Civil Service Training and Development Institute Leadership In Action (LIA) Programme 2003

Public Opinion in Policy Making

Robert T.Y. Chung, October 8, 2003

Outline of presentation

Opening Remarks: The 3Rs

Theoretical Aspects of Public Opinion

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http://hkupop.hku.hk; PO Workshops; CSTDI Workshop; pw = cstdi

HKU POP SITE releases the latest figures on the popularity of CE Tung Chee-hwa, Principal Officials under the accountability system, and other members of the Executive Council

Press Release on October 7, 2003

The Public Opinion Programme (POP) at the University of Hong Kong today releases on schedule via the "HKU POP SITE" (<u>http://hkupop.hku.hk</u>) the latest popularity figures of CE Tung Chee-hwa, Principal Officials under the accountability system, and other members of the Executive Council. Recent figures on the popularity of Tung are summarized as follows:

Date of survey	<u>1-5/8</u>	18-20/8	1-3/9	<u>15-17/9</u>	<u>1-2/10</u>
Sample base	1,012	1,032	1,059	1,030	1,052
Overall response rate	68.5%	70.3%	69.3%	70.1%	65.7%
Sampling error of ratings (at 95% conf. level)*	+/-1.4	+/-1.4	+/-1.2	+/-1.4	+/-1.2
Sampling error of percentages (at 95% conf. level)*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%
Support rating of CH Tung	43.0	43.4	44.9	45.4	45.5
Vote of confidence in CH Tung	18%	16%	18%	18%	22%
Vote of no confidence in CH Tung	64%	66%	64%	62%	62%

* "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.

Results showed that the latest rating of CE Tung Chee-hwa registered in early October was 45.5 marks. Meanwhile, 62% of the respondents did not support Tung as the Chief Executive, whereas 22% did. The popularity ratings of Principal Officials under the accountability system, and other members of the Executive Council, for the same period are summarized as follows:

Date of survey	<u>1-5/8</u>	<u>1-3/9</u>	<u>1-2/10</u>
Sample base	1,012	1,059	1,052
Overall response rate	68.5%	69.3%	65.7%
Sampling error of ratings (at 95% conf. level)*	+/-1.6	+/-1.6	+/-1.6
CS Donald Tsang	62.5	62.7	63.2
FS Henry Tang	56.5	58.2	58. <i>9</i>

Data of our ou	1 5 /0	1.2/0	1 2/10
Date of survey	<u>1-5/8</u>	<u>1-3/9</u>	<u>1-2/10</u>
Sample base	1,012	1,059	1,052
Overall response rate	68.5%	69.3%	65.7%
Sampling error of ratings (at 95% conf. level)*	+/-1.6	+/-1.6	+/-1.6
SJ Elsie Leung	49.1	47.2	47.4
Secretary for the Environment, Transport and Works Sarah Liao	60.1	59.4	59.4
Secretary for Security Ambrose Lee		58.0	57.2
Secretary for Economic Development and Labour Stephen Ip	54.5	55.0	55.2
Secretary for Education and Manpower Arthur Li	53.8	52.9	52.1
Secretary for Home Affairs Patrick Ho	51.1	50.8	50.8
Secretary for the Civil Service Joseph Wong	50.4	50.5	48.8
Secretary for Housing, Planning and Lands Michael Suen	50.2	49.2	46.5
Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food Yeoh Eng-kiong	43.2	44.4	45.6
Secretary for Financial Services and the Treasury Frederick Ma	42.0	42.9	43.3
Secretary for Constitutional Affairs Stephen Lam	44.0	43.0	43.0
Secretary for Commerce, Industry and Technology John Tsang		**	**
Non-Official Member of Executive Council Selina Chow			55.8
Non-Official Member of Executive Council Cheng Yiu-tong	43.4		44.7
Non-Official Member of Executive Council Leung Chun-ying	44.7		44.5
Non-Official Member of Executive Council Jasper Tsang	40.5		42.6
Non-Official Member of Executive Council Liao Cheung-sing	**		**
Director of CE's Office Lam Woon-kwong	51.4		51.6
Head of Central Policy Unit Lau Siu-kai	48.7		48.5

* "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.

**Ratings with less than 50% recognition rates are taken as not representative.

With respect to the three Secretaries, the ratings of CS Donald Tsang Yam-kuen, FS Henry Tang Ying-yen and SJ Elsie Leung Oi-sie were 63.2, 58.9 and 47.4 marks respectively. As for the Directors of Bureaux, because it is POP's long established practice not to treat ratings of persons with less than 50% benchmark recognition rate as representative, the rating of Secretary for Commerce, Industry and Technology John Tsang Chun-wah cannot be meaningfully discussed in this survey, and has been listed separately in our summary tables. Results revealed that the most popular official

remained to be Secretary for the Environment, Transport and Works Sarah Liao Sau-tung, who scored 59.4 marks. Secretary for Security Ambrose Lee Siu-kwong and Secretary for Economic Development and Labour Stephen Ip Shu-kwan ranked 2nd and 3rd, with popularity ratings of 57.2 and 55.2 marks respectively. Secretary for Education and Manpower Arthur Li Kwok-cheung and Secretary for Home Affairs Patrick Ho Chi-ping ranked 4th and 5th, attaining 52.1 and 50.8 marks correspondingly. Secretary for the Civil Service Joseph Wong Wing-ping, Secretary for Housing, Planning and Lands Michael Suen Ming-yeung and Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food Yeoh Eng-kiong followed behind, scoring 48.8, 46.5 and 45.6 marks correspondingly. The 9th and 10th places fell to Secretary for Financial Services and the Treasury Frederick Ma Si-hang and Secretary for Constitutional Affairs Stephen Lam Sui-lung, with popularity ratings of 43.3 and 43.0 marks respectively.

Regarding people's ratings of the non-official members of the Executive Council, the newly appointed member Selina Chow scored 55.8 marks, Cheng Yiu-tong 44.7 marks, Leung Chun-ying 44.5 marks, Jasper Tsang 42.6 marks, while that of Liao Cheung-sing was not taken as representative because of his less-than-50% recognition rate. As for the sit-in members, the popularity ratings of the Director of CE's Office Lam Woon-kwong and the Head of Central Policy Unit Lau Siu-kai were 51.6 and 48.5 marks respectively.

Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, made the following analysis: "CE Tung's popularity rebound has slowed down, meaning that the positive effects of CEPA and the withdrawal of the National Security Bill have been digested. In terms of absolute value, a popularity rating of 45.5 marks and a support rate of 22% are still very poor. As for the popularity of the Principal Officials, the only significant changes in the month past are Michael Suen's drop of 2.7 marks and Stephen Lam's replacing Frederick Ma as the bottom last. The effect of the SARS Expert Committee's Report on the popularity of the CE and the Principal Officials, however, is yet to be seen."

POP's normal practice is to release the results of our regular surveys every Tuesday at 2 pm via our POP Site, except during public holidays, each time with a forecast of the items to be released in the forthcoming week. We will review and adjust this operation regularly. According to this schedule, the date and time of our next release will be October 14, 2003, Tuesday, at 2 pm, the latest results of people's trust in the HKSAR and Beijing Central Governments, their confidence in Hong Kong's future, China's

future and "one country, two systems" will be released.

Shall anyone have any question regarding the research design of the surveys published in the POP Site, members of the POP Team will be happy to answer them, but we will not further comment on the findings. Shall any person or journalist have any other questions, please email them to us at <<u>pop.network@hkupop.hku.hk</u>>. The Director of Public Opinion Programme would answer them as soon as possible. We will keep such an arrangement under constant review, suggestions most welcome. Please note that everything carried in the POP Site does not represent the stand of the University of Hong Kong. Dr Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, is responsible for everything posted herewith, except for column articles which represent the stand of their authors.

《港大民意網站》今日發放特首董建華、各問責制主要官員及 其他行政會議成員的最新民望數字

2003年10月7新聞公報

香港大學民意研究計劃今日如期在《港大民意網站》(http://hkupop.hku.hk)發放特 首董建華、各問責制主要官員及其他行政會議成員的最新民望數字。董建華近期 的民望走勢如下:

調查日期	<u>1-5/8</u>	18-20/8	<u>1-3/9</u>	<u>15-17/9</u>	<u>1-2/10</u>
樣本基數	1,012	1,032	1,059	1,030	1,052
整體回應比率	68.5%	70.3%	69.3%	70.1%	65.7%
評分誤差 (95%置信水平)*	+/-1.4	+/-1.4	+/-1.2	+/-1.4	+/-1.2
百分比誤差 (95%置信水平)*	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%	+/- 3%
特首董建華評分	43.0	43.4	44.9	45.4	45.5
董建華出任特首支持率	18%	16%	18%	18%	22%
董建華出任特首反對率	64%	66%	64%	62%	62%

* 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。

調查顯示,特首董建華於10月初的最新評分為45.5分;另外,六成二被訪市民 反對董建華出任特首,支持者有二成二。至於各問責官員及其他行政會議成員同

調查日期	<u>1-5/8</u>	<u>1-3/9</u>	<u>1-2/10</u>
樣本基數	1,012	1,059	1,052
整體回應比率	68.5%	69.3%	65.7%
評分誤差 (95%置信水平)*	+/-1.6	+/-1.6	+/-1.6
	62.5	62.7	63.2
財政司司長唐英年	56.5	58.2	58.9
律政司司長梁愛詩	49.1	47.2	47.4
環境運輸及工務局局長廖秀冬	60.1	59.4	59.4
保安局局長李少光		58.0	57.2
經濟發展及勞工局局長葉澍堃	54.5	55.0	55.2
教育統籌局局長李國章	53.8	52.9	52.1
民政事務局局長何志平	51.1	50.8	50.8
公務員事務局局長王永平	50.4	50.5	48.8
房屋及規劃地政局局長孫明揚	50.2	49.2	46.5
衛生福利及食物局局長楊永強	43.2	44.4	45.6
財經事務及庫務局局長馬時亨	42.0	42.9	43.3
政制事務局局長林瑞麟	44.0	43.0	43.0
工商及科技局局長曾俊華		**	**
行政會議非官方議員周梁淑怡			55.8
行政會議非官方議員鄭耀棠	43.4		44.7
行政會議非官方議員梁振英	44.7		44.5
行政會議非官方議員曾鈺成	40.5		42.6
行政會議非官方議員廖長城	**		**
行政長官辦公室主任林煥光	51.4		51.6
中央政策組首席顧問劉兆佳	48.7		48.5

* 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。

** 認知率不足五成者評分不能作準。

司長方面,政務司司長曾蔭權、財政司司長唐英年及律政司司長梁愛詩的評分依 次為 63.2、58.9 及 47.4 分。局長方面,鑑於民意研究計劃的一貫標準是認知率 不足五成者的評分不能作準,因此是次調查的十一名局長中,工商及科技局局長 曾俊華的評分不能作準,在總結數表中亦與其他局長分開處理。調查顯示,環境 運輸及工務局局長廖秀冬仍然名列首位,得 59.4 分;評分排名第二及第三位的 是保安局局長李少光及經濟發展及勞工局局長葉澍堃,分別得 57.2 及 55.2 分; 教育統籌局局長李國章及民政事務局局長何志平則名列第四及第五位,分別得 52.1 及 50.8 分;隨後的依次為公務員事務局局長王永平、房屋及規劃地政局局 長孫明揚及衛生福利及食物局局長楊永強,分別得 48.8、46.5 及 45.6 分;財經 事務及庫務局局長馬時亨及政制事務局局長林瑞麟則名列第九及第十位,分別得 43.3 及 43.0 分。

行政會議非官方議員方面,剛上任的周梁淑怡得 55.8 分、鄭耀棠得 44.7 分、梁 振英得 44.5 分、曾鈺成得 42.6 分;廖長城則由於認知率不足五成,而其評分不 能作準。至於行政會議列席成員方面,行政長官辦公室主任林煥光得 51.6 分, 中央政策組首席顧問劉兆佳則有 48.5 分。

民意研究計劃主任鍾庭耀分析:「特首董建華民望的升勢放緩,顯示『更緊密經 貿關係安排』及撤回國安條例草案的利好因素已被消化。從絕對數值而言,45.5 分及二成二的支持率仍然是十分低沉的民望。官員民望方面,過去一個月的變化 不大,比較明顯的是孫明揚下跌2.7分,和榜末位置由林瑞麟取代馬時亨。至於 『沙士』報告對特首及官員民望的影響,則尚待觀察。」

《民意網站》一般逢星期二下午二時於網上公佈定期調查結果,公眾假期除外, 並同時預告來週的發放項目。《民意網站》會定期對該等安排作出檢討及調整。 按照計劃,《民意網站》下次發放數據的日期及時間為 10 月 14 日星期二下午二時,屆時將會公佈市民對特區及北京中央政府的信任程度,對中港前途及一國兩 制信心的最新調查結果。

各界人士如對《民意網站》所載調查的方法有任何疑問,研究組的成員會樂於解答,但不會就調查結果再作評述。各界人士或新聞工作者如有其他問題,歡迎把問題以電郵方式傳給我們,電郵地址為<pop.network@hkupop.hku.hk>,民意研究計劃主任會盡快作答,我們將會不斷檢討此等安排,並歡迎各界人士提供意見。 《民意網站》內一切內容與香港大學立場無關。專欄文章的文責由作者自負,其餘內容則由民意研究計劃主任鍾庭耀博士負責。

HKU POP SITE releases the latest ratings of the top 10 political figures in Mainland China and Taiwan

Press Release on September 30, 2003

The Public Opinion Programme (POP) at the University of Hong Kong today releases on schedule via the "HKU POP SITE" (<u>http://hkupop.hku.hk</u>) the latest ratings of the top 10 political figures in Mainland China and Taiwan. Figures obtained in the last three surveys are summarized as follows:

Date of survey	<u>12-17/9/02</u>	<u>17-19/3/03</u>	<u>15-17/9/03</u>
Sample base	1,062	1,068	1,030
Overall response rate	69.0%	71.5%	70.1%
Sampling error of ratings (at 95% confidence level)*	+/- 1.8	+/- 1.8	+/- 1.8
Zhu Rongji Wen Jiabao Wu Yi Hu Jintao Jiang Zemin Ma Ying-jeou James Soong Li Peng Chen Shui-bian Lee Teng-hui	75.3 [1] ** 63.1 [4] 65.7 [2] 62.4 [5] ** 47.1 [6] 39.9 [8] 36.4 [9]	79.2 [1] ** ** 66.4 [2] 65.8 [3] 53.8 [5] 46.8 [7] 39.3 [8] 36.1 [10]	75.0 [1] 70.8 [2] 69.8 [3] 67.3 [4] 65.7 [5] 61.0 [6] 53.3 [7] 43.4 [8] 35.5 [9] 29.1 [10]
Qian Qichen	64.7 [3]	63.1 [4]	**
Lien Chan	46.4 [7]	49.5 [6]	**
Lu Hsiu-lien	36.2 [10]	36.5 [9]	**

* "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.

** Not among top 10.

[]Number in square brackets indicates rankings.

Results showed that, regarding the latest popularity ranking of political figures in Mainland China and Taiwan obtained in mid-September, Zhu Rongji has remained to be the most popular figure, attaining 75.0 marks, leading with quite a wide margin from the rest. Both appeared on the top-10 list for the first time, Wen Jiabao and Wu Yi followed behind, with 70.8 and 69.8 marks respectively. Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin ranked 4th and 5th, scoring 67.3 and 65.7 marks. The 6th to 10th ranks fell to

Ma Ying-jeou, James Soong, Li Peng, Chen Shui-bian and Lee Teng-hui correspondingly. The mean score obtained by the top 5 political figures was 69.7 marks, and that for the top 10 was 57.1 marks.

Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, made the following analysis: "Even though Zhu Rongji is no longer the Chinese Premier, Hong Kong people still pay great respect to him. He scored almost 10 marks higher than Jiang Zemin, who still holds his title as Chairman of the Central Military Commission. The new Premier Wen Jiabao appeared first time on the list, with a high score of 70.8 marks. This must have been due to his impressive performance during his recent visit to Hong Kong. Among the list of top 10, the ratio of Mainland versus Taiwan leaders has reversed from 4:6 last time to 6:4, indicating Hong Kong people's growing interest in Mainland affairs. In terms of popularity, other than Li Peng, all Mainland leaders have enjoyed popularity ratings much higher than that of Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, pulling Hong Kong people closer to the Central Government. As for the Taiwan leaders on the list, Ma Ying-jeou was obviously the most popular. Lee Teng-hui, however, has set a record low with less than 30 marks."

The research design of our "Top 10 political figures of Mainland China and Taiwan" has been explained in detail under "Survey Method" in our corresponding web site. The top political figures listed in our latest survey were all those who obtained highest unprompted mentions in our first stage naming survey conducted in early September. In that survey, respondents could name, unaided, up to 10 political figures whom they knew best. Chen Shui-bian, Hu Jintao, Jiang Zemin, Wen Jiabao, Lee Teng-hui and so on were mentioned most frequently. Please refer to the relevant table for the rest of the list. The 12 most frequently mentioned political figures were then entered into the second stage of the survey conducted in mid-September, during which respondents were asked to rate each political figure in turn using a 0-100 scale. 0 indicates absolutely no support, 100 indicates absolute support, and 50 means half-half. After calculation, the bottom 2 political figures in terms of recognition rate were dropped; the remaining 10 were then ranked according to their support ratings attained to become the top 10 political figures. For easy reference, the POP Site has already displayed the results of all naming surveys conducted since June 1997.

POP's normal practice is to release the results of our regular surveys every Tuesday at 2 pm via our POP Site, except during public holidays, each time with a forecast of the items to be released in the forthcoming week. We will review and adjust this operation regularly. According to this schedule, the date and time of our next release will be

October 7, 2003, Tuesday, at 2 pm, the latest figures on the popularity of CE Tung Chee-hwa, Principal Officials under the accountability system and members of the Executive Council will be released.

Shall anyone have any question regarding the research design of the surveys published in the POP Site, members of the POP Team will be happy to answer them, but we will not further comment on the findings. Shall any person or journalist have any other questions, please email them to us at <<u>pop.network@hkupop.hku.hk</u>>. The Director of Public Opinion Programme would answer them as soon as possible. We will keep such an arrangement under constant review, suggestions most welcome. Please note that everything carried in the POP Site does not represent the stand of the University of Hong Kong. Dr Robert Ting-Yiu Chung, Director of Public Opinion Programme, is responsible for everything posted herewith, except for column articles which represent the stand of their authors.

《港大民意網站》今日發放市民對十大內地及台灣政治人物的最新評分

2003年9月30日新聞公報

香港大學民意研究計劃今日如期在《港大民意網站》(http://hkupop.hku.hk)發放市 民對十大內地及台灣政治人物的最新評分。各項數字於過去三次調查的走勢如 下:

調查日期 樣本基數 整體回應比率 評分誤差 (95%置信水平)*	<u>12-17/9/02</u> 1,062 69.0% +/- 1.8	<u>17-19/3/03</u> 1,068 71.5% +/- 1.8	<u>15-17/9/03</u> 1,030 70.1% +/- 1.8
—————————————————————————————————————	75.3 [1]	79.2 [1]	75.0 [1]
溫家寶	**	**	70.8 [2]
吴儀	**	**	69.8 [3]
胡錦濤	63.1 [4]	**	67.3 [4]
江澤民	65.7 [2]	66.4 [2]	65.7 [5]
馬英九	62.4 [5]	65.8 [3]	61.0 [6]
宋楚瑜	**	53.8 [5]	53.3 [7]
李鵬	47.1 [6]	46.8 [7]	43.4 [8]
陳水扁	39.9 [8]	39.3 [8]	35.5 [9]

李登輝	36.4 [9]	36.1 [10]	29.1 [10]
錢其琛	64.7 [3]	63.1 [4]	**
連戰	46.4 [7]	49.5 [6]	**
呂秀蓮	36.2 [10]	36.5 [9]	**

* 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。 ** 不在十大名單。

[] 內數字為榜上的排名。

調查顯示,9月中市民對兩岸政治人物的最新支持度排名,首位仍然是朱鎔基, 得 75.0 分,評分與後列者有相當距離;其次是首次躋身十大的溫家寶及吳儀, 分別得 70.8 及 69.8 分;胡錦濤及江澤民則名列第四及第五位,分別得 67.3 及 65.7 分;至於第六至第十位的排名,分別是馬英九、宋楚瑜、李鵬、陳水扁及李登輝。 首五位政治人物的平均得分為 69.7 分,而首十位則為 57.1 分。

民意研究計劃主任鍾庭耀分析:「朱鎔基雖然已經卸下國務院總理職務,但仍然 深受港人敬重,比起仍然留任軍委主席的江澤民高出接近10分。新任總理溫家 寶首次上榜便有70.8分,成績不俗,肯定與其訪港時的表現有關。十大市民最 熟悉的兩岸領導人中,內地與台灣的比例由上次的4比6變成6比4,顯示市民 近期比較關注內地的發展。民望方面,除了李鵬外,大陸領導人的評分都比特首 董建華高出幾截,拉近了香港市民和中央政府的距離。台灣領導人方面,馬英九 明顯最受歡迎,而李登輝的得分則不及30,創下有關調查的歷史新低。」

有關「十大內地及台灣政治人物」評分調查的方法,在網頁內「調查方法」的欄 目中已有詳述。是次調查被評分的政治人物,皆於9月初進行的提名調查中在未 經提示下獲得最多被訪者提名的政治人物。在該項提名調查中,被訪者可說出多 至十名最熟悉的內地及台灣政治人物,結果發現,最多被訪者提及的政治人物依 次為陳水扁、胡錦濤、江澤民、溫家寶、及李登輝等,餘下名單請參閱有關數表。 最多被提及的十二名政治人物會進入第二階段評分調查,在9月中進行的第二階 段評分調查中,被訪者就所有入選政治人物以0至100分進行個別評分,0分代 表絕對不支持,100分代表絕對支持,50分為一半半。統計結果後,認知度最低 的兩名政治人物再被剔除,之後再按十名政治人物所得的支持度由高至低順序排 列,得出十大政治人物。《民意網站》已把1997年6月開始的各次提名調查結果 加入網站,方便各界人士參考。

《民意網站》一般逢星期二下午二時於網上公佈定期調查結果,公眾假期除外, 並同時預告來週的發放項目。《民意網站》會定期對該等安排作出檢討及調整。 按照計劃,《民意網站》下次發放數據的日期及時間為10月7日星期二下午二時, 屆時將會公佈特首董建華、各問責制主要官員及行政會議成員的最新民望數字。 各界人士如對《民意網站》所載調查的方法有任何疑問,研究組的成員會樂於解答,但不會就調查結果再作評述。各界人士或新聞工作者如有其他問題,歡迎把問題以電郵方式傳給我們,電郵地址為<pop.network@hkupop.hku.hk>,民意研究計劃主任會盡快作答,我們將會不斷檢討此等安排,並歡迎各界人士提供意見。 《民意網站》內一切內容與香港大學立場無關。專欄文章的文責由作者自負,其餘內容則由民意研究計劃主任鍾庭耀博士負責。