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2012 年 3 月 8 日

中華人民共和國香港特別行政區
立法會教育事務委員會
主席李慧琼議員
(電郵呈交 mmskwok@legco.gov.hk)

李慧琼主席：

討論「大學學術自由」

本人應立法會教育事務委員會邀請，將會出席2012年3月12日會議，討論「大學學術自由」。時間關係，本人尚未擬定發言稿，但會先向委員長提交下列參考文件滙集，及有關文件的簡要說明。本人之發言將會觸及有關文件部份內容，而發言稿件將會容後補上，懇請見諒。

參考文件滙集

1. 2012年2月8日教協報稿件：「學術自由與民意研究」（只限中文版本）
2. 2011 年 12 月「香港市民身分認同感」調查結果
3. 2011 年 12 月「香港市民身分認同感」調查問卷
4. 2011 年 12 月 28 日新聞公報：香港市民身分認同調查結果
5. 2011 年 12 月 29 日公開說明：關於「香港市民身分認同」民調設計
6. 2012 年 1 月 5 日公開聲明：關於「鍾庭耀會唔霍德」的傳言
7. 2012 年 1 月 27 日公告：鍾庭耀對郝鐵川文章的回應（只限中文版本）
8. 2004 年 9 月 7 日公開聲明：關於《星島日報》同日的報導（只限中文版本）
9. 2004 年 9 月 7 日《星島日報》報導：文字版及圖像版（只限中文版本）
10. 2004 年 9 月 7 日《信報》報導：文字版（只限中文版本）
11. 2004 年 9 月 4 日《英文虎報》報導：文字版（只限英文版本）
12. 世界民意研究學會（WAPOR）專業操守

參考文件摘要

1. 2012年2月8日教協報稿件：「學術自由與民意研究」（只限中文版本）
 - 學術自由的最終目的，就是用來保護人類知識的產生和傳遞，而知識的產生過程，不一定來自擁有終身教席的大學教授，甚至不是來自在院校工作的「學者」，因為不少出色的知識分子，都沒有在院校工作。

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- 只要熱愛真理，真心從事知識的開發和傳遞工作，都有資格享受學術自由。教育界同工、專上學生、研究助理等等，亦應作如是觀。
- 觀乎專上學界在近十多年來的發展，情況實在令人憂慮。首先，學術機構開始重視排名，於是把大量人力物力投放到形象工程和資源競爭方面。形象工程方面，學生成績、論文數量、以至傳媒曝光、師生國籍等，都變成宣傳工具，本末倒置。在資源競爭方面，不少活動都以金錢掛帥，與市場掛勾。認真討論學術自由、大學傳統和知識分子責任的活動，可謂寥寥無幾。
- 本地民意調查缺乏標準，坊間調查莠莠不齊，學府沒有專業培訓，於是導致官員無端過問，批評似是而非，以政治干預學術之餘，還辯稱民調並非學術。更有甚者，是緊隨建制的左翼評論人士，即時發動文革式的批判互相呼應，扼殺文明的討論空間，妨礙知識的開發和傳遞，與學術自由的方向背道而馳。因此，我們如果珍惜學術自由，就要努力建立和維護文明的討論空間。

2. 2011 年 12 月「香港市民身分認同感」調查結果

- 香港市民對「香港人」身分認同感上升至 10 年新高，及對「中國人」身分認同感跌至 12 年新低，是基於「香港人」、「中國人」身分的單項評分得出，根本不是來自「香港人」對立「中國人」的調查題目。
- 「八十後」年青人的「中國人」身分認同感評分，由 2009 年起急劇下降（圖 5）。

3. 2011 年 12 月「香港市民身分認同感」調查問卷

- Q1-你會稱自己為（訪問員讀出首四個答案）— 香港人；中國人；香港的中國人；中國的香港人；其他（請列明）；唔知/難講；拒絕回答
- Q2-請你用 0-10 分表示你對香港人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？
- Q3-請你用 0-10 分評價香港人身分對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？
- Q4-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中國人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？
- Q5-請你用 0-10 分評價中國人身分對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？
- Q6-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中華人民共和國既國民身份既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？
- Q7-請你用 0-10 分評價中華人民共和國既國民身份對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？
- Q8-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中華民族既一分子既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分

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代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

- Q9-請你用 0-10 分評價中華民族既一分子對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？
- Q10-Q11：亞洲人身份，認同及重要程度評分。
- Q12-Q13：世界公民身份，認同及重要程度評分。
- D1-性別；D2-年齡；D3-教育程度；D4/5-房屋類別；D6-職業；D7-社會階層；D8-出生地；D9-居港年期

4. 2011 年 12 月 28 日新聞公報：香港市民身分認同調查結果

- 由於「香港人」、「中國的香港人」、「中國人」、及「香港的中國人」四者可能意識重疊，四擇其一未必能夠反映各項身分認同的強弱；因此，民研計劃一早就以 0 至 10 分同時測試市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同程度。2007 年 6 月開始，民研計劃把香港市民身分認同感的研究擴充，加入「中華人民共和國的國民身分」、「中華民族的一份子」、「亞洲人身分」及「世界公民身分」4 個單獨測試項目……
- 把個別樣本之認同感評分乘以同一樣本之重要度評分，求取幾何平均數後再乘以 10，就得出 0 至 100 分的「身分認同指數」，0 分代表絕不投入，100 分代表絕對投入，50 分代表一半半。以認同指數計，香港市民六種身分的得分依次序為「香港人」、「中華民族一份子」、「亞洲人」、「中國人」、「世界公民」及「中華人民共和國國民」，分數為 79.1、72.5、72.1、67.9、67.0 及 61.1 分…

5. 2011 年 12 月 29 日公開說明：關於「香港市民身分認同」民調設計

- 民研計劃歡迎所有關於民意研究設計的認真討論，集思廣益。不過，學術討論最好是保留在學術討論的層面，而不涉及政治考慮。嚴謹的學術討論，應可全面展示有關調查的優劣和利弊。

6. 2012 年 1 月 5 日公開聲明：關於「鍾庭耀會唔霍德」的傳言

- 本人與霍德毫不相識，亦從未會面。霍德曾否訪港，本人毫不知情。霍德是否情報人員，本人沒有興趣知道。本人從來沒有直接或間接與霍德溝通。
- 查實電子化「民間全民投票」計劃，二十年前在香港大學八十週年校慶之中，已被列為多項前瞻測試項目之一，並不新奇，亦與外國勢力無關。
- 文革式的批判和誣衊，不論是針對任何人士，均無助建立香港人或中國人的民族認同感。

7. 2012 年 1 月 27 日公告：鍾庭耀對郝鐵川文章的回應

- …左翼評論人士…時而誣衊本人與外國勢力串通，時而詆毀本人及其他學者的人

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格…當我們批評「維園亞哥」言行過激的時候，我們也要同時批評社會對「維園亞伯」的縱容以至慫恿。

- 本人希望郝鐵川以部長身份，查明有關謠言的出處。倘若是出自國家情報機關，則懇請更正記錄。

8. 2004 年 9 月 7 日公開聲明：關於《星島日報》同日的報導

- 只要委託或贊助機構符合我們定出的條件，容許我們獨立進行研究，並且把過程及數據公開，我們歡迎任何機構與我們合作進行調查…
- （引述回覆《星島日報》查詢的電郵）…NDI 提出有助本地政黨發展的跨政黨調查，問卷由我們草擬，我們樂於接受，NDI 沒有其他條件。任何機構的背景都不是我們的考慮。就我所知，NDI 和國內不同機構有很多交流活動…

9. 2004 年 9 月 7 日《星島日報》報導：文字版及圖像版

- 「鍾庭耀承認接受美組織資助」

10. 2004 年 9 月 7 日《信報》報導：文字版

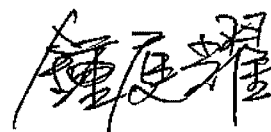
- 「三大黨否認受美組織資助」

11. 2004 年 9 月 4 日《英文虎報》報導：文字版

- “Democracy by stealth”

12. 世界民意研究學會（WAPOR）專業操守

- 2.「在一個日益複雜的世界，社會和經濟的長遠計劃越來越取決於可靠的民意調查。普通公眾是這類信息的主要來源。因此，世界民意研究學會成員認同，有責任保護公眾免受魚目混珠的「研究」所誤導或利用。與此同時，學會同樣確定研究者應同時擁有發表意見和進行民調的自由。」
- 31.「研究機構不能以外間壓力、政治或者商業理由，作為違反本守則的理據。」



香港大學民意研究計劃總監 鍾庭耀 呈上

教協報稿件 2012 年 2 月 8 日

學術自由與民意研究

香港大學民意研究計劃總監 鍾庭耀

筆者於 2012 年 2 月 5 日，出席由高等教育關注組舉辦的「建立一個文明的公共討論空間」公開論壇。之後，香港教育專業人員協會邀請筆者在《教協報》撰文，與教育界同工再次分享感受。筆者於是把自己在論壇上發表的部份意見，更加詳細說明，另起題目與教育界同工分享。

筆者十分喜歡「教育界同工」的稱號，因為在學術自由的領域，所有教育工作者，在「教」與「學」的過程中，都需要學術自由的保護，而所「教」所「學」的原材料，都是學術研究的成果。

在論壇上，有台下學者申訴，她身為副學士課程的老師，不是大學教授，沒有從事學術研究，於是連「學者」和「知識分子」的資格都沒有，當然沒有學術自由了。

論壇之外，又有大學教授撰文，謂學術自由的最佳保證，莫過於嚴格的終身教席考核制度。因為有了終身教席，教授就可以暢所欲言，不愁大學以言解僱。

對於以上申訴和論點，筆者不能苟同。筆者認為，學術自由的最終目的，就是用來保護人類知識的產生和傳遞，而知識的產生過程，不一定來自擁有終身教席的大學教授，甚至不是來自在院校工作的「學者」，因為不少出色的知識分子，都沒有在院校工作。相反，不少擁有學術銜頭又在院校工作的「學者」，或者甚麼「榮譽博士」、「榮譽院士」之類，根本不配做知識分子。

因此，筆者認為，不論是否在院校工作、不論是否擁有終身教席或者學術銜頭，只要熱愛真理，真心從事知識的開發和傳遞工作，都有資格享受學術自由。教育界同工、專上學生、研究助理等等，亦應作如是觀。在學術研究的領域，人人平等，人人為自己的工作和言論負責。校長和院長等雖是行政首長，要為學校的運作和發展負責，但他們不應亦不能為個別同工的研

究成果負責，反之亦然。這是學術與非學術活動在本質上的差異。

不過，觀乎專上學界在近十多年來的發展，情況實在令人憂慮。首先，學術機構開始重視排名，於是把大量人力物力投放到形象工程和資源競爭方面。形象工程方面，學生成績、論文數量、以至傳媒曝光、師生國籍等，都變成宣傳工具，本末倒置。在資源競爭方面，不少活動都以金錢掛帥，與市場掛勾。認真討論學術自由、大學傳統和知識分子責任的活動，可謂寥寥無幾。

以筆者熟悉的民意研究工作為例，本地學界、香港社會、以至兩岸四地的華人社會，當今最需要的，是建立一套具國際視野的專業操守，和開展跨學科的專業課程，累積人材和知識。可惜，基於種種原因，本地學府的民研活動，仍然是山頭割據、各有各做，完全沒有為未來中國的發展好好打算。

今日中國，實行一黨專政社會主義，對民意調查、民主參與等概念避之則吉。回歸之前，港英政府懾於北京政府的壓力，在諮詢「八八直選」時來個急轉彎，透過官方「民意匯集處」生產扭曲民意的民意調查，可算是香港歷史上第一次「民調事件」。回歸初期，時為中央政府器重的行政長官，透過助理向港大校長查問民意調查，觸發二千年七月的「民調事件」。去年底今年初，中聯辦官員抨擊筆者進行多年的「香港人身份認同感民意調查」，掀起另一次「民調事件」。三次事件，都發生在龍年前後。雖是巧合，但亦顯示香港社會在這個領域發展緩慢，沒有好好解決民意研究的基本問題。

三次事件，都是因為本地民意調查缺乏標準，坊間調查莠莠不齊，學府沒有專業培訓，於是導致官員無端過問，批評似是而非，以政治干預學術之餘，還辯稱民調並非學術。更有甚者，是緊隨建制的左翼評論人士，即時發動文革式的批判互相呼應，扼殺文明的討論空間，妨礙知識的開發和傳遞，與學術自由的方向背道而馳。因此，我們如果珍惜學術自由，就要努力建立和維護文明的討論空間。

如果我們批評「維園亞哥」言行過激，我們也要同時批判社會對「維園亞伯」的縱容和慫恿。因果沒有「維園亞伯」在前，就沒有「維園亞哥」在後。

2011年12月「香港市民身分認同感」調查結果

表一

Q1-你會稱自己為香港人、中國人、香港的中國人，定中國的香港人？

Q1-You would identify yourself as a :

	頻數 Freq.	百分比 Percentage (Base=541)
香港人 Hong Kong Citizen	204	37.7%
中國的香港人 Chinese Hong Kong Citizen	137	25.3%
統稱香港人 “HK People” in broad sense	339	62.9%
中國人 Chinese Citizen	90	16.6%
香港的中國人 Hong Kong Chinese Citizen	96	17.8%
統稱中國人 “Chinese People” in broad sense	186	34.4%
其他 Others	3	0.6%
唔知／難講 Don't know / hard to say	11	2.1%
合計	541	100.0%

表一 A

Q1- Time series cumulative table (last 10 series only)

	6/2007	12/2007	6/2008	12/2008	6/2009	12/2009	6/2010	12/2010	6/2011	12/2011
樣本 Sample	1016	1011	1012	1016	1002	1007	1004	1013	1028	1016
香港人 Hong Kong Citizen	23.4%	23.5%	18.1%	21.8%	24.7%	37.6%	25.3%	35.5%	43.8%	37.7%
中國的香港人 Chinese Hong Kong Citizen	31.8%	31.5%	29.2%	29.6%	32.0%	23.9%	31.3%	27.6%	21.3%	25.3%
統稱香港人 “HK People” in broad sense	55.2%	54.9%	47.3%	51.4%	56.7%	61.5%	56.5%	63.1%	65.2%	62.9%
中國人 Chinese Citizen	26.4%	27.2%	38.6%	34.4%	29.3%	24.2%	27.8%	21.1%	23.5%	16.6%
香港的中國人 Hong Kong Chinese Citizen	16.7%	16.0%	13.3%	13.0%	13.3%	13.1%	14.8%	13.8%	10.3%	17.8%
統稱中國人 “Chinese People” in broad sense	43.1%	43.2%	51.9%	47.4%	42.7%	37.3%	42.5%	35.0%	33.8%	34.4%
其他 Others	0.3%	0.7%	0.1%	0.5%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.6%
唔知／難講 Don't know / hard to say	1.4%	1.1%	0.7%	0.7%	0.4%	1.0%	0.5%	1.5%	0.6%	2.1%
合計	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

表二

Q2-請你用 0-10 分表示你對香港人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

Q2-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a **Hong Kong citizen**, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

Q3-請你用 0-10 分評價香港人身分對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

Q3-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a **Hong Kong citizen**, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

	Q2 認同感評分 Strength rating	Q3 重要性評分 Importance rating
平均數 Mean score	8.23	7.78
中位數 Median score	8.00	8.00
評分誤差 (95%置信水平) Rating error (at 95% conf. level)	+/-0.16	+/-0.19
基數 (撇除「唔知／難講」) Base (excluding "Don't know / hard to say")	526	521

表二 A

Q2-Q3- Time series cumulative table (last 10 series only)

	6/2007	12/2007	6/2008	12/2008	6/2009	12/2009	6/2010	12/2010	6/2011	12/2011
樣本 Sample	1016	1011	1012	1016	1002	1007	1004	1013	1028	1016
Q2 香港人認同感評分 Strength rating as a Hong Kong citizen										
平均數 Mean score	8.00	8.09	7.80	7.99	7.83	8.14	7.90	8.12	7.63	8.23
評分誤差 Rating error	+/-0.12	+/-0.12	+/-0.14	+/-0.18	+/-0.20	+/-0.18	+/-0.18	+/-0.18	+/-0.18	+/-0.16
基數 Base	982	988	977	609	522	514	547	533	496	526
Q3 香港人重要性評分 Importance rating a Hong Kong citizen										
平均數 Mean score	--	--	--	7.32	7.38	7.44	7.38	7.62	7.50	7.78
評分誤差 Rating error	--	--	--	+/-0.18	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.18	+/-0.19
基數 Base	--	--	--	610	516	516	547	524	486	521

表三

Q4-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中國人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

Q4-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a **Chinese citizen**, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

Q5-請你用 0-10 分評價中國人身分對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

Q5-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a **Chinese citizen**, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

	Q4 認同感評分 Strength rating	Q5 重要性評分 Importance rating
平均數 Mean score	7.01	6.80
中位數 Median score	7.00	7.00
評分誤差 (95%置信水平) Rating error (at 95% conf. level)	+/-0.23	+/-0.24
基數 (撇除「唔知／難講」) Base (excluding "Don't know / hard to say")	545	537

表三 A

Q4-Q5- Time series cumulative table (last 10 series only)

	6/2007	12/2007	6/2008	12/2008	6/2009	12/2009	6/2010	12/2010	6/2011	12/2011
樣本 Sample	1016	1011	1012	1016	1002	1007	1004	1013	1028	1016
Q4 中國人認同感評分 Strength rating as a Chinese citizen										
平均數 Mean score	7.66	7.87	8.02	7.79	7.72	7.79	7.63	7.10	7.24	7.01
評分誤差 Rating error	+/-0.16	+/-0.14	+/-0.14	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.23
基數 Base	977	994	989	532	520	557	528	517	504	545
Q5 中國人重要性評分 Importance rating as a Chinese citizen										
平均數 Mean score	--	--	--	7.56	7.57	7.59	7.42	7.01	7.08	6.80
評分誤差 Rating error	--	--	--	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.20	+/-0.22	+/-0.22	+/-0.22	+/-0.24
基數 Base	--	--	--	525	515	557	526	513	496	537

表四

Q2-請你用 0-10 分表示你對香港人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

Q2-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a **Hong Kong citizen**, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

	頻數 Freq.	百分比 Percentage (Base=526)
正面認同 Positive (6-10 marks)	465	88.4
一半半 Half-half (5 marks)	54	10.2
負面認同 Negative (0-4 marks)	7	1.4
合計	526	100.0%

表五

Q4-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中國人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

Q4-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a **Chinese citizen**, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

	頻數 Freq.	百分比 Percentage (Base=545)
正面認同 Positive (6-10 marks)	383	70.4
一半半 Half-half (5 marks)	95	17.4
負面認同 Negative (0-4 marks)	66	12.2
合計	545	100.0%

表六

Q6-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中華人民共和國既國民身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

Q6-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a **citizen of PRC**, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

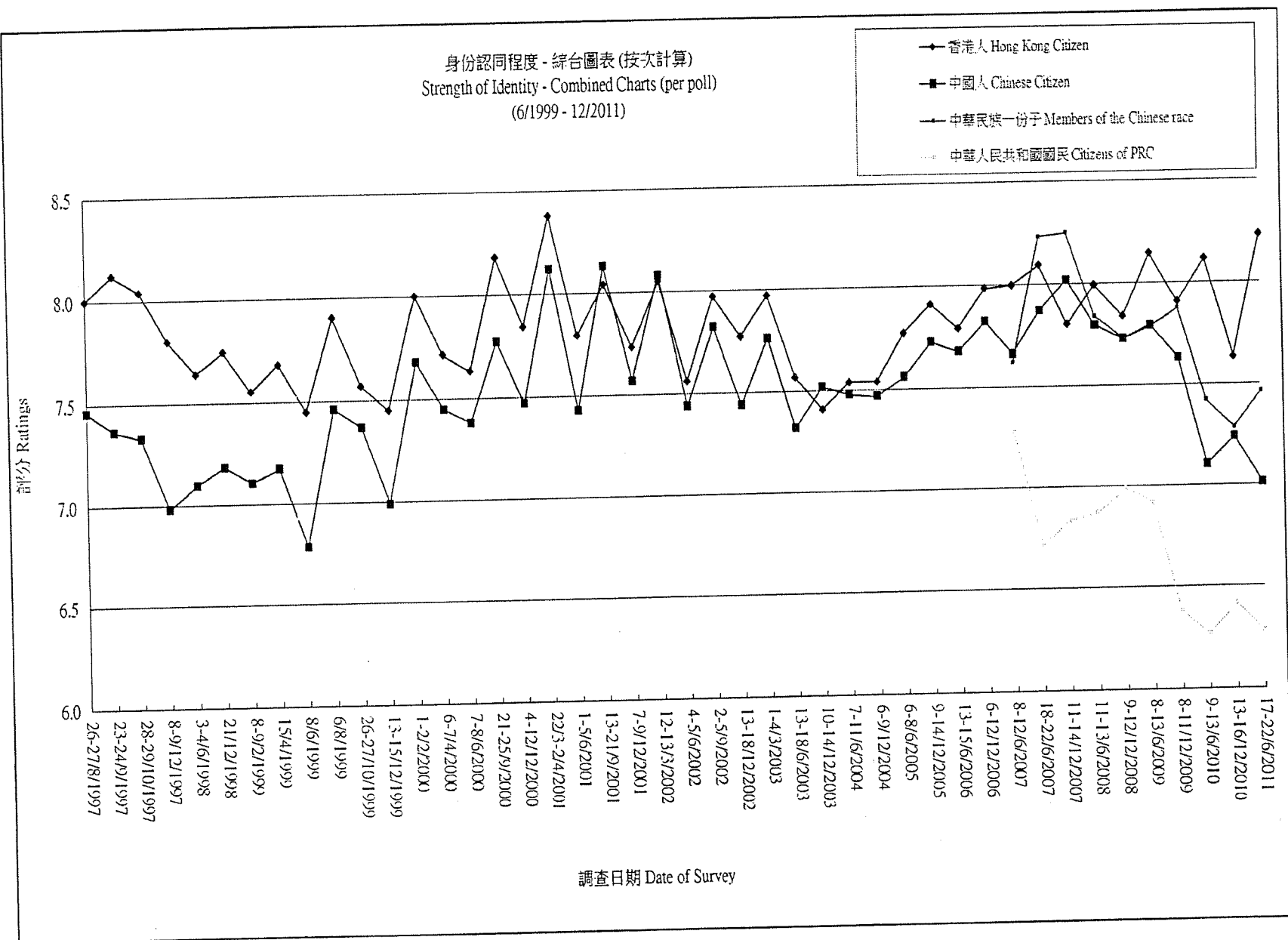
	頻數 Freq.	百分比 Percentage (Base=521)
正面認同 Positive (6-10 marks)	309	59.2
一半半 Half-half (5 marks)	116	22.2
負面認同 Negative (0-4 marks)	97	18.6
合計	521	100.0%

表七

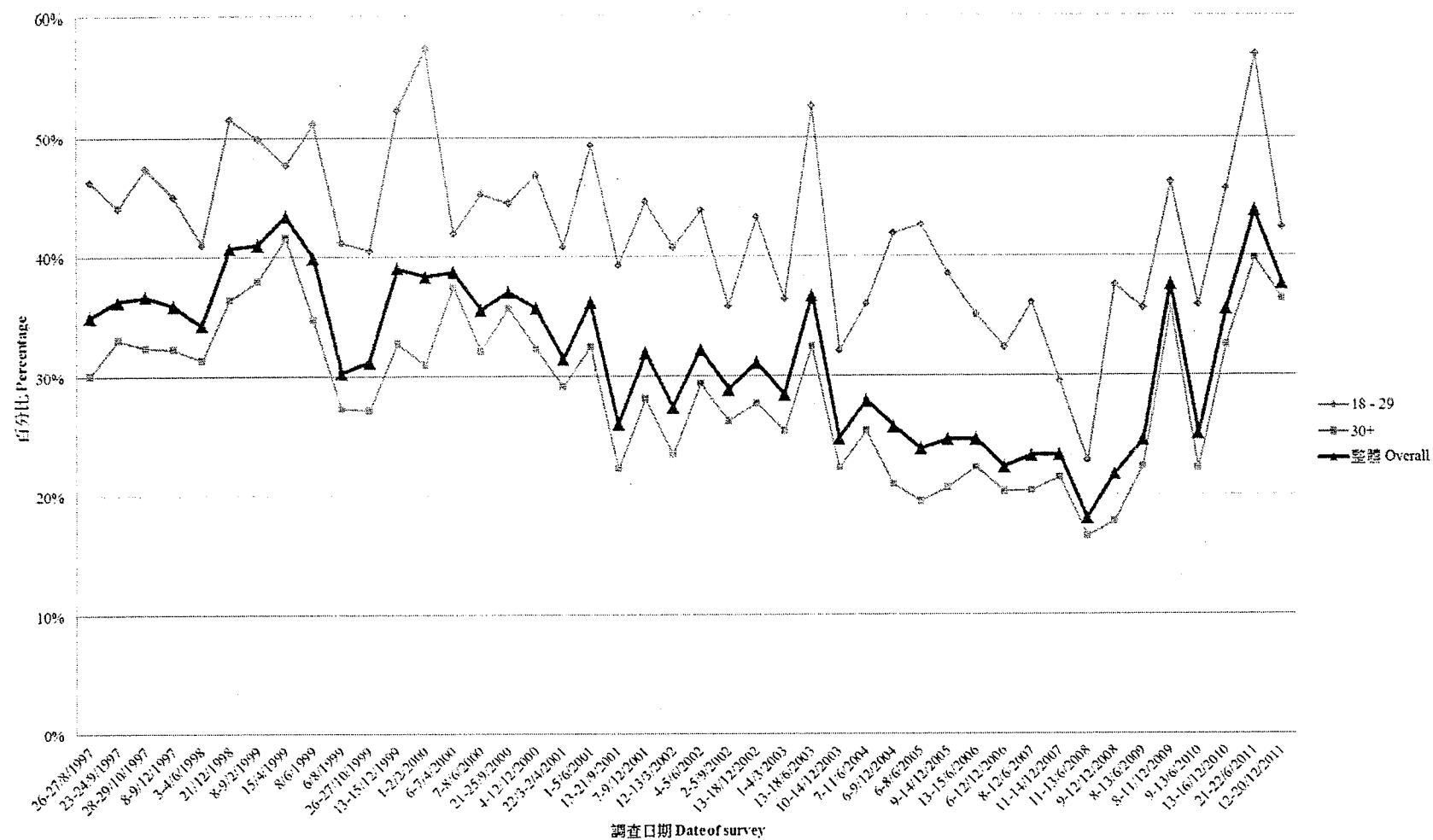
Q8-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中華民族既一分子既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

Q8-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a **member of the Chinese race**, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

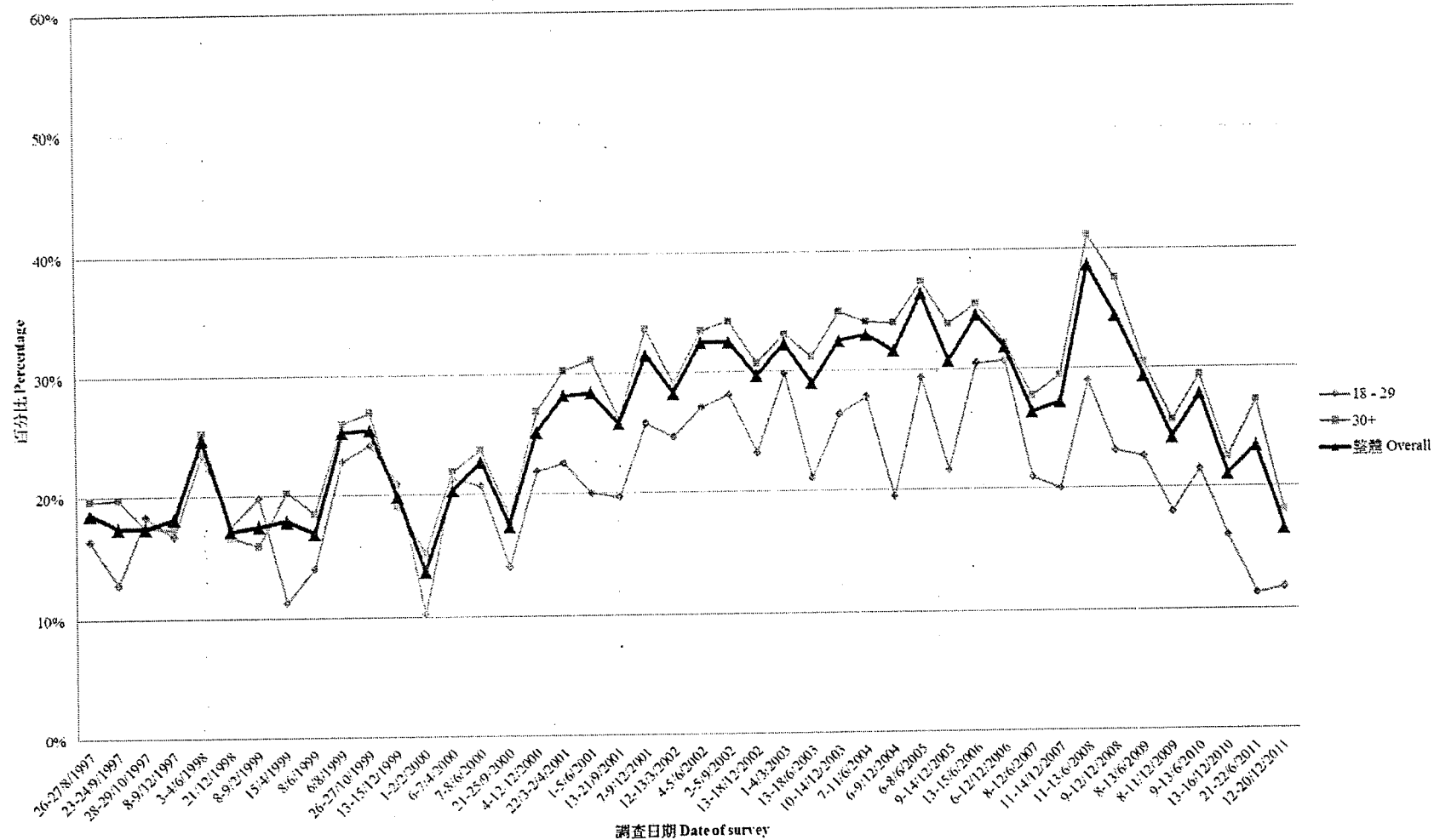
	頻數 Freq.	百分比 Percentage (Base=527)
正面認同 Positive (6-10 marks)	405	76.9
一半半 Half-half (5 marks)	75	14.3
負面認同 Negative (0-4 marks)	47	8.8
合計	527	100.0%



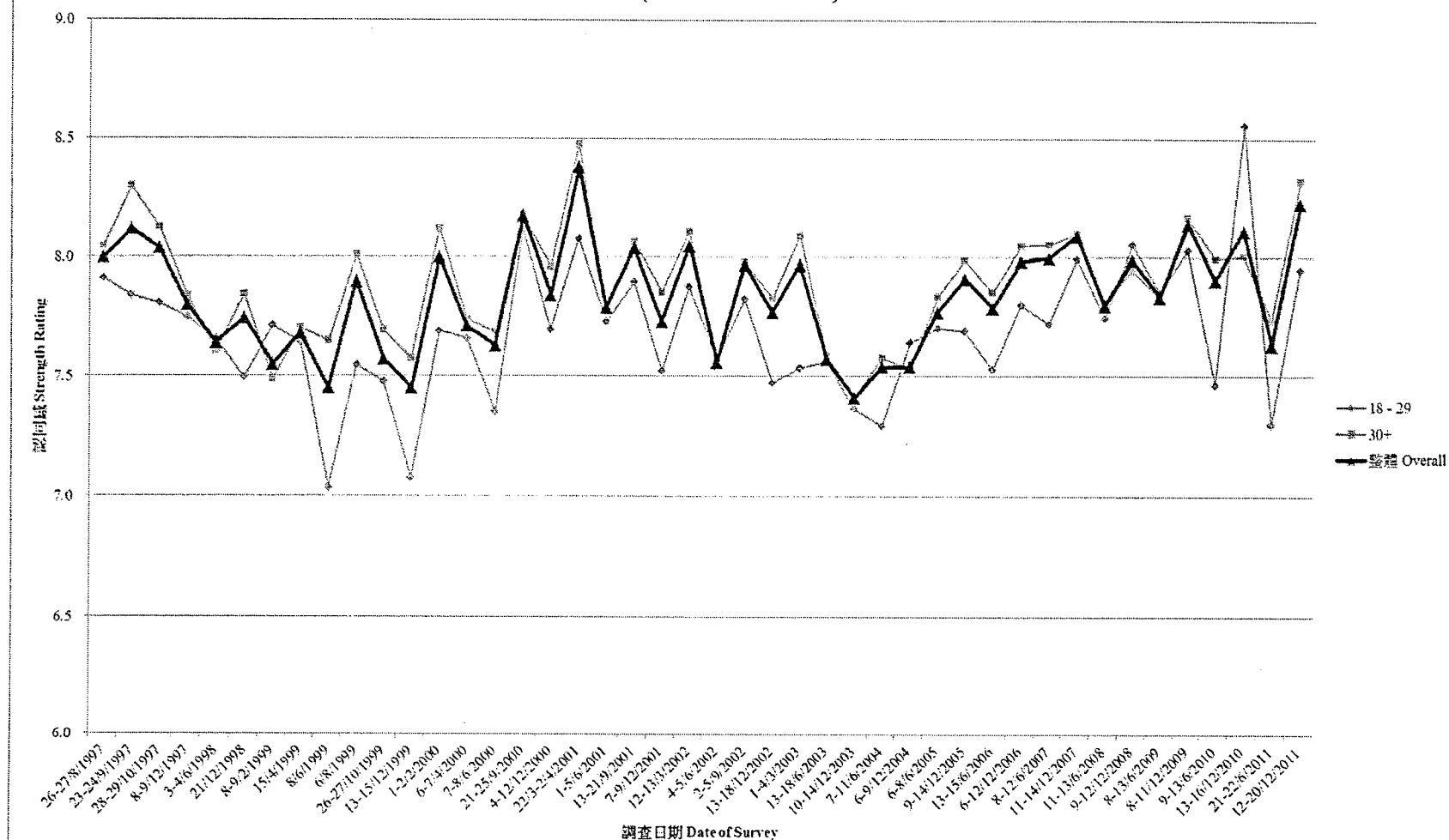
身份類別認同 - 香港人(按次計算)
Ethnic Identity - HK Citizen (per poll)
(8/1997 - 12/2011)



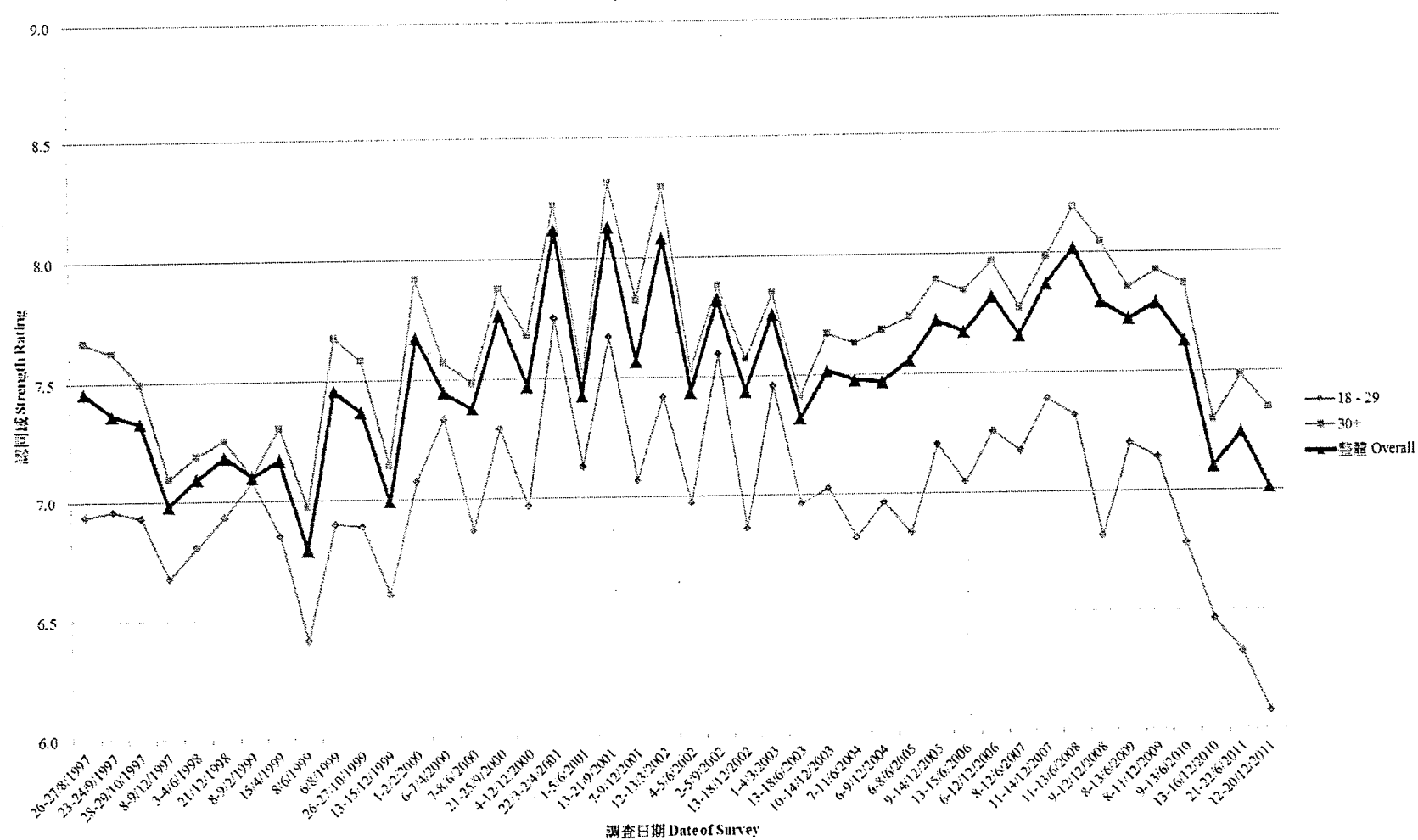
身份類別認同 - 中國人(按次計算)
Ethnic Identity - Chinese Citizen (per poll)
(8/1997 - 12/2011)



認同「香港人」身分的程度(按次計算)
Strength of Hong Kong Citizen Identity (per poll)
(8/1997 - 12/2011)



認同「中國人」身分的程度(按次計算)
Strength of Chinese Citizen Identity (per poll)
(8/1997 - 12/2011)



香港市民身分認同調查

調查問卷

2011 年 12 月

第一部分 自我介紹

喂，先生/小姐/太太你好，我姓 X，我係香港大學民意研究計劃既訪問員黎既，我地想訪問市民一 D 有關身分認同既意見，我地只會阻你幾分鐘時間。請你放心，你既電話號碼係經由我地既電腦隨機抽樣抽中既，而你提供既資料只會用作綜合分析，並且會絕對保密既。如果你對今次既訪問有任何疑問，你可以打 XXXX-XXXX 同我地既督導員聯絡。為左保障數據既真確性，我地既訪問可能會被錄音，但只會用作品質管制用途，並會係短期內銷毀。請問可以開始調查嗎？

可以

唔可以 (skip to end)

第二部分 選出被訪者

[S1] 請問你屋企而家有冇 18 歲或以上 既香港居民係度？【如果戶中冇所屬年齡之對象，訪問告終；多謝合作，收線。】

有 → S2

冇 → 訪問完成，多謝合作，拜拜。(skip to end)

拒答 → 訪問完成，多謝合作，拜拜。(skip to end)

[S2] 為左保障數據既真確性，訪問可能會被錄音，但只會用作內部參考，請問可唔可以開始訪問呢？

可以 → 開始訪問

唔可以 → 訪問完成，多謝合作，拜拜。(skip to end)

第三部分 問卷主體部分

Q1-你會稱自己為 (訪問員讀出首四個答案)

香港人

中國人

香港的中國人

中國的香港人

其他 (請列明)

唔知/難講

拒絕回答

Q2-請你用 0-10 分表示你對香港人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

——
唔知道

唔肯講

Q3-請你用 0-10 分評價香港人身分對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

——
唔知道

唔肯講

Q4-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中國人身分既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

——
唔知道

唔肯講

Q5-請你用 0-10 分評價中國人身分對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

——
唔知道

唔肯講

Q6-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中華人民共和國既國民身份既認同感。10 分代表絕對認

同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q7-請你用 0-10 分評價中華人民共和國既國民身份對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q8-請你用 0-10 分表示你對中華民族既一分子既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q9-請你用 0-10 分評價中華民族既一分子對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q10-請你用 0-10 分表示你對亞洲人身份既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q11-請你用 0-10 分評價亞洲人身份對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q12-請你用 0-10 分表示你對世界公民身份既認同感。10 分代表絕對認同，0 分代表絕不認同，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分自己？

—
唔知道

唔肯講

Q13-請你用 0-10 分評價世界公民身份對你既重要性。10 分代表絕對重要，0 分代表絕不重要，5 分代表一半半。你俾幾多分佢既重要性？

—

唔知道

唔肯講

第四部分 個人資料

我想問你些少個人資料，方便分析，請你放心，你嘅資料係會絕對保密既。

D1-性別

男

女

D2-年齡（準確數字）

—
唔肯講

D2b-【只問不肯透露準確年齡被訪者】年齡（範圍）[訪問員可讀出範圍]

18-20

21-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

45-49

50-54

55-59

60 或以上

唔肯講

D3-教育程度

小學或以下

中學

預科

專上非學位

專上學位
研究院或以上
拒絕回答

D4-請問你住緊既單位係：
自置，定係
租住既呢？
拒答

D5-居住房屋
公營租住房屋
房屋委員會補助出售單位
房屋協會補助出售單位
私人住宅單位
村屋：別墅/平房/新型村屋
村屋：簡單磚石蓋搭建築物/傳統村屋
公營臨時房屋
私人臨時房屋
員工宿舍
其他
拒答

D6-職業
經理及行政人員
專業人員
輔助專業人員
文員
服務工作及商店銷售人員
漁農業熟練工人
手工藝及有關人員
機台及機器操作員及裝配員
非技術工人
學生
家庭主婦
不能辨別
其他(包括失業、已退休、及其他非在職者)
拒絕回答

D7-你認為你既家庭屬於以下邊個階級? (讀出首五項答案)

上層階級

中產階級既上層

中產階級

中產階級既下層

下層或基層階級

唔知／難講

拒答

D8-出生地

香港

中國大陸

台灣

澳門

東南亞 (e.g. 馬來西亞、印尼、越南)

加拿大

美國

澳洲

英國

其他

唔知道

拒絕回答

D9-咁你黎左香港幾耐?

—

唔記得

拒答

多謝你接受訪問。如果你對呢個訪問有任何疑問，可以打熱線電話 xxxx-xxxx 同我地嘅督導員聯絡，或者喺辦公時間致電 xxxx-xxxx 向香港大學操守委員會查詢今次訪問既真確性同埋核對我嘅身份。拜拜！

*Survey on Hong Kong
People's Ethnic Identity*

Questionnaire

December 2011

Part I Self-introduction

Good evening, sir/madam, my name is X, an interviewer from the Public Opinion Programme (POP) of the University of Hong Kong. We are conducting a survey on people's opinions on various aspects of the currency notes in Hong Kong. I would like to invite you to participate in an interview which will take only a few minutes. I would like to stress that all information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and used for aggregate analysis only. Is it okay for us to start this survey?

Yes

No → Interview ends, thank you for your cooperation, bye-bye

Part II Selection of Respondents

[S1] Is there any Hong Kong citizen aged 18 or above in your household now? Since we need to conduct random sampling, if there is more than one available, I would like to speak to the one who will have his / her birthday next.

Yes → S2

No → Interview ends, thank you for your cooperation, bye-bye

Refuse to answer → Interview ends, thank you for your cooperation, bye-bye

[S2] For quality control purpose, our conversation may be recorded. However, it is for internal reference only and will be destroyed shortly after our quality control process is completed. Is it okay for us to start this survey?

Yes → Start the interview

No → Interview ends

Part III Survey Questions

Q1-You would identify yourself as a : (Interviewer to read out the first 4 choices)

Hong Kong Citizen

Chinese Citizen

Hong Kong Chinese Citizen

Chinese Hong Kong Citizen

Others (Please specify)

Don't know / hard to say

Refuse to answer

Q2-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a Hong Kong citizen, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—

Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q3-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a Hong Kong citizen, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—

Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q4-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a Chinese citizen, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—

Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q5-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a Chinese citizen, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—

Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q6-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a citizen of PRC, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How

would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q7-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a citizen of PRC, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q8-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity a member of the Chinese race, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q9-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance a Members of the Chinese race, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q10-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as an Asian, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q11-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as an Asian, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q12-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your strength of identity as a global citizen, with 10 indicating extremely strong, 0 indicating extremely weak, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Q13-Please use a scale of 0-10 to rate your importance as a global citizen, with 10 indicating extremely important, 0 indicating not important at all, and 5 indicating half-half. How would you rate yourself?

—
Don't know

Refuse to answer

Part IV Personal Information

I'd like to know some of your personal particulars in order to facilitate our analysis.

D1-Gender

Male

Female

D2-Age 【Input exact number】

—
Refuse to answer

D2b-[Only for respondents who are unwilling to disclose their exact age] Age (range)
[Interviewers can read out the ranges]

18-20

21-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

45-49

50-54

55-59

60 or above

Refuse to answer

D3-Education Attainment

Primary or below

Secondary
Matriculated
Tertiary, non-degree course
Tertiary, degree course
Postgraduate or above
Refuse to answer

D4-The type of ownership of your house is:

Self-purchased, or
Rent?
Refuse to answer

D5-House type

Public housing estate
Housing Authority subsidized sale flats
Housing Society subsidized sale flats
Private housing
Village: villas / bungalows / modern village houses
Village: simple stone structures / traditional village houses
Public temporary housing
Private temporary housing
Staff quarters
Others
Refuse to answer

D6-Occupation

Managers and administrators
Professionals
Associate professionals
Clerks
Service workers and shop sales workers
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
Craft and related workers
Plant and machine operators and assemblers
Non-skilled workers
Students
Housewives
Unclassified
Others (unemployed, retired, etc.)
Refuse to answer

D7-Which class do you consider your family belongs to? (Interviewer to read out the first 5 options)

Upper class

Upper-middle class

Middle class

Lower-middle class

Lower class or grassroots

Don't know / hard to say

Refuse to answer

D8-Place of birth

Hong Kong

Mainland China

Taiwan

Macau

Southeast Asia (e.g. Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam)

Canada

America

Australia

England

Others

Don't know

Refuse to answer

D9-How long have you been living in Hong Kong?

—
Forgotten

Refuse to answer

Thank you for your time. If you have any questions regarding this interview, you can call XXXX-XXXX to talk to our supervisor, or the Human Research Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Faculties of the University of Hong Kong at XXXX-XXXX during office hours to verify this interview's authenticity and confirm my identity. Good-bye!

***** **End** *****

THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG 香港大學

PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME 民意研究計劃

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2011 年 12 月 28 日 新聞公報

港大民研發放最新香港市民身分認同調查結果

特別宣佈

由於早前推出的「區選競猜遊戲」深受市民歡迎，「PopCon 普及民意平台」（網址為<http://popcon.hk>）再度推出網上競猜遊戲。是次遊戲名為「特首初選競猜遊戲」，市民可以每日競猜泛民主派在明年 1 月 8 日舉行的初選結果，累積分數贏取豐富獎品，包括平板電腦和咖啡現金券。競猜數字會實時更新，直至投票時間最後一分鐘為止。有關遊戲已於 12 月 23 日正午正式開展，直至今日正午，遊戲額外獎分已經累積至 56,325 PopCoins，而何俊仁則在競猜遊戲中以 64 %對 36%領先馮檢基。

公報簡要

香港大學民意研究計劃的最新調查顯示，若把『香港人』和『中國人』的身分二元對立比較，香港市民中無論是狹義或廣義地自稱為『香港人』的比率，都比狹義或廣義地自稱為『中國人』的比率高，大約有 20 至 30 個百分比的差距，當中自稱為『中國人』的比率更跌至 2000 年以來的新低，現時的比率為 17 個百分比。是次調查亦發現，以絕對評分計，市民對『香港人』身分的認同感就上升至 10 年新高，而對『中國人』的身分認同感就跌至 12 年新低。這個發展，似乎與中國近年的經濟發展背道而馳，相信與經濟範疇以外的發展有關。此外，若以 0 至 100 分的『身分認同指數』計算（指數愈高，正面感覺愈強），香港市民對『香港人』的感覺最強，然後是『中華民族一份子』、『亞洲人』、『中國人』、『世界公民』和『中華人民共和國國民』。綜合各種測試顯示，香港市民最認同『香港人』的身分，然後是一系列的文化認同。對『中華人民共和國國民』身分的認同程度，就相對低於其他身分認同。在 95%置信水平下，有關評分誤差不超過 ± 2.4 ，有關百分比的最高抽樣誤差則為 ± 4 個百分比，調查的回應率為 66%。

注意事項：

[1] 《香港大學民意網站》的網址為 <http://hkupop.hku.hk>，傳媒可到網站參閱調查細節。

[2] 調查樣本為 1,016 個成功個案，並非 1,016 乘以回應率 66.4%，過去有不少傳媒在報導上犯了上述錯誤。過去有不少傳媒在報導上犯了上述錯誤。

[3] 在 95%置信水平下，調查中的百分比的最高抽樣誤差為 ± 4 個百分比之間，評分誤差另計。95%置信水平，是指倘若以不同隨機樣本重複進行有關調查 100 次，則 95 次的結果會在正負誤差之內。傳媒引用有關數字時，可以註明「在 95%置信水平下，各項評分誤差不超過 ± 0.25 ，各認同指數之誤差不超過 ± 2.4 ，百分比誤差不超過 ± 4 個百分比」。

[4] 因為調查存在抽樣誤差，數字不能過份精確，因此，傳媒在引用本調查的百分比數字時，應避免使用小數點，在引用評分數字時，則可以使用一個小數點。

[5] 調查數據並非透過音頻互動系統取得，倘若調查機構以「電腦隨機抽樣電話訪問」或類似文字來掩飾音頻互動調查，是不專業的做法。

最新數據

民研計劃今日如期在《民意網站》發放市民身分認同的最新調查結果。按照慣例，有關調查數字已經按照政府統計處提供之 2011 年中全港人口年齡及性別分佈初步統計數字，以「加權」方法作出調整。現先列出最新調查的樣本資料：

調查日期	總樣本數	回應比率	最高百分比誤差 ^[6]	最高認同指數之誤差 ^[6]
12-20/12/2011	1,016	66.4%	+/-3%	+/-2.4

[6] 有關誤差數字均以 95%置信水平及整體樣本計算。95%置信水平，是指倘若以不同隨機樣本重複進行有關調查 100 次，則 95 次的結果會在正負誤差之內。個別題目如果只涉及調查內若干次樣本，百分比誤差會相應增加。評分誤差則會按照樣本評分的分佈情況另行推算。

有關市民對自我身分認同的各項數字表列如下：

調查日期	9-13/6/10	13-16/12/10	21-22/6/11	12-20/12/11	最新變化
樣本基數 ^[10]	1,004	1,013	520 ^[10]	541 ^[10]	--
整體回應比率	68.2%	67.4%	65.7%	66.4%	--
最新結果	結果	結果	結果	結果及誤差 ^[7]	--
自稱為「香港人」之比率	25% ^[9]	36% ^[9]	44% ^[9]	38+/-4%	-6% ^[9]
自稱為「中國人」之比率	28% ^[9]	21% ^[9]	23%	17+/-3%	-6% ^[9]
自稱「香港人」和「中國人」混合身分之比率 ^[8]	46% ^[9]	41% ^[9]	32% ^[9]	43+/-4%	+11% ^[9]
自認為廣義「香港人」之比率	57% ^[9]	63% ^[9]	65%	63+/-4%	-2%
自認為廣義「中國人」之比率	43% ^[9]	35% ^[9]	34%	34+/-4%	--

[7] 表中所有誤差數字以 95%置信水平計算。95%置信水平，是指倘若以不同隨機樣本重複進行有關調查 100 次，則 95 次的結果會在正負誤差之內。傳媒引用上述數字時，可以註明「在 95%置信水平下，百分比誤差不超過 +/-4%」；以前調查的誤差數值請參閱網站。

[8] 即選擇「中國的香港人」或「香港的中國人」的比率。

[9] 該等變化超過在 95%置信水平的抽樣誤差，表示有關變化在統計學上表面成立。不過，數字變化在統計學上成立與否，並不等同有關變化的實際用途和意義。

[10] 2011 年 6 月開始，本題目只涉及次樣本，而是次調查的次樣本基數是 541，加大誤差數字已經列明表內。

當被訪市民可在「香港人」、「中國的香港人」、「中國人」、及「香港的中國人」四者中選擇自己認同的身分時，38%稱自己為「香港人」，17%自稱為「中國人」，25%自稱為「中國的香港人」，而 18%則自稱為「香港的中國人」。換言之，63%認為自己是廣義的「香港人」（即回答「香港人」或「中國的香港人」），34%則認為自己是廣義的「中國人」（即回答「中國人」或「香港的中國人」），43%則選擇了「香港人」和「中國人」的混合身分（即回答「中國的香港人」或「香港的中國人」）。

由於「香港人」、「中國的香港人」、「中國人」、及「香港的中國人」四者可能意識重疊，四擇其一未必能夠反映各項身分認同的強弱；因此，民研計劃一早就以 0 至 10 分同時測試市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同程度。2007 年 6 月開始，民研計劃把香港市民身分認同感的研究擴充，加入「中華人民共和國國民身分」、「中華民族的一份子」、「亞洲人身分」及「世界公民身分」4 個單獨測試項目。及至 2008 年 12 月，有關研究再度擴充，加入市民對不同身分的重視程度評分，再以幾何平均方式計算各種「身分認同指數」，最新結果如下：

調查日期 樣本基數 ^[14] 最新結果		9-13/6/10 531-558 結果		13-16/12/10 528-550 結果		17-22/6/11 503-596 結果		12-20/12/11 534-551 結果及誤差 ^[11]		最新變化	
「香港人」認同感	「香港人」 認同指數 ^[13]	7.90 ^[12]	74.8 ^[12]	8.12 ^[12]	77.7 ^[12]	7.63 ^[12]	74.7 ^[12]	8.23 +/-0.16	79.1 +/-1.7	+0.60 ^[12]	+4.4 ^[12]
「香港人」重要度 ^[13]		7.38		7.62 ^[12]		7.50		7.78 +/-0.19		+0.28 ^[12]	
「中華民族一份子」 認同感	「中華民族一份子」 認同指數 ^[13]	7.87	76.1	7.42 ^[12]	72.1 ^[12]	7.29	70.8	7.46 +/-0.22	72.5 +/-2.1	+0.17	+1.7
「中華民族一份子」 重要度 ^[13]		7.49		7.12 ^[12]		7.06		7.18 +/-0.22		+0.12	
「亞洲人」認同感	「亞洲人」 認同指數 ^[13]	7.96	73.4	7.45 ^[12]	69.3 ^[12]	7.63	71.2 ^[12]	7.65 +/-0.20	72.1 +/-2.0	+0.02	+0.9
「亞洲人」重要度 ^[13]		7.07		6.67 ^[12]		6.88		6.96 +/-0.21		+0.08	
「中國人」認同感	「中國人」 認同指數 ^[13]	7.63	74.5	7.10 ^[12]	69.7 ^[12]	7.24	70.7	7.01 +/-0.23	67.9 +/-2.3	-0.23	-2.8 ^[12]
「中國人」重要度 ^[13]		7.42		7.01 ^[12]		7.08		6.80 +/-0.24		-0.28 ^[12]	
「世界公民」認同感	「世界公 民」認同 指數 ^[13]	6.87	65.6	6.66	64.6	6.88	67.0 ^[12]	6.91 +/-0.23	67.0 +/-2.1	+0.03	--
「世界公民」重要度 ^[13]		6.51		6.47		6.65		6.68 +/-0.24		+0.03	
「中華人民共和國 國民」認同感	「中華人民 共和國國 民」認同 指數 ^[13]	6.38 ^[12]	61.6 ^[12]	6.27	60.8	6.41	62.3	6.28 +/-0.24	61.1 +/-2.4	-0.13	-1.2
「中華人民共和國 國民」重要度 ^[13]		6.20 ^[12]		6.07		6.31		6.12 +/-0.25		-0.19	

[11] 表中所有誤差數字以 95%置信水平計算。95%置信水平，是指倘若以不同隨機樣本重複進行有關調查 100 次，則 95 次的結果會在正負誤差之內。傳媒引用上述數字時，可以註明「在 95%置信水平下，各項評分誤差不超過+/-0.25，各認同指數之誤差不超過+/-2.4」；以前調查的誤差數值請參閱網站。

[12] 該等變化超過在 95%置信水平的抽樣誤差，表示有關變化在統計學上表面成立。不過，數字變化在統計學上成立與否，並不同等有關變化的實際用途和意義。

[13] 為 2008 年 12 月之新增項目。「認同指數」計算自個別樣本之認同感評分乘以同一樣本的重要度評分，然後求取幾何平均數乘以 10，得出「認同指數」。倘若某個別樣本欠缺認同感或重要度評分之數字，則由整體認同感平均分或重要度平均分所取代。

[14] 由 2008 年 12 月開始，本系列題目的次樣本控制在略多於 500 個。

最新數字顯示，被訪市民對「香港人」、「中華民族一份子」、「亞洲人」及「中國人」的認同感分別為 8.23、7.46、7.65 及 7.01 分，而市民對「世界公民」及「中華人民共和國國民」的評分則分別為 6.91 及 6.28 分。重要程度方面，被訪市民對「香港人」、「中華民族一份子」及「亞洲人」的重要度分別為 7.78、7.18 及 6.96 分，而市民對「中國人」、「世界公民」及「中華人民共和國國民」的重要度則分別為 6.80、6.68 及 6.12 分。

把個別樣本之認同感評分乘以同一樣本之重要度評分，求取幾何平均數後再乘以 10，就得出 0 至 100 分的『身分認同指數』，0 分代表絕不投入，100 分代表絕對投入，50 分代表一半半。以認同指數計，香港市民六種身分的得分依次序為「香港人」、「中華民族一份子」、「亞洲人」、「中國人」、「世界公民」及「中華人民共和國國民」，分數為 79.1、72.5、72.1、67.9、67.0 及 61.1 分。

民意日誌

民研計劃於 2007 年 1 月在《民意網站》開設「民意日誌」專頁，以按日形式紀錄每日大事及提供若干在當天錄得的民意調查數字。2007 年 7 月，民研計劃與慧科訊業有限公司合作，從 7 月 24 日起，「民意日誌」中的每日大事紀錄由慧科訊業按照民研計劃設計的分析方法，按日傳送至民研計劃，經民研計劃核實後隨即上載到「民意日誌」。

由於本新聞公報所涉及的部分調查項目，上次調查日期為 17-22/6/11，而今次調查日期則為 12-20/12/11，因此是次公報中的「民意日誌」項目便以上述日期為依歸，讓讀者作出比較。以涵蓋率不下 25%本地報章每日頭條新聞和報社評論計，在上述期間發生的相關大事包括以下事件，讀者可以自行判斷有關事件有否影響各項民調數字，又或參閱「民意日誌」內所有大事紀錄後，再作判斷：

12/12/11	2011 年選舉委員會界別分組選舉共有約 65,500 人投票
17/11/11	唐英年和梁振英將在本月底宣布參選明年行政長官選舉
12/11/11	國家主席胡錦濤籲港宜做好風險防範
6/11/11	約 120 萬名選民於區議會選舉投票
12/10/11	行政長官曾蔭權發表 2011 - 12 年度施政報告
9/10/11	前國家主席江澤民於辛亥革命百週年紀念大會露面
29/8/11	警務處處長曾偉雄澄清國務院副總理李克強訪港的保安安排
16/8/11	國務院副總理李克強抵達香港展開為期 3 天的訪問
27/7/11	國務院港澳辦公室主任王光亞評論香港公務員的管治能力
23/7/11	溫州發生高鐵相撞及出軌事故，並造成多人傷亡
11/7/11	國務院港澳辦公室主任王光亞談下任香港特首應具備的條件
7/7/11	新華社聲明前國家主席江澤民病逝消息為謠言
1/7/11	多份報章於翌日報導七一遊行

分析評論

民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀分析：「最新調查顯示，若把『香港人』和『中國人』的身分二元對立比較，香港市民中無論是狹義或廣義地自稱為『香港人』的比率，都比狹義或廣義地自稱為『中國人』的比率高，大約有 20 至 30 個百分比的差距，當中自稱為『中國人』的比率更跌至 2000 年以來的新低，現時的比率為 17 個百分比。是次調查亦發現，以絕對評分計，市民對『香港人』身分的認同感就上升至 10 年新高，而對『中國人』的身分認同感就跌至 12 年新低。這個發展，似乎與中國近年的經濟發展背道而馳，相信與經濟範疇以外的發展有關。此外，若以 0 至 100 分的『身分認同指數』計算（指數愈高，正面感覺愈強），香港市民對『香港人』的感覺最強，然後是『中華民族一份子』、『亞洲人』、『中國人』、『世界公民』和『中華人民共和國國民』。綜合各種測試顯示，香港市民最認同『香港人』的身分，然後是一系列的文化認同。對『中華人民共和國國民』身分的認同程度，就相對低於其他身分認同。至於是什麼事情影響了各項數字的起伏，讀者可以根據『民意日誌』的詳細記錄自行判斷。」

未來發放（暫定）

- 2011 年 12 月 30 日（星期五）下午一時至二時：2011 年回顧及 2012 年前瞻
- 2012 年 1 月 3 日（星期二）下午一時至二時：特首及特區政府民望



Press Release on December 28, 2011

HKU POP releases latest survey on Hong Kong people's ethnic identity

Special Announcement

Because of the great popularity of our previous "DC Guessing Game", a new game was launched at our "PopCon" (<http://popcon.hk>) for guessing the results of the CE Election Primary. Any user can make guesses on the final result of the Pan-democrats' CE Election Primary, due to take place on January 8 next year. Users can make daily guesses, in order to earn credits and win prizes which include tablet PC and coffee coupons. Guessing figures will be released real time until the last minute of the election. The game was already launched at noon of December 23, and by noon today, the game has already accumulated 56,325 bonus PopCoins, while Albert Ho leads Frederick Fung by 64% to 36% in the guessing game.

Abstract

The latest surveys conducted by the Public Opinion Programme (POP) at the University of Hong Kong show that if we use a dichotomy of 'Hong Kong citizens' versus 'Chinese citizens' to measure Hong Kong people's ethnic identity, the proportion of people identifying themselves as 'Hong Kong citizens' outnumbers that of 'Chinese citizens' both in their narrow and broad senses, by about 20 to 30 percentage points, while the percentage of those identifying themselves as "Chinese citizens" has dropped to a new low since 2000, now at 17%. Figures also show that in terms of absolute rating, people's identification with "Hong Kong citizens" has reached a ten-year high, while that of "Chinese citizens" has dropped to a 12-year low. This is contrary to the China's economic development in recent years, so it must be due to factors beyond economic development. Moreover, if we use 'identity indices' ranging between 0 and 100 to measure the strengths of people's identities (the higher the index, the stronger the identity), Hong Kong people's feeling is strongest as 'Hong Kong citizens', followed by 'members of the Chinese race', then 'Asians', 'Chinese citizens', 'global citizens', and finally 'citizens of the PRC'. Combining all measurements, Hong Kong people feel strongest as 'Hong Kong citizens', then followed by a number of cultural identities. The feeling of being 'citizens of the PRC' is the weakest among all identities tested. The sampling error of ratings is not more than ± 2.4 while the maximum sampling error of percentages is ± 4 percentage points at 95% confidence level. The response rate of the surveys is 66%.

Points to note:

- [1] The address of the "HKU POP SITE" is <http://hkupop.hku.hk>, journalists can check out the details of the survey there.
- [2] The sample size is 1,016 successful interviews, not 1,016 x 66.4% response rates. In the past, many media made this mistake.
- [3] The maximum sampling error of all percentages is ± 4 percentage points at 95% confidence level. "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. When quoting these figures, journalists can state "sampling error of various ratings not more than ± 0.25 , sampling error of identity indices not more than ± 2.4 , and sampling error of percentages not more than ± 4 at 95% confidence level".
- [4] When quoting percentages of this survey, journalists should refrain from reporting decimal places in order to match the precision level of the figures.

[5] The data of this survey is collected by means of random telephone interviews conducted by real interviewers, not by any interactive voice system (IVS). If a research organization uses "computerized random telephone survey" to camouflage its IVS operation, it should be considered unprofessional.

Latest Figures

POP today releases via the POP Site the latest survey on people's ethnic identity. All the figures have been weighted according to provisional figures obtained from the Census and Statistics Department regarding the gender-age distribution of the Hong Kong population in mid-year 2011. Herewith the latest contact information:

Date of survey	Sample base	Overall response rate	Maximum sampling error of percentages ^[6]	Maximum sampling error of ethnicity indices ^[6]
12-20/12/2011	1,016	66.4%	+/-3%	+/-2.4

[6] Errors are calculated at 95% confidence level using full sample size. "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. Questions using only sub-samples would have bigger sample error. Sampling errors of ratings are calculated according to the distribution of the scores collected.

Recent figures on Hong Kong people's sense of ethnic identity are summarized as follows:

Date of survey	<u>9-13/6/10</u>	<u>13-16/12/10</u>	<u>21-22/6/11</u>	<u>12-20/12/11</u>	<u><i>Latest Change</i></u>
Sample base ^[10]	1,004	1,013	520 ^[10]	541^[10]	--
Overall response rate	68.2%	67.4%	65.7%	66.4%	--
Finding	Finding	Finding	Finding	<i>Finding and error^[7]</i>	--
Identified themselves as "Hong Kong citizens"	25% ^[9]	36% ^[9]	44% ^[9]	38+/-4%	-6%^[9]
Identified themselves as "Chinese citizens"	28% ^[9]	21% ^[9]	23%	17+/-3%	-6%^[9]
Identified themselves with a mixed identity of "Hong Kong citizens" plus "Chinese citizens" ^[8]	46% ^[9]	41% ^[9]	32% ^[9]	43+/-4%	+11%^[9]
Identified themselves as "Hong Kong People" in broad sense	57% ^[9]	63% ^[9]	65%	63+/-4%	-2%
Identified themselves as "Chinese People" in broad sense	43% ^[9]	35% ^[9]	34%	34+/-4%	--

[7] All error figures in the table are calculated at 95% confidence level. "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. Media can state "sampling error of percentages not more than +/-4% at 95% confidence level" when quoting the above figures. The error margin of previous survey can be found at the POP Site.

[8] This means the percentage of "Chinese Hong Kong citizens" plus "Hong Kong Chinese citizens".

[9] Such changes have gone beyond the sampling errors at the 95% confidence level, meaning that they are statistically significant *prima facie*. However, whether numerical differences are statistically significant or not is not the same as whether they are practically useful or meaningful.

[10] Starting from June 2011, this question only uses sub-samples of the tracking surveys concerned. The sub-sample size of this survey is 541, and the increased sampling errors have already been reflected in the figures tabulated.

When asked to make a choice among 4 given identities, namely, "Hong Kong citizens", "Chinese Hong Kong citizens", "Chinese citizens" and "Hong Kong Chinese citizens", 38% of the respondents identified themselves as "Hong Kong citizens", 17% as "Chinese citizens", 25% as "Chinese Hong Kong citizens", while 18% identified themselves as "Hong Kong Chinese citizens". In other words,

63% of the respondents identified themselves as "Hong Kong People" in the broader sense (i.e. either as "Hong Kong citizens" or "Chinese Hong Kong citizens"), whereas 34% identified themselves as "Chinese People" in the broader sense (i.e. either as "Chinese citizens" or "Hong Kong Chinese citizens"), 43% chose a mixed identity of "Hong Kong citizens plus Chinese citizens" (i.e. either as "Chinese Hong Kong citizens" or "Hong Kong Chinese citizens").

Because the concepts of "Hong Kong citizens", "Chinese Hong Kong citizens", "Chinese citizens" and "Hong Kong Chinese citizens" may overlap with each other, and making a one-in-four choice may not reflect the actual strengths of one's ethnic identities, POP has right from the beginning conducted parallel tests on the strengths of people's separate identities as "Hong Kong citizens" and "Chinese citizens" using a scale of 0-10. In June 2007, POP expanded its study to include four new identities for strength rating, namely, "citizens of PRC", "members of the Chinese race", "Asians" and "global citizens". In December 2008, the study was further expanded by including separate importance ratings for different identities, and the compilation of a separate index for each identity using geometric means. Herewith the latest results:

Date of survey Sample base ^[14]		9-13/6/10 531-558		13-16/12/10 528-550		17-22/6/11 503-596		12-20/12/11 534-551 <i>Finding and error^[11]</i>		<i>Latest change</i> -- --	
Finding		Finding		Finding		Finding					
Strength rating of being "Hong Kong citizens"	Identity index of being "Hong Kong citizens" ^[13]	7.90 ^[12]	74.8 ^[12]	8.12 ^[12]	77.7 ^[12]	7.63 ^[12]	74.7 ^[12]	8.23 +/-0.16	79.1 +/-1.7	+0.60 ^[12]	+4.4 ^[12]
Importance rating of being "Hong Kong citizens" ^[13]		7.38		7.62 ^[12]		7.50		7.78 +/-0.19		+0.28 ^[12]	
Strength rating of being "Members of the Chinese race"	Identity index of being "Members of the Chinese race" ^[13]	7.87	76.1	7.42 ^[12]	72.1 ^[12]	7.29	70.8	7.46 +/-0.22	72.5 +/-2.1	+0.17	+1.7
Importance rating of being "Members of the Chinese race" ^[13]		7.49		7.12 ^[12]		7.06		7.18 +/-0.22		+0.12	
Strength rating of being "Asians"	Identity index of being "Asians" ^[13]	7.96	73.4	7.45 ^[12]	69.3 ^[12]	7.63	71.2 ^[12]	7.65 +/-0.20	72.1 +/-2.0	+0.02	+0.9
Importance rating of being "Asians" ^[13]		7.07		6.67 ^[12]		6.88		6.96 +/-0.21		+0.08	
Strength rating of being "Chinese citizens"	Identity index of being "Chinese citizens" ^[13]	7.63	74.5	7.10 ^[12]	69.7 ^[12]	7.24	70.7	7.01 +/-0.23	67.9 +/-2.3	-0.23	-2.8 ^[12]
Importance rating of being "Chinese citizens" ^[13]		7.42		7.01 ^[12]		7.08		6.80 +/-0.24		-0.28 ^[12]	
Strength rating of being "global citizens"	Identity index of being "global citizens" ^[13]	6.87	65.6	6.66	64.6	6.88	67.0 ^[12]	6.91 +/-0.23	67.0 +/-2.1	+0.03	--
Importance rating of being "global citizens" ^[13]		6.51		6.47		6.65		6.68 +/-0.24		+0.03	
Strength rating of being "citizens of PRC"	Identity index of being	6.38 ^[12]	61.6 ^[12]	6.27	60.8	6.41	62.3	6.28 +/-0.24	61.1 +/-2.4	-0.13	-1.2

Date of survey Sample base ^[14]		9-13/6/10 531-558	13-16/12/10 528-550	17-22/6/11 503-596	12-20/12/11 534-551	Latest change	
Finding		Finding	Finding	Finding	Finding and error ^[11]	--	
Importance rating of being "citizens of PRC" ^[13]	"citizens of PRC" ^[13]	6.20 ^[12]	6.07	6.31	6.12 +/-0.25	-0.19	

[11] All error figures in the table are calculated at 95% confidence level. "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. Media can state "sampling error of ratings not more than +/-0.25 and sampling error of identity indices not more than +/-2.4 at 95% confidence level" when quoting the above figures. The error margin of previous survey can be found at the POP Site.

[12] Such changes have gone beyond the sampling errors at the 95% confidence level, meaning that they are statistically significant prima facie. However, whether numerical differences are statistically significant or not is not the same as whether they are practically useful or meaningful.

[13] New items since December 2008. "Identity index" is calculated for each identity of a respondent by taking the geometric mean of the strength and importance ratings of a certain identity, multiply by 10. If either the strength or importance rating of a respondent is missing, it is substituted by the sample mean of that identity.

[14] Since December 2008, the sub-sample size of the series of questions is controlled at slightly over 500 cases.

Latest findings showed that the identity ratings for "Hong Kong citizens", "members of the Chinese race", "Asians" and "Chinese citizens", were 8.23, 7.46, 7.65 and 7.01 marks respectively. Using the same rating method, the strength of people's identity as "global citizens" and "citizens of PRC" were 6.91 and 6.28 marks respectively. As for the importance ratings, "Hong Kong citizens", "members of the Chinese race" and "Asians" scored 7.78, 7.18 and 6.96 marks respectively, while those for, "Chinese citizens", "global citizens" and "citizens of PRC" and were 6.80, 6.68 and 6.12 marks respectively.

Taking the geometric mean of the strength and importance ratings of each respondent and then multiply it by 10, we have an 'identity index' for the respondent for a certain identity between 0 and 100, with 0 meaning no feeling, 100 meaning extremely strong feeling, and 50 meaning half and half. Using these identity indices, the rank order of Hong Kong people's six identities were "Hong Kong citizens", "members of the Chinese race", "Asians", "Chinese citizens", "global citizens" and "citizens of PRC". Their scores were 79.1, 72.5, 72.1, 67.9, 67.0 and 61.1 marks respectively.

Opinion Daily

In January 2007, POP opened a feature page called "Opinion Daily" at the "POP Site", to record significant events and selected polling figures on a day-to-day basis, in order to let readers judge by themselves the reasons for the ups and downs of different opinion figures. In July 2007, POP collaborated with Wisers Information Limited whereby Wisers supplies to POP each day starting from July 24, a record of significant events of that day, according to the research method designed by POP. These daily entries would be uploaded to "Opinion Daily" as soon as they are verified by POP.

For some of the polling items covered in this press release, the previous survey was conducted from June 17 to 22, 2011 while this survey was conducted from December 12 to 20, 2011. During this period, herewith the significant events selected from counting newspaper headlines and commentaries on a daily basis and covered by at least 25% of the local newspaper articles. Readers can make their own judgment if these significant events have any impacts to different polling figures.

12/12/11	A total of 65,500 registered voters voted in the 2011 Election Committee Subsector Elections.
17/11/11	Henry Tang and Leung Chun-ying said the announcement of their candidacy for next

	year's Chief Executive Election will be made at the end of this month.
12/11/11	President Hu Jintao has reminded the SAR Government to get prepared for financial crisis.
6/11/11	About 1.2m registered electors have cast their votes in the 2011 District Council election.
12/10/11	The Chief Executive Donald Tsang announce the 2011-12 Policy Address.
9/10/11	Former Chinese president Jiang Zemin attends the 100th anniversary of the 1911 revolution ceremony.
29/8/11	Commissioner of Police Andy Tsang clarified the security actions made during Vice Premier's stay.
16/8/11	Vice-Premier of the State Council Li Keqiang arrived in Hong Kong for a three-day official visit.
27/7/11	Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office director Wang Guangya commented on the governing ability of Hong Kong civil servant.
23/7/11	Two high-speed rail trains collided and derailed at Wenzhou and resulted in deaths and injuries.
11/7/11	Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office director Wang Guangya talked about the conditions for the next Chief Executive of Hong Kong.
7/7/11	Xinhua News Agency declared the death of former president Jiang Zemin as rumour.
1/7/11	Many newspapers on the following day report the July 1 march.

Commentary

Robert Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, observed, "Our latest survey shows that if we use a dichotomy of 'Hong Kong citizens' versus 'Chinese citizens' to measure Hong Kong people's ethnic identity, the proportion of people identifying themselves as 'Hong Kong citizens' outnumbers that of 'Chinese citizens' both in their narrow and broad senses, by about 20 to 30 percentage points, while the percentage of those identifying themselves as "Chinese citizens" has dropped to a new low since 2000, now at 17%. Figures also show that in terms of absolute rating, people's identification with "Hong Kong citizens" has reached a ten-year high, while that of "Chinese citizens" has dropped to a 12-year low. This is contrary to the China's economic development in recent years, so it must be due to factors beyond economic development. Moreover, if we use 'identity indices' ranging between 0 and 100 to measure the strengths of people's identities (the higher the index, the stronger the identity), Hong Kong people's feeling is strongest as 'Hong Kong citizens', followed by 'members of the Chinese race', then 'Asians', 'Chinese citizens', 'global citizens', and finally 'citizens of the PRC'. Combining all measurements, Hong Kong people feel strongest as 'Hong Kong citizens', then followed by a number of cultural identities. The feeling of being 'citizens of the PRC' is the weakest among all identities tested. As for the reasons behind the ups and downs of these figures, we will leave it to our readers to form their own judgment using the detailed records displayed in our 'Opinion Daily'."

Future Releases (Tentative)

- December 30, 2011 (Friday) 1pm to 2pm: 2011 year-end and 2012 forecast survey
- January 3, 2012 (Tuesday) 1pm to 2pm: Popularity of CE and HKSAR Government

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2011 年 12 月 29 日 公開說明

關於「香港人身分認同」民調設計

鑑於今日下午不斷有電子及文字傳媒向香港大學民意研究計劃查詢，要求民研計劃總監鍾庭耀就中聯辦宣傳文體部部長郝鐵川批評民研計劃「香港人身分認同」民調一事作出回應，民研計劃總監鍾庭耀特此向新聞界發表下列文稿，統一說明有關調查的設計（有關說明已於較早前，以即問即答方式，以電郵傳送至曾經查詢的傳媒機構，因此並不存在「沒有回應」的問題）：

- (1) 民研計劃歡迎所有關於民意研究設計的認真討論，集思廣益。不過，學術討論最好是保留在學術討論的層面，而不涉及政治考慮。嚴謹的學術討論，應可全面展示有關調查的優劣和利弊。
- (2) 關於「香港人身分認同」民調中，部份題目以「香港人」跟「中國人」身分對立的研究方法，民研計劃在多年來的新聞公報中已經詳細說明箇中利弊。多年前，民研計劃已在調查中加入六個單獨評分測試項目，解決問題。近年來，民研計劃更加建立「身分認同指數」，多角度說明香港市民的「身分認同」情況。以下是昨天新聞公報的部份內容：
 - 由於「香港人」、「中國的香港人」、「中國人」、及「香港的中國人」四者可能意識重疊，四擇其一未必能夠反映各項身分認同的強弱；因此，民研計劃一早就以 0 至 10 分同時測試市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同程度。2007 年 6 月開始，民研計劃把香港市民身分認同感的研究擴充，加入「中華人民共和國的國民身分」、「中華民族的一份子」、「亞洲人身分」及「世界公民身分」4 個單獨測試項目……
 - 把個別樣本之認同感評分乘以同一樣本之重要度評分，求取幾何平均數後再乘以 10，就得出 0 至 100 分的「身分認同指數」，0 分代表絕不投入，100 分代表絕對投入，50 分代表一半半。以認同指數計，香港市民六種身分的得分依次序為「香港人」、「中華民族一份子」、「亞洲人」、「中國人」、「世界公民」及「中華人民共和國國民」，分數為 79.1、72.5、72.1、67.9、67.0 及 61.1 分。
- (3) 以「香港人」跟「中國人」身分對立的研究方法，在上世紀八十年代已經廣為本地社會學家採用，並非出自民研計劃，各界人士可以輕易驗證。民研計劃在 1991 年成立後，已經把研究方法大幅改良，包括加入單獨評分和重要程度評分，以及建立等「身分認同指數」等，與時並進。
- (4) 由於單獨評分測試方式不會互相干擾，民研計劃非常歡迎其他研究機構加入「英國人」或其他身分進行測試，互相比較。

民研計劃總監鍾庭耀重申，學術討論應該是保留在學術討論的層面，不應涉及政治目的和考慮。



Public Explanation of December 29, 2011

About the Survey Design of “Hong Kong People’s Ethnic Identity”

In view of numerous enquiries from both print and electronic media made to the Public Opinion Programme (POP) at the University of Hong Kong, asking for Director Robert Chung’s response to the criticism made by Hao Tiechuan, Director of the Publicity, Cultural and Sports Department of the Liaison Office of the Central People’s Government in Hong Kong, on the “latest survey on Hong Kong people’s ethnic identity”, Director Robert Chung hereby issues this document to the press to explain the design of the survey in one go (such explanations have been sent to individual media via email immediately upon their enquiry, there is never any issue of “non-response” from POP):

1. POP welcomes all serious discussions on the methodology of public opinion research, in order to gather collective wisdom. However, academic discussions should remain on the academic level and should not include any political concern. Rigorous academic discussions should be able to comprehensively reveal the pros and cons of our surveys.
2. Concerning the use of a dichotomy of “Hong Kong citizens” versus “Chinese citizens” to measure Hong Kong people’s ethnic identity, POP has already explained its pros and cons in its press releases over the years. Many years ago, POP added 6 individual rating items in its surveys to solve the problem. Recently, POP also constructed “identity indexes” to describe Hong Kong people’s “ethnic identity” from various angles. The following is an excerpt from yesterday’s press release:
 - Because the concepts of “Hong Kong citizens”, “Chinese Hong Kong citizens”, “Chinese citizens” and “Hong Kong Chinese citizens” may overlap with each other, and making a one-in-four choice may not reflect the actual strengths of one’s ethnic identities, POP has right from the beginning conducted parallel tests on the strengths of people’s separate identities as “Hong Kong citizens” and “Chinese citizens” using a scale of 0-10. In June 2007, POP expanded its study to include four new identities for strength rating.....
 - Taking the geometric mean of the strength and importance ratings of each respondent and then multiply it by 10, we have an ‘identity index’ for the respondent for a certain identity between 0 and 100, with 0 meaning no feeling, 100 meaning extremely strong feeling, and 50 meaning half and half. Using these identity indices, the rank order of Hong Kong people’s six identities were “Hong Kong citizens”, “members of the Chinese race”, “Asians”, “Chinese citizens”, “global citizens” and “citizens of PRC”. Their scores were 79.1, 72.5, 72.1, 67.9, 67.0 and 61.1 marks respectively.
3. The dichotomy of “Hong Kong citizens” versus “Chinese citizens” as a research instrument was widely used by local sociologists in 1980s, it was not invented by POP. Anybody can easily verify this. Since its establishment in 1991, POP has already enhanced the instrument a lot by adding separate ratings and importance ratings, as well as constructing different “identity indexes”.
4. Since individual ratings would not interfere with each other, POP welcomes other research institutes to add “British citizens” or other identities to their studies for comparison.

Director of POP Robert Chung reiterates that academic discussions should remain on the academic level, and not include any political objective or concern.

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2012 年 1 月 5 日 公開聲明

關於「鍾庭耀會唔霍德」的傳言

近日不斷有評論文章，明指香港大學民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀，曾於去年 11 月底秘密會唔前布政司霍德，然後推出「民間全民投票」計劃，暗示鍾庭耀與外國勢力勾結。鍾庭耀雖然在接獲相關查詢後屢次澄清，但有關謠言到今天為止仍然在評論文章不斷出現，兼且引起外國傳媒關注。鍾庭耀因此發表以下公開聲明，立此存照：

- (1) 本人與霍德毫不相識，亦從未會面。霍德曾否訪港，本人毫不知情。霍德是否情報人員，本人沒有興趣知道。本人從來沒有直接或間接與霍德溝通。
- (2) 查實電子化「民間全民投票」計劃，二十年前在香港大學八十週年校慶之中，已被列為多項前瞻測試項目之一，並不新奇，亦與外國勢力無關。
- (3) 本人在 2011 年 12 月 29 日 已經公開指出，本人歡迎所有關於民意研究設計的認真討論，但有關討論應該留在學術層面，不應涉及政治考慮。
- (4) 本人一向認為，文革式的批判和誣衊，不論是針對任何人士，均無助建立香港人或中國人的民族認同感。

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Public Statement of January 5, 2012

Rumour on “Robert Chung meeting David Ford”

There have been frequent accusations directed at the Director of Public Opinion Programme at the University of Hong Kong, Robert Chung, for putting forward a “civil referendum project” after his secret meeting with former Chief Secretary David Ford in November last year, implying that Robert Chung is colluding with foreign influences. Although Robert Chung has repeatedly denied such allegation every time he was asked, such rumours could still be seen in column articles up till today and this has also caught the attention of foreign press. Robert Chung therefore would like to put on record the following public statement:

- (1) I do not know David Ford and I have never met him. I have no idea whether Ford had visited Hong Kong or not, and I have no interest in knowing whether Ford is a foreign intelligence member or not. I have neither directly nor indirectly communicated with Ford.
- (2) The “civil referendum” project was actually one of the many post-modern experimental projects listed in the 80th anniversary celebration of the University of Hong Kong 20 years ago. This is nothing new and has nothing to do with foreign influences.
- (3) I have publicly indicated on December 29, 2011 that I welcome all serious discussions on the methodology of public opinion research, but they should remain on the academic level and should not have any political concern.
- (4) I have always maintained that Cultural Revolution styled curses and defamations, no matter at whom they are directed, are not conducive to the building of Chinese national identity among Hong Kong people.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG 香港大學
PUBLIC OPINION PROGRAMME 民意研究計劃

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2012 年 1 月 27 日 公告

鍾庭耀對郝鐵川文章的回應

中聯辦宣傳文體部部長郝鐵川今日在《明報》發表「近來香港社會常被混淆的幾對概念」文章（簡稱「郝文」）。之後，大量傳媒要求民研計劃總監鍾庭耀就郝文作出回應。鍾庭耀特此向新聞界發表公告，簡單回應郝文。

- (1) 郝鐵川部長去年底透過與部份傳媒茶聚的形式，閉門批評民研計劃關於香港人身分認同感的調查。郝部長今日則在報章撰文，公開討論學術自由和知識分子的問題。本人認為此舉是進步，希望有關討論能夠和平理性地繼續進行。
- (2) 本人於去年 12 月 29 日曾經指出，有關民意研究設計的討論，應該留在學術層面進行，而不應涉及政治考慮。郝部長今天明示，其既為官員，因此「不會把自己所有的言行都歸結為學者角色所為」。部長此言既出，本人唯有希望郝部長在份內工作處理以下兩點：
 - 部長雖然不失風範，但緊隨部長的左翼評論人士，則完全沒有部長的風度，時而誣衊本人與外國勢力串通，時而詆毀本人及其他學者的人格。雖然謠言止於智者，但本人再次強調，文革式的批判和誣衊，不論是針對任何人士，均無助建立香港人或中國人的民族認同感。當我們批評「維園亞哥」言行過激的時候，我們也要同時批評社會對「維園亞伯」的縱容以至慫恿。
 - 左翼評論人士多次指出，本人曾於去年 11 月底秘密會晤前布政司霍德，然後進行種種活動，暗示本人與外國勢力勾結。本人雖然已經公開澄清（見附錄），但有關謠言至今仍在左翼文章不斷出現。本人希望郝鐵川以部長身份，查明有關謠言的出處。倘若是出自國家情報機關，則懇請更正記錄。
- (3) 郝文關於學術自由和知識分子的論述，本人深信將會引發一輪熱烈討論。本人呼籲所有參與有關討論的學者專家，不論左中右派，都要保持理性冷靜，以事論事，發揮公共知識分子的情操，不要淪為政治勢力的喉舌。
- (4) 郝文論及關於「純粹學者」與「公共知識分子」的區分，似乎與現時各間院校全力推行的「知識交流」（Knowledge Exchange）和「知識轉移」（Knowledge Transfer）政策背道

而馳。郝文對大學民調活動的認識，似乎亦與本地學者的認識有天淵之別。本人並不急於澄清，因為歷史會有公論。本人只想指出兩點：

- 民研計劃早前發現香港市民對「香港人」身分認同感上升至 10 年新高，及對「中國人」身分認同感跌至 12 年新低，完全是基於多個單項獨立評分題目的測試結果得出，而並非根據郝部長曾經批評的「香港人」對立「中國人」的調查題目得來。迄今為止，所有大學裏外的評論人士無一注意，實在可惜。郝部長或應負上一點責任。
 - 世界民意研究學會（World Association for Public Opinion Research）將會在本年 6 月在香港舉行第 65 屆年會，是學會首次在歐美以外舉行年會。屆時將會有世界各地的民研學者專家，來港討論世界民意研究的發展，希望所有關心民意研究的人士，到時可以參加交流學習。
- (5) 郝部長曾經說過，他是以中國人的身分在中國的土地上發表意見。本人完全體諒郝部長的心情，亦呼籲所有香港市民極力維護所有中國公民在香港發表自己言論的自由。本人希望，所有中國人在每一片中國土地，都有發表自己言論的自由。

附錄：2012 年 1 月 5 日關於「鍾庭耀會唔霍德」的傳言 公開聲明

近日不斷有評論文章，明指香港大學民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀，曾於去年 11 月底秘密會唔前布政司霍德，然後推出「民間全民投票」計劃，暗示鍾庭耀與外國勢力勾結。鍾庭耀雖然在接獲相關查詢後屢次澄清，但有關謠言到今天為止仍然在評論文章不斷出現，兼且引起外國傳媒關注。鍾庭耀因此發表以下公開聲明，立此存照：

- (1) 本人與霍德毫不相識，亦從未會面。霍德曾否訪港，本人毫不知情。霍德是否情報人員，本人沒有興趣知道。本人從來沒有直接或間接與霍德溝通。
- (2) 查實電子化「民間全民投票」計劃，二十年前在香港大學八十週年校慶之中，已被列為多項前瞻測試項目之一，並不新奇，亦與外國勢力無關。
- (3) 本人在 2011 年 12 月 29 日已經公開指出，本人歡迎所有關於民意研究設計的認真討論，但有關討論應該留在學術層面，不應涉及政治考慮。
- (4) 本人一向認為，文革式的批判和誣衊，不論是針對任何人士，均無助建立香港人或中國人的民族認同感。

香港大學民意研究計劃主任鍾庭耀就星島日報
今天的報導提供更多資料

2004年9月7日

星島日報昨晚派出記者，向本人以電郵查詢有關香港大學民意研究計劃與美國全國國際事務民主學會(NDI)的關係，本人經已透過電郵詳細回應。星島日報今日發表一篇「鍾庭耀認接受美組織資助」的報導，可能由於篇幅關係，內容並未全面報導本人提供的資料。本人因此把昨天回應有關查詢郵件公開，讓大眾更加了解有關事情。

本人回應的重點，是只要委託或贊助機構符合我們定出的條件，容許我們獨立進行研究，並且把過程及數據公開，我們歡迎任何機構與我們合作進行調查。此外，關於金額的問題，我們的一貫政策是交由委託或贊助機構決定是否作答，而我們任何時候都不會反對公開有關資料。

本人公開昨天的電郵通訊，並非批評星島日報的報導，而是希望增加透明度，立此存照。事實上，我們兩次進行的「跨政黨香港政治發展調查」，所有數據、問卷、委託背景和各個政黨的角色，一早已在網上公佈，歡迎各界到「民意網站」內「研究報告」部份下載。

鍾庭耀啓

星島日報記者陳xx昨晚20:42開始向本人發出電郵查詢，而本人亦在晚上23:00詳細回覆，內容如下：

鍾生：

多謝您這麼快回覆。有政黨指美國組織NDI在本年初資助 貴機構，進行民意調查，本報欲了解有關情況，問題如下：

- 1) 是NDI向 貴機構主動提供資助，還是 貴機構向NDI申請資助？NDI有否設下條件和限制？
- 2) 涉及的金額有多少？
- 3) 接受資助時，是否知道NDI的背景？
- 4) 在這個調查中，政黨有否付錢？可否簡述過程？
- 5) 除了這個項目，NDI還資助過 貴機構哪些項目？自哪時開始？涉及金額多少？
- 6) 有否接受過其他外國機構的資助？涉及金額約多少？
- 7) NDI是受美國政府撥款的機構，您會否擔心接受他們的資助進行民調，會令公眾質疑民調結果有所偏頗？

由於快接近截稿時間，煩請盡快回覆，電話號碼：xxxxxxx。謝謝。

星島日報記者xxx

xxx小姐：

妳提[出]的問題，簡覆如下，希望有助妳的報導——

NDI贊助了兩次調查，報告全部在「民意網站」公開發表。以下是有關報告的前言部份，妳可以在到網站內「研究報告」部份下載其他資料（網址為 <http://hkupop.hku.hk>）。

跨政黨香港政治發展調查 (調查日期: 16-20/01/2004；發放日期: 17/2/2004；上網日期: 17/2/2004)

前言

香港大學民意研究計劃成立於1991年6月，使命在於為學術界、新聞界、政界及社會人士提供準確、有用的民意數據，服務社會。民意研究計劃初時隸屬香港大學社會科學學院的社會科學研究中心，2000年5月轉往香港大學新聞及傳媒研究中心，2002年1月再轉回香港大學社會科學學院管轄。民意研究計劃成立至今，一直進行各項有關社會及政治問題的民意研究，並為不同機構提供研究服務；條件是民意研究計劃的研究組可獨立設計及進行研究，及最終會把研究結果向外界公佈。

為協助本地各政黨了解民心向背，促進本地政黨良性互動，美國全國民主協會（National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, NDI）與香港大學民意研究計劃（POP）於2003年12月達成協議，於2004年1月合作進行「跨政黨香港政治發展調查」。有關調查之經費由全國民主協會支付；而問卷設計、調查工作、調查督導、數據分析及報告撰寫則由民意研究計劃全權負責。

為使調查迎合各政黨的實際需要，全國民主協會及民意研究計劃邀請了本地四個主要政黨參與調查，當中包括民建聯、民主黨、前線及自由黨。在研究數據互享、及調查結果最終會起碼在互聯網上公佈的前提下，各參與政黨可提議不多於5題封閉式問題列入問卷。由於自由黨沒有參與是次調查，問卷最後只採納了其他三個政黨提議的問題，及一組由民意研究計劃自己草擬的問題。

第二次跨政黨香港政治發展調查 (調查日期: 26/4-4/5/2004；發放日期: 20/5/2004；上網日期: 20/5/2004)

前言

香港大學民意研究計劃成立於1991年6月，使命在於為學術界、新聞界、政界及社會人士提供準確、有用的民意數據，服務社會。民意研究計劃初時隸屬香港大學社會科學學院的社會科學研究中心，2000年5月轉往香港大學新聞及傳媒研究中心，2002年1月再轉回香港大學社會科學學院管轄。民意研究計劃成立至今，一直進行各項有關社會及政治問題的民意研究，並為不同機構提供研究服務；條件是民意研究計劃的研究組可獨立設計及進行研究，及最終會把研究結果向外界公佈。

於2003年12月，美國全國民主協會（National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, NDI）與香港大學民意研究計劃（POP）達成協議，首次合作進行「跨政黨香港政治發展調查」，以協助本地各政黨了解民心向背，促進本地政黨良性互動。有關調查之經費由全國民主協會支付；而問卷設計、調查工作、調查督導、數據分析及報告撰寫則由民意研究計劃全權負責。2004年3月，全國民主協會再次委託民意研究計劃進行有關研究，調查目的及方法均與首次相同。

與第一次調查相同，全國民主協會及民意研究計劃邀請了本地四個主要政黨參與調查，當中包括民建聯、民主黨、前線及自由黨。在研究

數據互享、及調查結果最終會起碼在互聯網上公佈的前提下，各參與政黨可提議不多於5題封閉式問題列入問卷。由於民建聯沒有參與是次調查，問卷最後只採納了其他三個政黨提議的問題，及一組由民意研究計劃自己草擬的問題。

民意研究計劃的一般服務政策，在網站內亦有說明——

由民意研究計劃全面負責的調查一律須要公開，日期愈快愈好。然而，為使贊助機構能夠充分應用調查結果，其公開的時間可作彈性處理。

民意研究隊將全權負責有關研究的設計，包括抽樣方法、問卷設計、調查督導、數據分析及報告撰寫。

在方法合理及不破壞原先設計的情況下，民意研究隊有權在有關調查的問卷中加入贊助機構興趣範圍以外的意見題目或被訪者背景資料。

民意研究隊將保留有關調查所得數據的版權，有關版權亦可與贊助機構共同擁有。

任何人仕日後使用或引用有關調查之全部或部分數據時，須註明數據出自本研究計劃及贊助機構。

當研究結果可公開予大眾參閱時，民意研究計劃會把有關報告乙套存放於香港大學圖書館內。

現在回答妳的具體問題——

- 1) 是NDI向 貴機構主動提供資助，還是 貴機構向NDI申請資助？NDI有否設下條件和限制？
- 3) 接受資助時，是否知道NDI的背景？
- 5) 除了這個項目，NDI還資助過 貴機構哪些項目？自哪時開始？涉及金額多少？
- 6) 有否接受過其他外國機構的資助？涉及金額約多少？
- 7) NDI是受美國政府撥款的機構，您會否擔心接受他們的資助進行民調，會令公眾質疑民調結果有所偏頗？

只要符合我們的條件，我們歡迎任何機構贊助交由我們獨立進行的調查。NDI提出有助本地政黨發展的跨政黨調查，問卷由我們草擬，我們樂於接受，NDI沒有其他條件。任何機構的背景都不是我們的考慮。就我所知，NDI和國內不同機構有很多交流活動。除了兩個調查，我們沒有接受過NDI其他資助。

- 2) 涉及的金額有多少？
- 5) 除了這個項目，NDI還資助過 貴機構哪些項目？自哪時開始？涉及金額多少？
- 6) 有否接受過其他外國機構的資助？涉及金額約多少？

所有關於金額的問題，我們的政策是交由贊助機構決定是否作答，但我們任何時候都不會反對贊助機構公開金額。

- 4) 在這個調查中，政黨有否付錢？可否簡述過程？

就我所知，兩次調查都是由NDI支付，政黨應該無須付錢。可能由於數據全面公開，政黨應該亦不會願意付錢。

鍾庭耀謹覆
2004.9.6

附錄：星島日報今日「自由黨高調發聲明揭出關係，鍾庭耀認接受美組織資助」報導內容節錄

(星島日報報道) 近年經常發表民調的港大民意研究計畫，原來與多個本地民間團體一樣，也有接受美國組織的資助。港大民意研究計畫主任鍾庭耀昨日承認，去年底曾接受美國全國國際事務民主學會(NDI)資助，進行政黨發展調查，但他拒絕透露受資助的金額。

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) 資助，在政圈引起極大迴響。自由黨隨即發表聲明，澄清並沒有接受該組織協助進行民調，而是NDI曾資助鍾庭耀掌管的研究中心，邀請不同黨派參與研究。據本報得悉，有關調查的資金，也是交予鍾庭耀，而沒有經過自由黨之手。

本報曾就資助一事接觸鍾庭耀，他沒有直接回覆電話，但透過電郵承認，去年底中心與NDI達成協議，就跨政黨發展進行調查，問題由中心草擬，故樂於接受贊助，而NDI亦沒有定其他條件，中心沒有接受過NDI其他資助。

鍾庭耀負責的港大民意研究中心，目前亦正與思匯政策研究所就立法會選舉合作進行民意調查……

本網站內一切內容與香港大學立場無關。民意專欄內的文章及民意平台內的言論及法律責任由作者自負，其餘內容則由民意研究計劃總監鍾庭耀博士負責。網站所載資料，包括問卷訪問方式及各份研究報告，除非特別註明，知識產權皆由香港大學民意研究計劃擁有後，透過本網站向外全面開放。各界人士使用有關資料時，敬請註明出處。

香港大學民意研究計劃版權所有。

自由黨高調發聲明揭出關係 鍾庭耀認接受美組織資助

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另外，職工盟總幹事鄧燕娥表示，早在九六年已向美國團體The American Centre for International Labor Solidarity (AILS)，每年申請約四十萬至六十萬元，她指該團體是美國勞聯的一個部門，並強調職工盟每年開支為五百萬元，這個資助金額只佔少數。她表示，每年約在九月便會向該組織交來年計畫申請撥款，計畫大部分是與勞工問題有關。

職工盟：23 條與勞工有關

被問及為何資助AILS的團體NED網頁中，會提到職工盟成功推翻廿三條時，鄧燕娥表示，廿三條問題與勞工有關，去年眼見政府趕快就廿三條立法，便為工人辦了多個講座，之後亦有向AILS解釋。不過，她擔心，日後廿三條立法後，可能向AILS申請撥款也有問題。

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鍾庭耀承認接受美國組織資助。



接受美國資助的本地機構

機構名稱	資助金額	申請年期	用途
思匯政策研究所 港大民意研究計畫	約97萬元	今年開始	政策研究



思匯行政總監
陸恭蕙

機構名稱	資助金額	申請年期	用途
職工盟	每年40萬至60萬元	96年起	舉辦有關勞工問題講座及研討會
職工盟秘書長 王卓人			

機構名稱	資助金額	申請年期	用途
香港人權監察	每年約46萬元	數年前開始	維護人權工作
香港人權監察秘書長 張炳良			

	新力量網絡
	資助金額：5萬元
	申請年期：自去年起
	用途：進行有關管治問題的研究和講座
新力量網絡主席 張炳良 *有關機構拒絕披露詳情	

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記者 梁紫敏

信報財經新聞

2004-09-07

P11| 新聞-政策政情

三大黨否認受美組織資助

《英文虎報》日前報道，受美國政府資助的National Endowment for Democracy (NED) 曾透過資助另一美國組織National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)，為多個本港政黨及政治團體提供技術協助及培訓，民主黨、民建聯、自由黨和前線均曾參與NDI舉辦的工作坊，新力量網絡更獲NDI直接資助進行研究和舉辦論壇。

報道又指出，NED曾資助職工盟及香港人權監察組織去年的七一遊行，以及直接資助思匯政策研究所進行有關香港立法會功能組別制度的研究。NED在網頁表示，對去年《基本法》第二十三條立法被推翻感到自豪。

自由黨昨天發表聲明，強調該黨沒有接受任何美國政府資助組織的直接或間接資助，有關「失實報道」對該黨一直獨立自由的路向釀成污衊及損害深表遺憾，對報道產生的不良影響保留追究權利。

聲明指出，《虎報》聲稱自由黨建立民意研究中心的過程中得到NDI幫助，事實上並無此事；該黨承認曾參與NDI資助香港大學民意研究計劃進行有關港人對本地政黨及政治人物的見解的研究，但純粹是合作性質；該黨亦曾參與民意研究計劃一次有關本地及美國專家民意研究的講座，但一切只有研究及學術價值，該黨專家亦有作出貢獻。

民主黨前主席李柱銘和民建聯蔡素玉均稱，沒有收過美國政府的任何資助，但說曾經應邀參與有關座談會，李柱銘指NDI不是資助政黨進行研究，蔡素玉說NDI是協助政黨工作，民建聯曾數次參加有關座談會■

文章編號: 200409073910058

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Democracy by stealth

American money is being poured into Hong Kong and the mainland to strengthen the role of political parties and support pro-democracy organisations, writes Zach Coleman

Hong Kong is an unlikely candidate for development assistance. After all, the per-capita income of residents of the SAR is higher than that of Spain and New Zealand and is exceeded by only 15 countries. The SAR boasts clean drinking water, population growth is well under control and HIV/Aids is relatively rare.

Yet Hong Kong's political system remains in a kind of limbo _ neither democratic nor authoritarian. Top government officials both in Hong Kong and Beijing acknowledge that the system is not fully developed and Beijing last spring made clear, through the National People's Congress, that it intends to closely direct Hong Kong's political development to slow any rush towards full democracy.

In a darker vein, the current Legislative Council race has some fearing that Beijing's hand is behind the recent departures of controversial talk radio hosts and the eruption of scandals involving Democratic Party candidates. But regardless of whether Beijing has tried to shape the outcome of the Legco election, its preferences are hard to miss.

The same might be said of the United States. The bipartisan welcome extended to former Democratic Party chairman Martin Lee when he went to Washington in March to testify before a US Senate subcommittee underlined his status there as a favoured dissident leader in the tradition of Lech Walesa or Aung San Suu Kyi. Yet Washington, like Beijing, is officially neutral about the outcome of the Legco election. It is forthright, however, about taking a position on the direction of Hong Kong's political development.

Take, for instance, the title subject of the hearing at which Lee testified, "Democracy in Hong Kong." Under the 1992 US-Hong Kong Policy Act, "support for democratisation" is a fundamental principle of American policy towards the territory. Consul-General James Keith reaffirmed this in a newspaper column in March, writing: "The United States strongly supports democratisation as the best way for Hong Kong to maintain its stability and prosperity as well as promote its autonomy."

Washington gives more than just moral support to its call for democratisation, a goal it officially supports worldwide. Under late president Ronald Reagan, the US set up a network of five organisations, government-funded but ostensibly private, to promote democratic development abroad.

Several of these groups have operated in Hong Kong for years, distributing cash and training activists. Though they too say they don't take sides, their promotion of democratic development inevitably enmeshes them in local politics.

The US is not alone in embracing the promotion of democratic development as a key plank of its foreign policy. Canada, Sweden, Australia and Germany also have government-backed political development agencies, but none of them has been active in Hong Kong.

"The issue of Hong Kong's future is of critical importance to the whole region, as an issue in and of itself, and also as an indication of China's attitude to big issues such as democratisation," acknowledges Roland Rich, director of Australia's Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI).

continued on next page

"But I don't think CDI is the right body to jump into this big issue, basically because CDI is such a small body

[three full-time staff] and because our expertise is very much centred on Southeast Asia and the Pacific. I fear we would not be that much help with our fancy title not backed by solid China expertise."

Canada's International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development has given grants to two Hong Kong-based advocacy groups, the Asia Monitor Resource Centre and China Labour Bulletin, that focus on labour rights elsewhere in the region, but has not backed any Hong Kong-focused programmes.

"Having only limited resources, we are required to make difficult decisions regarding our areas of work," says programme officer Carole Samdup.

The governments of Australia and Canada both publicly raised human rights concerns over Hong Kong's proposed Article 23 security law last year. European governments have in the past sent teams to observe elections here, but Hong Kong is not a priority for their development aid.

Christine Chung, the China programme director for the US National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), says: "Hong Kong is competing with Bangladesh and Indonesia."

In NDI's eyes, Hong Kong is worthy of significant attention. Chung, who moved to the SAR two years ago, is reluctant about disclosing figures and keeps a low profile and an unlisted office number. But some of NDI's patrons and recipients are more forthcoming.

The Web site of local think tank SynergyNet thanks NDI for contributing HK\$50,000 last year to underwrite research and a forum on governance in Hong Kong.

The US-funded National Endowment for Democracy (NED) makes grants to both NDI, which is affiliated with the US Democratic Party, and the International Republican Institute, an arm of the Republican Party, along with other organisations supporting democracy. On its Web site it mentions a US\$179,999 (HK\$1.4 million) grant to NDI last year "to provide technical assistance and training to Hong Kong political parties to strengthen the role of parties in Hong Kong, and to support pro-democracy civil society organisations in their efforts to draw attention to the deterioration of political rights in the territory".

The NED jealousy guards its independence and says its decisions are not directed by any branch of the American government. "We make independent decisions," says Louisa Coan Greve, NED's senior programme officer for Asia. "We do not weigh in on any side in a political competition."

Says Chung: "We work on the premise that Hong Kong needs stronger political parties." She will not identify which political parties her trainers have worked with, but says she has offered to provide free help to every party in the territory in the form of setting up and operating district offices, communicating with members and recruiting volunteers.

American political consultants have been selling their services and teaching such skills in Taiwan and other places for a while, but this industry has yet to reach Hong Kong because of limited party finances and legal restrictions on spending. "They know we don't have the money," says Frontier leader Emily Lau.

This has made the Frontier and other groups receptive to NDI help. Lau says Frontier members have participated in NDI workshops on fundraising and campaigning. "There is no other group that is doing this," she says.

The Democratic Party has had sessions with NDI advisers on image-building and presentation skills, among other topics, says central committee member Chan King-ming. The NDI also underwrote a programme that took several junior party members to the US for first-hand observation of the workings of government and political organisations there. Chan says this was particularly beneficial as many in the group had never had a chance to see how parties function in a democracy.

Members of the Democratic Alliance for Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB) have taken lessons on how to participate in media interviews, says policy committee chairman Greg So. "I don't see a lot of that kind of training available in Hong Kong," he adds.

The Liberal Party has recently received help from the NDI about conducting public opinion surveys as it set up its own polling centre. "We look forward to more frequent contact in the future," says chief executive Stephen Szé.

Hong Kong's parties are grateful but critical. Says Lau: "I think the situation in Hong Kong is very different from America, especially the limits on spending, so I don't think there is that much we can emulate."

Language is also a problem, says Chan, as sessions are conducted in English and the party members who could benefit most from training often don't have adequate English skills.

Trust is another issue. Chan says other parties have sometimes insisted on separate workshops. So says the DAB was initially wary that the NDI might pass intelligence on the party to rivals, given the US agenda in Hong Kong. "A relationship had to be built up over time," he says. "We have developed some mutual trust. They have not been pushing their own agenda."

To what extent the parties can approach the NDI together will become evident this autumn when Chung puts on a party development conference together with the University of Hong Kong.

The NDI does push an agenda on another side of its activity in Hong Kong. As its Hong Kong Web page says: "NDI's current programme provides support to activists advocating more representative political institutions and electoral and constitutional reforms." In this regard, NDI published a joint report with Civic Exchange on the accountability system and contributed to a SynergyNet and Civic Exchange project to publish a voter information pamphlet on the District Council election last year.

NDI's third focus in Hong Kong is tracking Hong Kong's political development for the benefit of decision-makers in Washington. On Wednesday, the group published a report on the electoral process in Hong Kong ahead of the Legco election, based on meetings in late July. The report concluded that the SAR fell short of meeting international standards in several categories, principally in failing to implement a one-person, one-vote system and maintaining functional constituencies, which it called "fundamentally undemocratic".

"Hong Kong is an incredibly complicated place," Chung says. "It's amazing how much misinformation is out there. We can help Hong Kong people by helping those outside Hong Kong understand in a more intelligent way what is going on here."

The American Centre for International Labor Solidarity, another government-funded group, has focused its activity in Hong Kong on collaboration with the Confederation of Trade Unions and other labour rights groups. The National Endowment for Democracy last year granted the Solidarity Centre US\$260,434 to work with local groups to improve a Yuen Long worker training centre.

The NED's Web site says the Solidarity Centre also supported the Confederation of Trade Union's "efforts to protest and draw international attention to the dangers of imminent anti-subversion legislation", which led to the withdrawal of the legislation. Solidarity Centre officials would not provide further details of their group's work here, including what form the support to fight the Article 23 legislation took, but did say the group does not maintain an office here.

The NED itself takes pride in the defeat of the Article 23 legislation. Its Web site highlights the roles of the Confederation of Trade Unions and Human Rights Monitor, another grantee, in organising the July 1, 2003 march.

"We are pleased that our grantees were successful in raising their voices publicly in favour of civil liberties and stopping a development in Hong Kong that would have further restricted civil liberties," says the NED's Greve.

Following the march, the NED's board approved several new Hong Kong grants. It raised the annual support given to Human Rights Monitor to US\$60,000. Civic Exchange received a US\$125,000 grant to analyse the functional constituency system. And NDI got its grant to work with political parties.

"In response to greater civic activism, we said, 'Yes, we will respond to support more of these activist groups,'" Greve says. "NED's role is really to give resources to those with vision."

Three months before the handover, the NED gave its annual democracy award _ a miniature version of the Goddess of Democracy figure erected by students in Tiananmen Square in 1989 _ to Martin Lee.

Not all American political development agencies are active in Hong Kong. The Centre for International Private Enterprise, a group promoting free markets, has had no programmes here. The International Republic Institute reopened an office in Hong Kong last year after a two-year absence, but it is used only as a base for managing programmes on the mainland, mostly centred on village elections. The International Republican Institute sent observer teams to two Hong Kong elections before the handover.

“It is our opinion that Hong Kong has a robust civil society and that at this time political parties in Hong Kong neither require nor desire the kind of assistance and training that an organisation such as the International Republican Institute could provide,” says programme officer Christine Beasley.

“They are competent and well-organised and able to play a major role in bringing half a million people out into the streets.”

Ultimately, Washington hopes that the deepening of democracy in Hong Kong will eventually lead to democratisation of the mainland. The NED spends more than 10 times as much on mainland programmes as it does on those in Hong Kong, according to Greve. NDI's Chung also spends a greater chunk of her time on mainland programmes.

Though not all of Washington's programmes in the mainland are conducted with Beijing's consent, the capital does accept political development help. It would therefore be in an odd position to block the same groups from operating in Hong Kong, even though the text of Article 23 forbade “foreign political organisations or bodies from conducting political activities in the region”, or establishing ties with local political groups.

Yet clearly Beijing is wary. Yu Keli, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of Taiwan Studies, reportedly told a forum in Beijing in August that mainland officials “did not maintain our work on [Hong Kong] intellectuals, and the US took the opportunity to win over these people”.

He cited the example of Democratic chairman Yeung Sam, who he noted had supported China's resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong.

“We left room for the US and Western countries to thoroughly promote their values without restraint and [thus] influence the intellectuals.”

The belief that Washington is pushing a democracy agenda in Hong Kong won't go away, and neither will the fear that Beijing is working to subvert progress toward democracy. Under one country, two systems, Hong Kong is a battleground for two competing worldviews: One, of an authoritarian state committed to economic growth with a minimum of political pluralism; the other, exemplified by the democratic camp and its international allies, a desire for a pluralistic political system.

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WAPOR Code of Ethics

**WAPOR has adopted the changes to the Code of Ethics.
Revised WAPOR Code of Ethics (effective 1 December 2011)**

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), in fulfilling its main objective to advance the use of science in the field of public opinion research and in recognition of its obligations to the public, hereby prescribes principles of ethical practices for the guidance of its members, and a framework of professional standards that should be acceptable to users of research and to the public at large.

2. In an increasingly complex world, social and economic planning is more and more dependent upon public opinion reliably studied. The general public is the source of much of this information. Consequently, members of WAPOR acknowledge their obligations to protect the public from misrepresentation and exploitation in the name of research. At the same time, WAPOR affirms the interdependence of free expression of opinion and the researcher's freedom to conduct public opinion research.

3. Members of WAPOR recognize their obligations both to the profession they practice and to those who provide support for this practice to adhere to the basic standards of scientific investigation.

4. This code defines professional ethics and practices in the field of public opinion research. Adherence to this code is deemed necessary to maintain confidence that researchers in this field are bound by a set of sound and basic principles based on experience gained over many years of development.

II. RULES OF PRACTICE BETWEEN RESEARCHERS AND SPONSORS/CLIENTS

A. Responsibilities of Researchers

5. The objective study of facts and data, conducted as accurately as permitted by the available resources and techniques, is a guiding principle of all research.

6. The researcher shall be accurate in providing prospective sponsors with information about his/her experience, capacities, and organization.

7. The researcher shall make every reasonable effort to adhere to specifications proposed to and accepted by the sponsor/client. Should the researcher find it necessary to deviate from these specifications, s/he shall obtain the sponsor's/client's prior approval.
8. The researcher shall not select tools of data collection or analysis because of the likelihood that they will support a desired conclusion, if that conclusion is not scientifically warranted.
9. The researcher shall in every report and other presentation of the findings distinguish her/his actual data from observations or judgments that may be based on other evidence.
10. Whenever data from a single survey or study are provided for more than one sponsor/client or when data are provided to several sponsors/clients, the researcher shall inform each sponsor/client of the fact.
11. Respondents shall be informed of the sponsor/client of a survey, upon their request, unless the researcher and the sponsor/client believe this would bias responses. In such an instance, and upon a respondent's request, respondents shall be told who the sponsor/client is after the data are gathered.
12. All information and material supplied by the sponsor/client for the research must remain confidential. It shall only be used in this context and shall not be made available to third parties without the sponsor's/client's prior authorization.
13. Without prior authorization of the sponsor/client, no findings from commissioned research shall be disclosed by the researcher except as provided for in Section 19c.
14. Except by mutual consent, data must not be sold or transferred by either the sponsor or the researcher to parties not involved in the original contract work. If data is transferred by mutual consent, this must be done in a manner that respondents remain unidentified.
15. Unless there is agreement between researcher and the sponsor/client to the contrary, the research techniques and methods, such as sampling designs, interviewer instructions, test designs, questionnaire wording, analytical tools etc., used for the study remain the researcher's property, if s/he has developed them.
16. Unless there is agreement to the contrary, also all data, research documents (such as protocols and questionnaires) or any other material used in the study shall be the property of the researcher. The researcher is, however, required to provide for storage of this material for whatever period is customary in a particular country. This obligation shall be considered fulfilled by storage in a recognized data archive, if necessary, with restricted access.

17. Upon completion of a research study and after the researcher has submitted the final report, the sponsor/client may request, according to previous, mutually agreed upon specifications, a duplicate set of the data prepared from the questionnaire, provided that the sponsor shall bear the reasonable cost of preparation of such duplicates, and that respondents remain unidentified.

B. Responsibilities of Sponsors/Clients

18. Potential sponsors/clients asking for research proposals and quotations recognize that, in the absence of a fee or other form of payment, such proposals and quotations remain the property of the researcher. In particular, prospective sponsors/clients must not use the proposals of one researcher competitively in order to negotiate or obtain a lowering of the price from other researchers.

19. Reports provided by the researcher are normally for the use of the sponsor/client and his/her agents. The researcher and the sponsor/client shall agree regarding the means of dissemination of the complete or partial results of a research study to other parties or to the public.

(a) The sponsor/client and researcher should try to ensure that any publication of study results will not be quoted out of context or distort any facts or findings of the study.

(b) The researcher must be consulted in regard to the form of publication and is entitled to refuse to grant permission for his/her name to be quoted in connection with the study where s/he considers clause (a) has been violated.

(c) If the researcher becomes aware of the appearance in public of serious distortions of the research, s/he shall publicly disclose what is required to correct these distortions, including, as appropriate, a statement to the public media or other groups, in or before which the distorted findings were presented.

C. Rules of Practice Regarding Reports and Study Results

20. Every complete report on a study should contain an adequate explanation of the following relevant points:

- (a) for whom the study was conducted and by whom it was carried out;
- (b) the purpose of the study;
- (c) the universe or population to which the results of the study are projected;

- (d) the method by which the sample was selected, including the type of sample (probability, quota, etc.), the specific procedures by which it was selected and the actual size of the sample;
- (e) the degree of success in actually carrying out the sample design, including the rate of non-response and how it was calculated or a comparison of the size and characteristics of the actual and anticipated sample;
- (f) a description of estimating procedures (if any) and/or weighting procedures used to adjust raw data;
- (g) a full description of the method employed in the study;
- (h) the time at which the study was done, and the time span covered in collecting data;
- (i) a copy or printout of the questionnaire, interview schedule or other data collection instrument(s) including instructions.
- (j) which results are based on parts of the sample, rather than the whole sample;
- (k) a description of the precision of the findings, including, if applicable, estimates of sampling error.

21. Technical terms shall be employed in the report in accordance with their commonly understood scientific usage.

III. RULES OF PRACTICE BETWEEN RESEARCHER AND RESPONDENTS

D. Responsibility to Informants

22. No informant, respondent or other research participant must be adversely affected as a result of his/her answers or of the research process. The researcher shall respect respondent's decisions about their participation in the research and use no methods or techniques by which the informant is put in the position that s/he cannot exercise his/her right to withdraw or refuse his/her answers at any stage of the research.

23. Researchers shall respect the need of informants, respondents or others participating in the research for privacy, confidentiality and data protection.

24. No response in a survey or other research finding shall be linked in any way to an identifiable respondent. Respondents must remain unidentified, except in rare cases, with the respondent's specific permission and provided that it is not ruled out by national law. The researcher must take measures to prevent deductive disclosure.

25. The interview method or any other method employed by the researcher must never be used as a disguise for other purposes such as marketing, sales solicitation, fundraising or political campaigning.

E. For Interviewers

26. Research assignments and materials received, as well as all information from respondents, shall be held in confidence by the interviewer and revealed to no one except the research organization conducting the study.

27. No information gained through a research activity shall be used, directly or indirectly, for the personal gain or advantage of the interviewer in his/her relations with the respondents.

28. The research shall be conducted in strict accordance with specifications. No interviewer shall carry out more than one assignment in contact with the same respondents unless this is authorized by the research organization and its clients.

IV. RULES OF PRACTICE BETWEEN RESEARCHERS

29. The principle of fair competition, as generally understood and accepted, should be applied by all researchers, even in cases where they may be the sole operators in their country.

30. In their personal and business relationship, researchers will be governed by the tradition of common respect among colleagues in the same profession.

31. No outside pressure, political or commercial, can be used by a research organization to justify violation of this code.

32. Members shall not try to turn to account or put into evidence the fact of their membership in WAPOR as a token of professional competence. Membership implies no guarantee of qualification, but it does imply acceptance of this code.

WAPOR 專業操守

I 引言

1. 為推動民意研究應用科學化的主要目標及履行其對公眾的責任，世界民意研究學會 (WAPOR) 特此為會員釐訂出一套道德範例，以及一套研究者及大部分公眾人士均認同的專業操守框架。
2. 在一個日益複雜的世界，社會和經濟的長遠計劃越來越取決於可靠的民意調查。普通公眾是這類信息的主要來源。因此，世界民意研究學會成員認同，有責任保護公眾免受魚目混珠的“研究”所誤導或利用。與此同時，學會同樣確定研究者應同時擁有發表意見和進行民調的自由。
3. 為謹守科學調查的基本標準，世界民意研究學會成員必須對其專業負責，同時對為這項工作提供協助及支援的人士負責。
4. 此守則旨在制定出適用於民意研究的領域的道德規範和常規慣例。成員應盡力堅守此守則，以保持公眾的信心，令他們相信這領域的研究者會受一套經多年經驗發展、健全和基本的原則所規管。

II 研究者 (RESEARCHER) 與贊助機構 (SPONSORS)/客戶 (CLIENTS) 之間的守則

A 研究者的責任

5. 所有研究的指導性原則，是必須客觀地研究事實和資料，在符合可用資源和技術的範疇內盡可能做到精確。
6. 在合作未落實前，研究者必須向贊助機構準確地提供他/她的經驗、能力和所屬組織等信息。
7. 在執行工作時，研究者將合理地盡力維持曾經向贊助機構提出並以獲得接納的規格。如果研究者發現有必要偏離這些規格，他/她需獲得贊助機構的預先批准。
8. 如果某結論並沒有科學根據，研究者不得因為某分析方法可得到支持他/她希望得到的結論，而刻意去選擇該分析方法。

9. 研究者在每個報告中，必須清楚區別他/她手上的實際數據，和基於其他證據的觀察或判斷。
10. 當某調查或研究的結果數據需要提供予多於一個或多個贊助機構/客戶，研究者必須如實通知每一個贊助機構/客戶。
11. 除非研究者和贊助機構/客戶相信，向被訪者透露贊助機構/客戶的身分會令對方的回應出現偏差，否則，當被要求時，必須如實告知被訪者。在此情況下，當被訪者要求，研究者必須向被訪者透露贊助機構/客戶的身分。
12. 所有贊助機構/客戶提供的信息和資料必須保密，並且只可應用在該情況上，在未經贊助機構/客戶授權的情況下，不可提供給第三方。
13. 未經贊助機構/客戶的預先批准，研究者不得私自公開該機構委託進行的調查結果(第十九章(c)的情況例外)。
14. 除非雙方同意，贊助機構或研究者不得把調查資料出售或者轉讓給沒有涉及在原本合約內的第三者。即使經雙方同意後轉讓資料，也要確保被訪者身分保密。
15. 除非另有協議，由研究者開發用於該研究的調查技術和方法，例如抽樣設計、被訪者指引、問卷設計、分析工具等等，知識產權應由研究者擁有。
16. 除非另有協議，所有資料、研究文件(例如協議和問卷)或用於調查/研究工作的其他資料將是研究者的資產。然而，研究者需要把資料儲存的時間則由每個國家個別訂出。研究者為履行此責任時，可把資料儲存在一個可識別的資料檔案館，如有需要，甚至可限制存取的權利。
17. 當研究完成並在研究者提交了他/她的最後報告後，倘若贊助機構/客戶願意負擔合理費用，以及承諾為被訪者的身分保密，贊助機構/客戶可以根據雙方先相同意的規格，要求研究者提供由調查問卷所得的所有資料的副本。

B 贊助者/客戶的責任

18. 在合作未落實及尚未以任何形式繳付任何費用之前，贊助機構/客戶若要求得到研究建議書和報價單，該等文件的知識產權應為研究者全權擁有。贊助機構/客戶尤其不得利用一個研究者的建議書，與其他投標者進行談判或向其爭取降低價格的要求。
19. 一般而言，由研究者撰寫的報告只限於贊助機構/客戶和他/她的代理者所使用。就如何向第三者或公眾發放全部或部分的研究結果，研究者應與贊助機構/客戶商討並達成共識。

- (a) 贊助機構/客戶和研究者應盡力確保任何與研究有關的出版物，不會出現不能引證的內容，或者歪曲任何事實或研究結果。
- (b) 贊助機構/客戶必須就出版物的形式諮詢研究者，若研究者認為贊助機構/客戶違反了上述條件(a)，研究者有權拒絕他/她的名字在有關研究的出版物內被引述。
- (c) 如果研究者意識到調查的結果將會嚴重地誤導公眾，在失實的研究結果公佈時或之前，若恰當的話，研究者可公開揭露任何可以更正視聽的調查資料，包括對大眾傳媒或其他組別發聲明。

C 關於報告和研究結果的守則

20. 每份完整的研究報告應該包括下列各點的闡釋：

- (a) 贊助機構/客戶(者)及研究機構(者)；
- (b) 研究的目的
- (c) 研究的對象及可推斷的代表人口；
- (d) 選取樣本的方法，包括抽樣的類型（隨機、限額等），抽樣的特定程序及實際的樣本數目；
- (e) 抽樣方法被確實執行的程度；調查的成功回應率，包括如何計算拒答率，及把預期和實際的抽樣數目和特徵作比較；
- (f) 詳細描述所有報告內的數據的評計程序(如有)，及/或用作調整原始數據的加權程序；
- (g) 詳細描述所應用的調查方法；
- (h) 調查的完成時間，及收集資料的時間；
- (i) 訪問程序表或問卷及其他研究工具包括訪問員指引的副本；
- (j) 清楚交代哪些結果是基於次樣本，而非整體樣本；
- (k) 報告數據的準確程度，包括抽樣的誤差估計(如適用)。

21. 使用在一個研究報告內的學術術語，需依據一般理解的科學用法。

III 研究者 (RESEARCHER) 與被訪者 (RESPONDENTS) 之間的守則

D 消息提供者的責任

22. 消息提出者、被訪者或其他參與研究者，不應因為他/她所回答的答案而在研究過程中受到不利的影響。研究者應尊重參與者的意願，也不可使用任何方法或技術，剝奪被訪者在研究過程中行使退出或拒絕回答的權利。
23. 研究人員應尊重消息提出者、被訪者或其他參與研究者的需要，如私隱、保密性及資料的保障。
24. 調查結果應綜合分析，在任何情況下均不可透露可辨認個別被訪者的資料。被訪者的匿名身份必須得到尊重，除了在極少數情況下，被訪者同意披露其身份，同時亦不違反當地法律，研究人員亦應設法防止有預謀的披露。
25. 研究人員所使用的任何研究方法不可偽裝作其他用途，如市場營銷、商業銷售、籌款或政治宣傳。

E. 對於訪問員

26. 研究工作、收集到的物資，以及被訪者提供的所有資料，訪問員除向負責研究的機構透露外，必須對外保密。
- 27 訪問員不可直接地或間接地透過研究活動獲得的信息，從被訪者身上得到個人利益或佔有優勢。
- 28 研究人員必須嚴格地按照規定要求進行。除非得到研究機構和有關人士同意，訪問員不可對被訪者同時進行多於一個訪問工作。

IV 研究者 (RESEARCHERS) 之間的守則

29. 所有研究者必須奉行公平競爭的原則，即使他們可能是該地區內唯一可進行研究的機構。
30. 在個人和商業關係的範疇上，研究者應受制於同業間互相尊重的慣例。
31. 研究機構不能以外界壓力、政治或者商業理由，作為違反本守則的理據。
32. 世界民意研究學會的成員資格並不同專業能力及品質的保證，它只意味著成員對這個守則的認同。