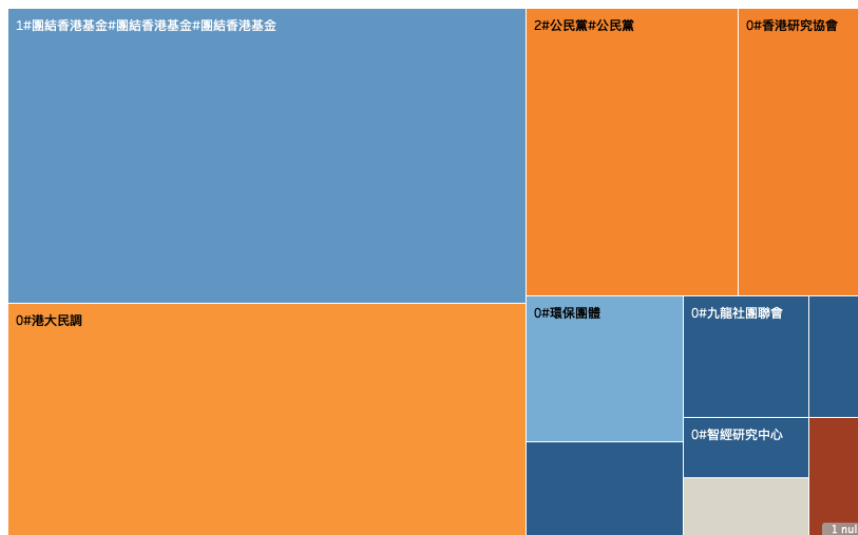


Figure3 interactive and details on

https://public.tableau.com/shared/YXR3HTJD5?:display_count=yes

And chart 3 shows the relationship between news angle of the article and the source quoted in it confirms the selection on polling sources in reporting, and the same distribution of colour also establishes the relationship between the news outlet and News angle. The reason that such choice on polling reports exists is due to the bias in the polling reports examined in the following part of this study.

Polls are equivalent to the measurement of public opinion, which involves many theoretical and practical problems. Different designs of surveys often make different

results. The answer naturally varies with the suggestion of different questions. (Mirela Secară, & Daniela Simona Nenciu, 2009)

According to McQuail (1985), all news is biased as information is selected by journalists to be communicated, or not to be delivered, to the audience according to a set of rules that define the “newsworthiness” of a story. The same goes for pollsters on Hong Kong's reclamation. Most of these institutions have political leanings so that they can deviate in the design of their polls. They may choose to ask the same question in different ways or choose different subjects and methods to lead to the result they want. Some of the deviations do not seem to change the objectivity of the poll, but they will have a high impact on the poll results. That is the reason why different polling organisations come to different conclusions when it comes to public support for reclamation.

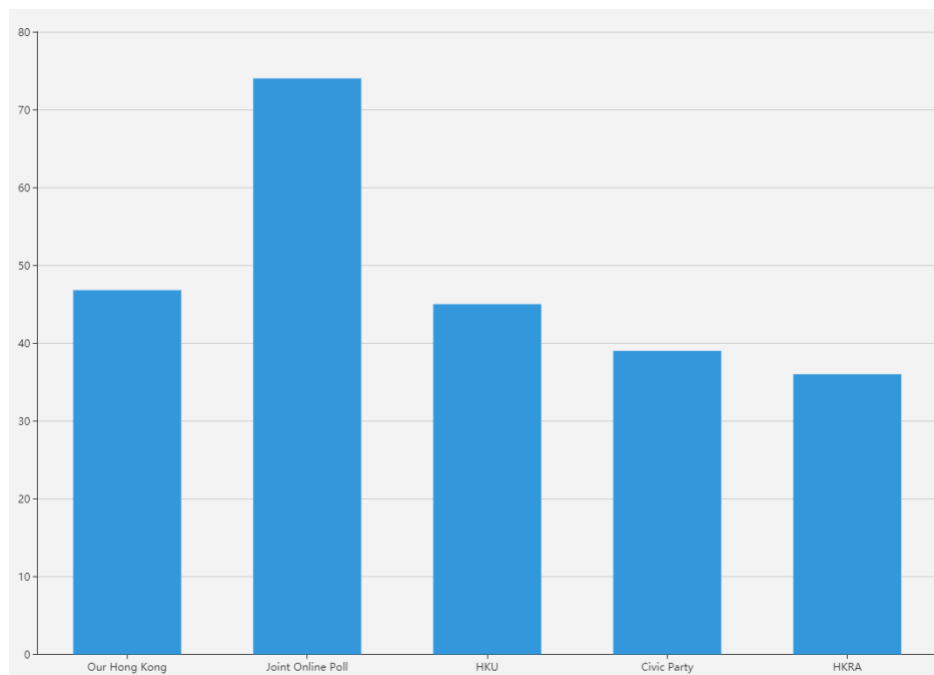


Chart 4 Poling result of supporting rate of reclamation in 5 different sources

We found the top five polls on the issue of Hong Kong reclamation: Our Hong Kong Foundation, Hong Kong University Pop Site, Civic Party, Hong Kong Research Association and a joint online poll conducted by economic times and Ming Pao. And

analysis of their problems in the selection of respondent, question design and mode of response.

Respondent

Public opinion is the opinion of the public on a particular issue. The respondents, namely the "public" as mentioned above, should cooperate with the purpose of the public opinion survey. The wrong choice of people can make the whole poll completely meaningless. For example, an investigation into whether to approve the construction of a waste disposal site in a certain place will inevitably result in biased results. It is almost impossible for local people to answer "yes" to such a question, but it is meaningless to interview non-residents with such a problem.

The significance of the findings may vary widely among different groups of people surveyed. For example, should a "public opinion" survey on child welfare ask children what they think or adults? The "public opinion" expressed by examinees, college students, examinees' parents and the general public also has different meanings regarding multiple enrollments in universities. The same is true of reclamation. People of different ages, education levels, income status and even gender may have different opinions.

Q4：咁為咗長遠解決香港人嘅住屋問題，你贊唔贊成喺維港以外，以填海造地嘅方法興建新市鎮呢？（%）

| | 非常贊成 / 贊成 | 不贊成 / 非常不贊成 | 無意見 / 不知道 / 好難講 | (n) |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|-------|
| ** 性別 | | | | |
| 男性 | 52.2 | 29.1 | 18.7 | (475) |
| 女性 | 42.0 | 33.0 | 25.0 | (528) |
| *** 年齡 | | | | |
| 18-29歲 | 31.5 | 42.3 | 26.2 | (168) |
| 30-59歲 | 45.2 | 33.8 | 21.0 | (544) |
| 60歲或以上 | 58.3 | 19.8 | 21.9 | (288) |
| * 教育程度 | | | | |
| 初中 / 小學 / 沒受教育 | 50.2 | 24.9 | 24.9 | (241) |
| 高中 | 49.1 | 28.6 | 22.4 | (322) |
| 大專或以上 | 43.0 | 36.8 | 20.1 | (437) |
| ** 就業狀況 | | | | |
| 非在職人士 | 50.9 | 26.1 | 22.9 | (436) |
| 在職人士 | 43.7 | 35.2 | 21.1 | (565) |
| ** 在職人士個人每月收入 | | | | |
| \$15,000 以下 | 30.8 | 35.5 | 33.6 | (107) |
| \$15,000-\$30,000以下 | 42.4 | 39.5 | 18.1 | (238) |
| \$30,000 或以上 | 50.6 | 32.9 | 16.5 | (170) |
| 住屋類型 | | | | |
| 租住公營房屋 | 42.7 | 30.7 | 26.7 | (150) |
| 租住私人住宅單位 | 44.4 | 32.6 | 23.0 | (270) |
| 自置房屋 / 其他 | 48.9 | 30.6 | 20.5 | (575) |

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (卡方檢定)

Chart 5

These differences can be roughly summarised based on the interaction table between the primary question variables given by Our Hong Kong Foundation and the socio-economic background variables of the respondents (Chart 5). First, the gender gap is stark: 52 per cent of men support reclamation, compared with 42 per cent of women. Regarding age, older people tend to support reclamation, especially those who are over 60 years old, whose support rate is as high as 58.3%. (support for under-29s was just 31.5%). Other things being equal, people with lower educational level have a higher supporting rate.

Regarding income level, the higher the income, the higher the support rate. The employment situation can also see the difference, non-working people support slightly higher than the working people. These findings apply to some extent to other polls as well.

However, for the other four polls, only the Hong Kong research association gave some more comprehensive statistics on the social background of the respondents, the civic party gave statistics on the age of the respondents, and the online poll conducted by the University of Hong Kong and the economic times and the Sky Post newspaper did not give any statistics on the social background of the respondents. If the polling institutions deliberately collect more favourable groups for investigation without providing the experience of the interviewees, the obtained data will naturally be biased. For example, to reflect the high public support for reclamation, the poll could collect more information about male respondents.

Therefore, if the poll wants to be objective, its sampling must be random. The lack of random samples, even as many as 10,000 or more, cannot represent a population of 100,000. Also, it's impossible to know how different that 10,000 people will be from the 90,000 people who were not asked. Random sampling also does not tell you how much the opinions of the sample and the group are different, but it does tell you how likely it is to be within a certain range.

Because 100 per cent random sampling cannot be achieved, the poll also needs to provide background statistics of the interviewees, so that readers can have a more objective understanding of the survey.

Question Design

How to make sure that the person you are asking to understand your questions, and how to get his or her honest opinion out there, is a key to the success of the poll. Because natural language is imprecise, different people may have completely different interpretations of the same sentence. The question must be so clear that each respondent can interpret the same meaning.

Even slight differences in the wording of the question can lead to very different results. However, three of the five polls about Hong Kong reclamation used leading questions. The issue of Our Hong Kong Foundation is: "To solve the housing problem in Hong Kong, do you agree with the idea of building new towns outside Victoria harbour by reclamation? "The benefits of reclamation were added to the question to lead respondents to be more inclined to support reclamation. The same is true of the online poll conducted by the economic times and the Sky Post. It asked: "Do you agree with the government's proposal to reclaim 1,700 hectares of land which can support 1.1 million people to live in?" Hong Kong University Pop Site's question is "How much do you support or oppose the reclamation of 1,700 hectares of artificial islands between Lantau Island and Hong Kong island, an area roughly equal to two Macao peninsulas or one-fifth of Hong Kong island?" It seems to state the objective fact, but the last two sentences, "the area is approximately equal to two Macao peninsulas, or one-fifth of Hong Kong Island", imply

that the project is huge, may cost a lot of human and financial resources. It exerts some pressure on the interviewees, thus makes them incline not to support reclamation. The other two polls do not have obvious leading questions. They are: "if there are other ways to increase land to meet housing demand, do you think reclamation is necessary?", "Overall, do you support reclamation?"

In closed questions, the order of the options and the format of the written questionnaire may lead to the deviation of the answers. Among the five polls, Our Hong Kong Foundation and Hong Kong Research Association have the rig in this regard. The first three questions of Our Hong Kong Foundation were: "How serious do you think Hong Kong faces in improving its residential environment?", "To improve the living environment and support Hong Kong's long-term development, do you think Hong Kong needs to make more efforts to develop a new town as big as Sha Tin?", "How many new towns as big as Sha Tin do you think Hong Kong needs to develop in the next 30 years?" "And then there is the question of reclamation. The first three questions gradually induced the respondents to realise that the housing problem was serious and the only reclamation seemed to solve the problem in the short term. Thus the latter questions were more inclined to support reclamation. The first two questions from the Hong Kong Research Association were, "do you think the government's measures to curb the property market should be strengthened, curtailed or maintained unchanged?", "do you think the New Territories small house policy, which allows the building of housing by the descendants of male residents of the New Territories, should be adjusted, abolished or maintained?". The second question implies that the housing problem can also be solved by other ways so that the interviewees tend to feel that there is no need to reclamation which may cost a lot.

Mode of Response

The early survey methods include sending staff to visit, mailing questionnaires, group answering, etc. (Mirela Secară, & Daniela Simona Nenciu, 2009) After the popularity of telephone, due to its convenience and speed, it has gradually become the mainstream of public opinion survey. The Internet has boomed in recent years, leading many people to think it would be a new way to do study after telephone.

Web survey is a standard format present; there are many websites regularly launched survey topics. If the number of visitors to the site with hot gate news topics, but also absorb a lot of respondents. But most of this kind of web page survey can only be the gossip material after dinner, neither can be analysed content, also lack of representativeness. Of the five polls, only economic times and Sky Post jointly conducted an online survey using web surveys, while the remaining four were conducted by telephone. Although this website survey has 865 samples, the support rate of 74% is inconsistent with other survey results, which shows that it is not objective enough. Online voting, if registered, many people are reluctant to participate, or repeat registration, holiday messages, technical interventions, and so are usually open. Although there are many participants and a large sample, there is no way to stratify, classify, or equalise the proportion. Neither the efficiency nor the error is apparent. Because the user chooses the website differently, the difference is enormous (Liu, 2009).

Discussions and Conclusions

This study confirms news bias in newspaper reporting about Hong Kong government's 2018 reclamation plan, by proving the existence of the correlation between the leaning of a news outlet and the news angle of articles published on that outlet, and poll reports are politically selected by news outlets. It also confirmed that poll report could be biased, too, while polls are typically treated as fact with its limitations rarely discussed. With the disclose of bias in poll reporting, is polls still crucial to the news? It has been proved in 2016 US general election that big data analysis can predict public opinion more accurately than traditional polls, will polls be replaced in the future? Will polling reports can keep their independence and authoritativeness, and how will they achieve that? These are the questions can be discussed in future studies.

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Supplementary documents

A. List of news articles that have been used for content analysis

| | | | |
|----|------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2018/11/15 | 明報 | 又回到「對立互劈」輪迴 |
| 2 | 2018/11/15 | 明報 | 聞風筆動土地組加班寫報告 應否提「明日大嶼」有爭議 |
| 3 | 2018/11/15 | 香港仔 | 7 成測量師撐填海收棕地 學會籲理性討論利弊莫因增面積全盤推翻 |
| 4 | 2018/11/15 | 文匯報 | 林家輝: 測量界逾七成人撐填海 |
| 5 | 2018/11/15 | 東方日報 | 明日大嶼耗錢費時 議員炮轟金融騙局 |
| 6 | 2018/11/15 | 都市日報 | 社民連抗議大嶼填海 林鄭現立會無接請願信 |
| 7 | 2018/11/14 | 明報 | 民調反填海造島佔優 泛民不乘勢打輿論戰 |
| 8 | 2018/11/14 | 文匯報 | 反對派捏造反填海民意圖誤導公眾 |
| 9 | 2018/11/14 | 文匯報 | 講透填海理據 避免市民被誤導 |
| | | 信報財經新 | |
| 10 | 2018/11/14 | 聞 | 林鄭: 土地短缺填海無法迴避 回應民調反對明日大嶼 「要看你如何問」 |
| 11 | 2018/11/14 | 文匯報 | 覓地依三原則 填海不能迴避 林鄭: 須刻不容緩多管齊下未雨綢繆 多元社會 |
| 12 | 2018/11/14 | am730 | 公屋輪候時間惡化 重申填海不能迴避 |
| 13 | 2018/11/14 | 信報 | 造地問題切勿對症不下藥 |

| | | | |
|----|------------|--------------------|--|
| 14 | 2018/11/14 | 星島日報 | 填海不能迴避 需法定諮詢 |
| 15 | 2018/11/14 | 蘋果日報 | 無視民意 堅持人工島無可避免 |
| 16 | 2018/11/14 | 信報 | 明日大嶼拗不停 政府擬「講清講楚」 |
| 17 | 2018/11/14 | 都市日報 | 土地供應刻不容緩 林鄭：沒辦法迴避填海 |
| 18 | 2018/11/13 | 東方日報 香港經濟日 報 | 調查：近半市民反對大嶼填海 港大民調：應先處理棕地高球場 |
| 19 | 2018/11/13 | 報 | |
| 20 | 2018/11/14 | 蘋果日報 | 五成受訪者反明日大嶼 泛民：政府出動劉德華都有用 |
| 21 | 2018/11/13 | 經濟通 | 【明日大嶼】港大民調近半人反對計劃，林鄭：土地不足是公認事實 (10:07) |
| 22 | 2018/11/12 | 明報 | 【明日大嶼】港大民研：七成人支持先處理棕地及高球場 |
| 23 | 2018/11/10 | 信報 | 致謝議案通過 泛民一人贊成 |
| 24 | 2018/11/7 | 明報 | 大辯論民意初步分析 收棕地高球場填海同獲過半支持 |
| 25 | 2018/11/7 | 信報 | 土供組：逾八成人撐開發棕地 |
| 26 | 2018/11/7 | am730 | 明日大嶼惹爭議 民主派提修訂促擱置 |
| 27 | 2018/11/7 | 成報 | 近六成市民憂「明日大嶼」耗盡公帑 |
| 28 | 2018/11/7 | 文匯報 | 狀黨調查以「短」擊「長」 |
| 29 | 2018/11/7 | 蘋果日報 | 七成人促善用現有地 |
| 30 | 2018/11/6 | 明報 | 【明日大嶼】逾 3200 人回應土地供應民調 不足一成半撐東大嶼填海 |
| 31 | 2018/11/2 | 蘋果日報 | 明日大嶼怎能靠「專家」老點？ |
| 32 | 2018/10/31 | 蘋果日報 | 西環集中營：親建制民調拆林鄭台 |
| 33 | 2018/10/20 | 大公報 | 黃友嘉：填海造地屬長遠投資 港土地開發落後 財儲須用於最迫切議題 |
| 34 | 2018/10/17 | 文匯報 | 市民挺填海 |
| 35 | 2018/10/17 | 大公報 | 逾七成市民支持「明日大嶼」 |
| 36 | 2018/10/15 | 東方日報 | 東方民調：房策離地錢亂掙施政報告招劣評 |
| 37 | 2018/10/12 | 香港仔 | 團體擬周日遊行 促擱置人工島 |
| 38 | 2018/10/12 | 信報 | 填海建議壞了勢頭 |
| 39 | 2018/10/10 | 明報 | 【施政報告】林鄭稱「明日大嶼」規模超玫瑰園計劃 避答黃遠輝會否成「周 |
| 40 | 2018/10/9 | am730 | 劉德華撐東大嶼填海人工島有用嗎？ |
| 41 | 2018/10/9 | 香港仔 | 港人最重房策多撐填海造地 九龍社聯民調 近四成港人盼增首置盤 |
| 42 | 2018/10/9 | 香港商報 | 九社聯發表民調 支持填海造地 |
| 43 | 2018/9/27 | 信報 | 新界祖堂地倡七成同意可強拍 |
| 44 | 2018/9/25 | 香港商報 | 近八成市民認同土地供應不足 土地小組提 5 大選項建議 |
| 45 | 2018/9/21 | am730 | 土地大辯論諮詢月底結束 調查：填海最多人支持 |

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|----|-----------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| 46 | 2018/9/17 | am730 | 真假民意 |
| 47 | 2019/9/1 | 紫荊雜誌 | 倡“強化東大嶼都會”計劃：加大面積 加快填海 |
| 48 | 2018/8/26 | 明報 | 民調：辯論後填海支持度跌 |
| 49 | 2018/8/11 | 文匯報 | 嶼東填海造地「團結」冀理性討論 |
| 50 | 2018/8/9 | 文匯報 | 畀港人「住大啲」 專家：增建 3 沙田不過分 |
| 51 | 2018/8/9 | 香港仔 | 團結基金倡議 造地要追落後 |
| 52 | 2018/8/8 | 文匯報 | 覓地要治本 填海不二策 團結基金座談會探討 與會者指「強化東嶼」有得諗 |
| 53 | 2018/8/8 | 香港商報 | 團結香港基金宏圖 造地半個九龍 強化東大嶼填海 2200 公頃 |
| | | 香港經濟日 | |
| 54 | 2018/8/6 | 報 | 施政聚焦覓地 市民選擇「大包圍」 |
| 55 | 2018/8/2 | 明報 | 填海造地拆牆鬆綁勿為私利教條反對 |
| 56 | 2018/8/1 | 明報 | 填海造地拆牆鬆綁勿為私利教條反對 |
| 57 | 2018/7/5 | 大公報 | 六措施「打底」填海有民意 |
| 58 | 2018/7/4 | 明報 | 填海造地必然選項 政府造勢避免失焦 |
| 59 | 2018/7/4 | 明報 | 林鄭：填海個人想法 無礙社會討論 填海區規劃研究 或下立法年度申款 |
| 60 | 2018/7/4 | 東方日報 | 獅子山上：打開口牌 自製麻煩 |
| 61 | 2018/7/3 | 文匯報 | 凝聚社會共識加快拓地 助更多市民受惠新房策 |
| 62 | 2018/5/28 | 星島日報 | 大辯論紛鬧 闢地難有結果 |
| 63 | 2018/6/13 | am730 | 土地大辯論(五)：重新諮詢填海方案無意義 |
| 64 | 2018/6/8 | 明報 | 【土地大辯論】尹兆堅：有人取多份諮詢問卷或涉「炸」民意 黃遠輝：擬行 |
| | | 香港經濟日 | |
| 65 | 2018/6/8 | 報 | 大辯論網上問卷 識別 IP 防重複提交 |
| 66 | 2016/6/7 | 經濟通 | 【土地大辯論】尹兆堅批土地諮詢網上問卷有強烈引導性 (11:40) |
| 67 | 2018/5/28 | 星島日報 | 大辯論紛鬧 闢地難有結果 |
| 68 | 2018/5/14 | am730 | 沒有填海，香港有今天嗎？ |
| 69 | 2018/5/11 | 頭條日報 | 港人的務實傳統還剩多少？ |
| 70 | 2018/5/10 | 星島日報 | 非集中討論諮詢範圍 發展郊園邊陲 八千反對意見或作「參考」 |
| 71 | 2018/5/7 | 明報 | 土地辯論現世代鴻溝年輕一代失願景堪憂 |
| 72 | 2018/5/5 | 明報 | 政府應考慮遞增式新盤空置稅 |
| 73 | 2018/5/4 | 信報 | 青年抗拒覓地 解鈴還須林鄭 |
| 74 | 2018/5/3 | 信報 | 問卷多贊成填海 環團望聽反對聲 |
| 75 | 2018/5/3 | 香港商報 | 須闢 2 沙田面積土地容納人口 近半市民撐填海建人工島 |
| 76 | 2018/5/3 | 星島日報 | 77%港人感「住得逼」 近半贊成填海建市鎮 團結基金民調 指問題逼切 |

| | | | |
|----|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|
| 77 | 2018/5/3 | 明報 | 民調：45%人贊成填海造地 六成人認同發展如沙田規模新市鎮 |
| 78 | 2018/5/3 | 香港商報 | 團結香港基金民調 45%市民贊成填海建市鎮 |
| 79 | 2018/5/3 | 明報 | 土地諮詢「兩個保守」不利大刀闊斧覓地 |
| 80 | 2018/5/2 | 明報 | 【短片】團結香港基金調查：六成市民贊成重推新市鎮 黃元山否認有身分 |
| 81 | 2018/5/1 | 文匯報 | 增闢土地 你我抉擇 |
| 82 | 2018/11/1 | 眾新聞 | 民調近半反大嶼填海 計劃開局差恐變殘局 |
| 83 | 2018/11/1 | 立場新聞 | 【東大嶼填海】香港研究協會民調：46% 受訪者反對建人工島 |

B. Data used for chart 1, 2 and 3

| sour ce | COUN TA of source | MA X of sam ple size | AVERA GE of stand of the outlet | AVERAG E of news angle | MIN of supp ort rate | outlet stand index | news angle index | quo te tim es | sam ple size |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1#團 結香 港基 金# 團結 香港 | 20 | 1002 | 0.45 | 0.5 | 30.00 % | 0.45 | 0.5 | 20 | 1002 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------|---------|---------|------|---------|---------|----|------|
| 基金 | | | | | | | | | |
| #團 | | | | | | | | | |
| 結香 | | | | | | | | | |
| 港基 | | | | | | | | | |
| 金 | | | | | | | | | |
| 0#港 | 16 | 1000 | -0.3125 | -0.3125 | 0.39 | -0.3125 | -0.3125 | 16 | 1000 |
| 大民 | | | | | | | | | |
| 調 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2#公 | 8 | 3236 | -0.125 | -0.375 | 13% | -0.125 | -0.375 | 8 | 3236 |
| 民黨 | | | | | | | | | |
| #公 | | | | | | | | | |
| 民黨 | | | | | | | | | |
| 0#香 | 5 | 1130 | -0.4 | -0.4 | 36% | -0.4 | -0.4 | 5 | 1130 |
| 港研 | | | | | | | | | |
| 究協 | | | | | | | | | |
| 會 | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------|---|------|
| 0#環 保團 體 | 3 | 0 | - 0.3333333 333 | 0.3333333 333 | 30% | - 0.3333333 333 | 0.3333333 333 | 3 | 0 |
| 0#九 龍社 團聯 會 | 2 | 2830 | 1 | 1 | 35.2 % | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2830 |
| 0# 《經 濟 通》 與 《晴 報》 聯合 進行 | 2 | 865 | 1 | 1 | 74% | 1 | 1 | 2 | 865 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----|---|----|-----|---|----|---|-----|
| 網上 民調 | | | | | | | | | |
| 0#綠 色和 平 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 999 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 0#相 關民 調 | 1 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 30% | 1 | -1 | 1 | 0 |
| 0#環 保觸 覺委 託港 大民 意研 究計 劃 | 1 | 504 | 0 | 0 | 30% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 504 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-----|----|----|-----|---|----|---|-----|
| 0#東 方報 業 | 1 | 409 | 1 | -1 | 0 | 1 | -1 | 1 | 409 |
| 0#智 經研 究中 心 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 26% | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 0#新 論壇 | 1 | 651 | 1 | 1 | 58% | 1 | 1 | 1 | 651 |
| 0#土 地小 組民 意調 查 | 1 | 0 | -1 | -1 | 999 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|----|------|------------------|-------------------|------------|--|--|--|--|
| 0#反對政客 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| 0#公屋聯會 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 78.40 % | | | | |
| Grand Total | 65 | 3236 | 0.1384615 385 | 0.0923076 9231 | 0.13 | | | | |

Data used for chart II

| outlet | AVERAGE of news angle | AVERAGE of stand of the outlet | COUNTA of outlet | MEDIAN of support rate | stand of the outlet | number of article published |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 明報 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 0.4515 | neutral | 17 |
| 文匯 報 | 0.8888888889 | 1 | 9 | 70% | pro- establishment | 9 |
| 信報 | -0.25 | -1 | 8 | 999 | pro- democratic | 8 |
| am730 | 0.4285714286 | 0 | 7 | 0.453 | neutral | 7 |
| 香港 商報 | 0.8 | 1 | 5 | 46.0% | pro- establishment | 5 |
| 蘋果 日報 | -0.8 | -1 | 5 | 0.39 | pro- democratic | 5 |
| 香港 仔 | 0.3333333333 | 1 | 3 | 35% | pro- establishment | 3 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|----|---|--------|-----------------------|---|
| 東方 日報 | -1 | -1 | 3 | 999 | pro- democratic | 3 |
| 星島 日報 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 999 | pro- establishment | 3 |
| 香港 經濟 日報 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 49% | pro- establishment | 2 |
| 都市 日報 | -0.5 | -1 | 2 | 999 | pro- democratic | 2 |
| 大公 報 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 499.87 | pro- establishment | 2 |
| 頭條 日報 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 45.30% | pro- establishment | 1 |
| 經濟 通 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 39% | pro- establishment | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|----|--------|-----------------------|----|
| 紫荊 雜誌 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 46.80% | pro- establishment | 1 |
| 立場 新聞 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 36% | pro- democratic | 1 |
| 眾新 聞 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 36% | neutral | 1 |
| 成報 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 99% | pro- establishment | 1 |
| 信報 財經 新聞 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 39% | pro- democratic | 1 |
| Grand Total | 0.1232876712 | 0.1095890411 | 73 | 0.46 | | 73 |