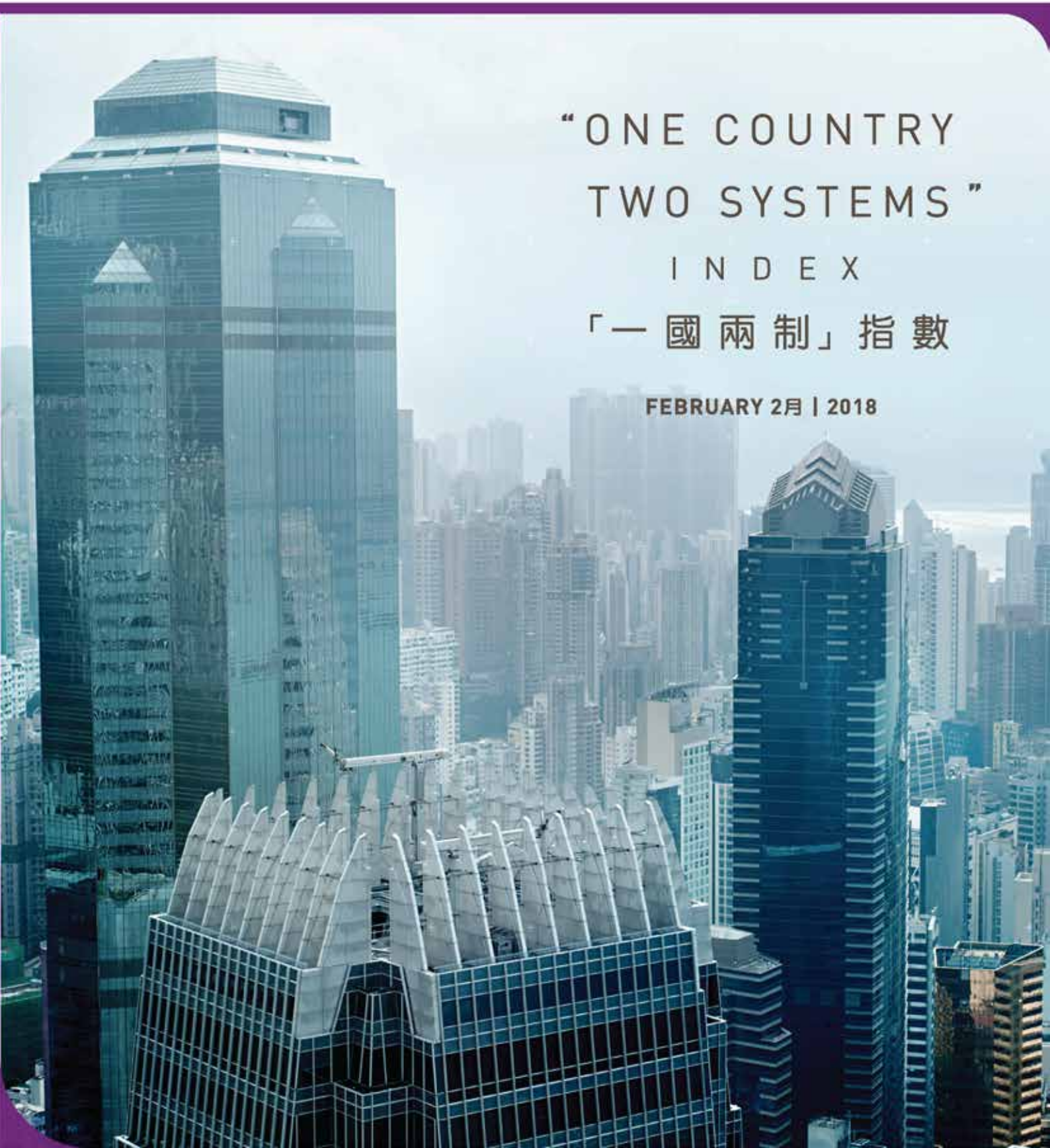


“ONE COUNTRY
TWO SYSTEMS”

I N D E X

「一國兩制」指數

FEBRUARY 2月 | 2018



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前言

Preface

The pursuit of "One Country Two Systems" (henceforth 1C2S) is unprecedented in the history of mankind. Over the past two decades, we have made headway under the auspices of 1C2S, but at the same time, encountered many challenges. The implementation of 1C2S requires unyielding exploration and the persistence of stakeholders. To ensure its full implementation, the first critical step is to review and evaluate its accomplishments and shortfalls since the handover of Hong Kong 20 years ago.

At the 20th Anniversary of Hong Kong SAR, Path of Democracy released its first report on its attempt to conduct an objective evaluation of 1C2S. We developed an index of 1C2S based on a public opinion survey in Hong Kong on 1C2S, and also international indices that compare Hong Kong with other countries and territories in relation to human rights, various freedoms and democracy.

In this second report, we have refined and improved our public opinion survey, updated the relevant international indices, and also launched a new 1C2S Mass Media Index (MMI) by making use of big-data to measure the sentiment of Hong Kong newspapers towards 1C2S from 1988 to the end of 2017 as news sentiment has very significant influences on public opinion.

Our 1C2S survey covers nine different dimensions of implementation, including freedom of speech, judiciary

「一國兩制」是人類史無前例的嘗試，在香港已實踐20年，取得不少成就，同時亦遇到不少困難。「一國兩制」的實踐除了需要不斷探索，亦要所有持份者的努力。要確保「一國兩制」能全面、準確地實踐，首先要總結香港回歸20年施行「一國兩制」之成就與缺失。

民主思路在香港回歸20年之際發布第一份關於「一國兩制」概況的民意調查及編製「一國兩制」指數，希望為總結20年的得失謹盡綿力。指數的數據來自兩方面，一方面是進行有關「一國兩制」的民意調查，另一方面則參考國際性的人權、自由及民主指數，並比較香港與其他國家或地區的表現。

在第二份報告，我們改善及修訂了民意調查、更新了相關的國際指數，及借助大數據方法推出嶄新的「一國兩制」輿情指數。輿情對民意有重要影響，是以我們使用大數據技術衡量1998年至2017年底香港報章對「一國兩制」的情緒，以探索新聞情緒對民意的影響。

我們設計的「一國兩制」民調，就著九個不同項目（包括言論自由、司法獨立、立法獨立及高度自治等）評價「一國兩制」落實的

independence, legislative independence and high degree of autonomy. We also asked for views on controversial issues, for example: whether or not they would like the consultation on Article 23 to go ahead; whether or not misalignments around 1C2S could be resolved through negotiations. The aim was to reflect public views on the implementation of 1C2S in a comprehensive manner.

We also looked to global studies carried out by overseas institutions and incorporated their evaluation of Hong Kong into ours. Specifically, we considered how Hong Kong was rated for democratic development, economic freedom and personal freedom (which would encompass human rights, rule of law, freedom of speech, freedom of association amongst other aspects). The final index score provides an aggregate evaluation of 1C2S in its implementation, based on both local public opinion and global perceptions.

Going forward, for the reference of policy makers and the public, we will update and refine data collection and construction methodologies of the Index every six months through public surveys, updating international indices, and also updating the MMI to gauge the latest sentiments of the media on 1C2S.

Path of Democracy

概況，亦調查市民對「一國兩制」實踐中具爭議性議題的意見，包括是否同意進行23條立法諮詢、是否同意「一國兩制」的矛盾可通過洽商解決等，希望能夠較為全面地反映市民對「一國兩制」實踐的評價。

我們亦參考國際性的研究機構對香港的民主發展、經濟自由及個人自由（包括人權、法治、言論自由和結社自由等項目）的評價。編制的指數綜合地反映了市民對「一國兩制」的評價，也反映了國際的研究機構按照國際比較的標準對香港的人權、自由及民主現況的評價。

展望未來，我們會每半年進行民意調查及更新國際指數，以更新並改善「一國兩制」指數，亦會更新輿情指數以衡量媒體的最新情緒，以供決策者及公眾參考。

民主思路

The background of the page is a photograph of a harbor, likely in Hong Kong, with several ferries on the water and a city skyline in the distance. The text is overlaid on this image.

「一國兩制」概況：民意調查及指數編制
第二次報告
第一部分：摘要

“One Country Two Systems” Overview:
Public Survey and Index Construction
Second Report
Part I: Summary

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Co-convenor (Research) of Path of Democracy

「一國兩制」概況：民意調查及指數編制 第二次報告

“One Country Two Systems” Overview: Public Survey and Index Construction Second Report

In our first Report on the “One Country Two Systems” (henceforth 1C2S) released at the 20th anniversary of HK’s return to China, we constructed an Index (henceforth the Index) to provide an objective assessment on the implementation of 1C2S in Hong Kong. The Index is derived as the average of the following two indices:

- 1) Index (A), an index of HK Public’s Evaluation of 1C2S: Compiled from a telephone poll conducted in mid-2017 on various dimensions of 1C2S, and
- 2) Index (B), the Freedom and Democracy Index, which is obtained from indices of international think tanks.

In this second Report, we have:

- Conducted a second telephone poll in December 2017 with a refined questionnaire to compile Index (A), and
- Updated Index (B) with international data to reflect conditions in 2016 (Due to the long time lag in collecting international data, most of the data of international indices used in the First Report only reflected conditions in 2014).
- Launched a new 1C2S Mass Media Index (MMI) that use big-data techniques to measure the sentiment of Hong Kong newspapers towards 1C2S from 1988 to the end of 2017 as news sentiment has very significant influences on public opinion.

In the second Report, the scores (on a scale of 0 to 10) of Index (A) and (B) are 4.98 and 8.04 respectively. The updated Index, which is the average of the Indices (A) and (B), is 6.51. This score is not directly comparable with the Index in the first Report due to the refinement of methodology in the second Report. We can nevertheless compute the Index according to comparable methodology, and the scores of the Index in the first and second rounds should respectively be 6.46 and 6.44. The Index has fallen by a negligible 0.02 or 0.3% in the last six months.

回歸20年，香港市民對「一國兩制」的評價，一直未有一個客觀的量度。在2017年年中香港回歸20週年之際，民主思路首次發佈「一國兩制」指數，作為香港實踐一國兩制的客觀評價。該指數為以下A、B兩項指數的平均值：

1. 指數A為香港市民對「一國兩制」的評價指數，我們委託香港中文大學香港亞太研究所就「一國兩制」的各個層面進行第一次電話調查，
2. 指數B為「自由民主指數」，取自國際智庫對自由和民主水平所編製的指數。

在本報告中，我們：

- 於2017年12月委託進行第二次電話調查，以修訂的問卷編製指數A；
- 根據國際數據更新了指數B，以反映2016年的情況（由於收集國際數據存在時差，大部分在第一次報告中採用的國際指數僅反映了2014年的情況）；及
- 推出嶄新的「一國兩制」輿情指數，使用大數據技術衡量1998年至2017年底香港報紙對「一國兩制」的情緒，以反映新聞情緒對民意的影響。

第二次報告中，指數A與B的分數（0至10分）分別為4.98及8.04分。更新後的「一國兩制」指數為指數A與B的平均數，即6.51分。因為本報告優化了編製指數的方法，所以此分數不能與第一次報告的分數直接比數。按完全可比的口径來計算，指數由第一次報告的6.46下降至第二次報告的6.44

Going forward, for the reference of policy makers and the public, we will update and refine the Index every half year through conducting a public survey and updating international indices, and also updating the MMI to gauge the latest sentiments of the media.

，這半年間稍微下跌0.02或0.3%，變化微不足道。

展望未來，我們會每半年進行民意調查及更新國際指數，以更新並改善「一國兩制」指數，亦會更新輿情指數以衡量媒體的最新情緒，以供決策者及公眾參考。

A 兩輪報告的評分變化 Change in scores in the two rounds

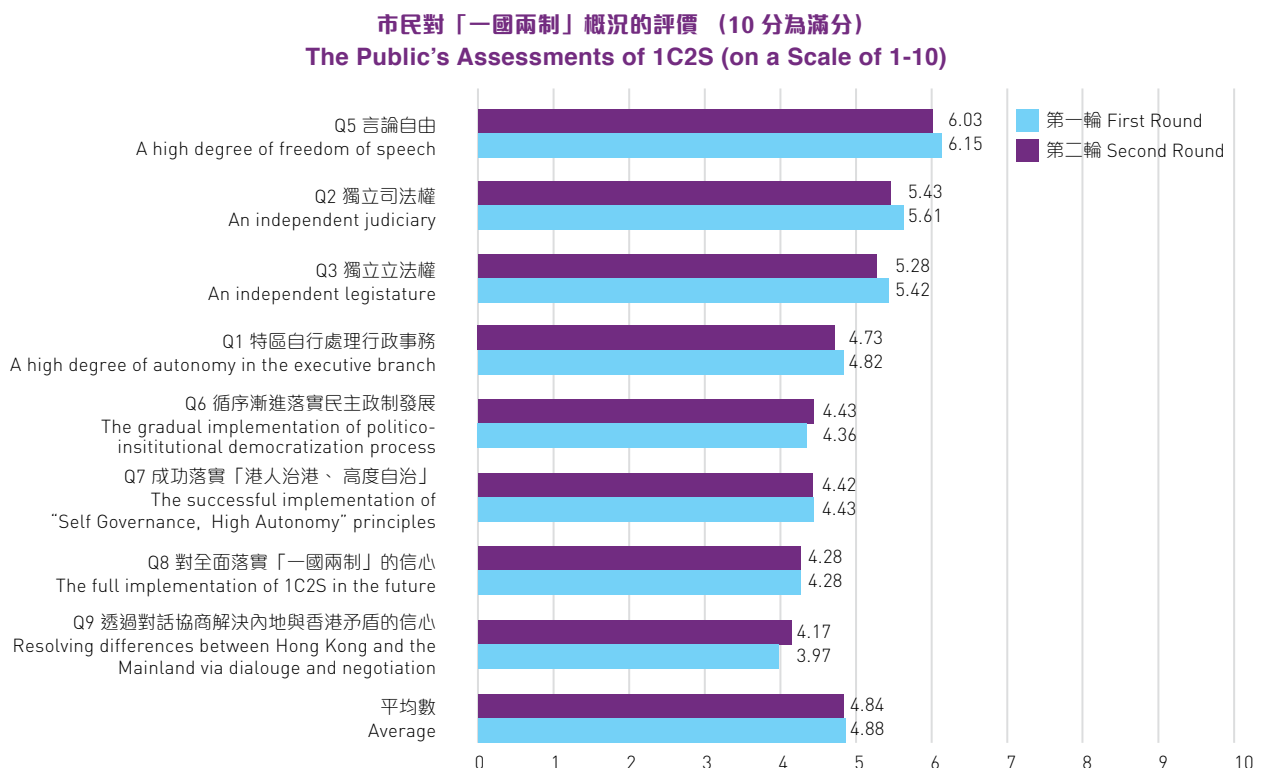
Changes in scores in the Index may be affected by the controversial political events that occurred between the two rounds:

兩輪報告的評分可能受到期間的政治爭議影響而變化：

- Disqualification of four LegCo members by the High Court,
- Prison sentences on the (13 + 3) protesters: 13 protestors in the East North Territories Development clash, and the trio (Joshua Wong, Nathan Law, and Alex Chow) in the Civic Square clash,
- Emphasis on “overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong” in the Work Report of 19th CPC National Congress,
- Amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Council to restrict filibustering,

- 高等法院裁定四名立法會議員宣誓無效；
- 「13+3」示威者被判入獄：13名反新界東北發展的示威者及衝突公民廣場的「雙學三子」（黃之鋒、羅冠聰及周永康）；
- 十九大工作報告強調對香港的「全面管治權」；
- 立法會透過修訂議事規則限制拉布；

圖一：市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價：兩輪調查的比較
Fig 1: Public's Assessments of 1C2S [Comparison of Two Rounds of Survey]





- China's enactment of the national anthem law, and
- Legco's passage of the non-binding motion on co-location arrangement.

The above events may have adversely affected the evaluations of 1C2S by the public and also by international think tanks. In the second survey, we have introduced questions on the majority of the above issues to gauge public's reactions.

(1) Index (A): Public's evaluation of 1C2S

Due to the refinement of survey questions in the survey, the Index (A) is not directly comparable with that in the first survey. The refinement only affects one question in the 9 questions used to compute the index, and scores of the other eight questions are directly comparable as they are identical in the two surveys.

In the eight questions that are identical in both rounds of surveys, the scores of 5 questions have fallen: A high degree of autonomy in the executive branch, judiciary independence, legislative independence, freedom of speech, and the successful implementation of "Self Governance, High Autonomy" principles. In view of the above political controversies, the fall of these 5 scores is not surprising.

The scores of two questions have increased, namely "resolving differences between Hong Kong and the Mainland via dialogue and negotiation", and "the gradual implementation of institutional democratization process". The scores of these two questions might have been positively affected by the efforts of Mrs. Carrie Lam to heal societal divisions.

Comparing the two rounds, the average score of the eight questions have fallen from 4.88 in the first survey to 4.84 in the second survey, falling by a negligible 0.04 or 0.8%. Given the many controversies that happened between the two rounds of surveys, the very slight deterioration of Index (A) is unexpected. It is likely that this can partly be attributed to the improvement in political climate under the new administration of Carrie Lam.

- 中國訂立國歌法；
- 立法會通過關於一地兩檢安排的無約束力議案。

上述事件可能令市民和國際智庫對「一國兩制」的評價有負面影響。在第二輪調查中，我們加入以上大部分事件，以衡量市民的反應。

(1) 指數A — 市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價

由於本輪的問卷調查經過修訂，兩輪調查的指數A不能直接比較。修訂只影響九條問題其中一條，另外八條問題在兩輪調查均相同，分數可以直接比較。

這八條完全相同的題目中，有五條的得分下降了：特區自行處理行政事務、獨立司法權、獨立立法權、言論自由、成功落實「港人治港、高度自治」。鑑於上述政治爭議，這五個分數下降並不令人驚訝。

兩條問題的得分上升了，即「透過對話協商解決內地與香港矛盾的信心」及「循序漸進落實民主政制發展」。這兩個問題的得分可能因為林鄭月娥嘗試修補社會撕裂而有所改善。

比較兩輪調查，平均分由第一輪的4.88下降到第二輪4.84。跌幅為0.04或0.8%，變化微不足道。基於兩輪調查期間發生不少政治爭議，指數A的跌幅較預期中輕微。部分的原因可能歸因於林鄭月娥的新一屆施政下，政治氣候有所改善而引致。

(2) Index (B) – Freedom and Democracy Index

Index (B) is the average of 3 indices, namely, the Economic Freedom Index and Personal Freedom Index of CATO-Fraser Institutes, and the Democracy Index of the EIU (Economic Intelligence Unit). Hong Kong has always ranked world's number one in Economic Freedom, and has also ranked highly in Personal Freedom.

The latest Economic Freedom and Personal Freedom indices only reflect conditions up to 2015. We updated both indices to 2016 according to the methodology of CATO-Fraser Institutes. Hong Kong's Personal Freedom Index rose from 2008 to a peak in 2014, but fell thereafter. The Democracy Index rose from 2008 to a peak in 2015, but declined thereafter. Given the adverse international reactions to recent political controversies in Hong Kong, the recent declines are expected.

- The Personal Freedom Index climbed from 8.87 in 2008 to a peak of 9.08 in 2014, but fell to 8.62 in 2016, falling by 5.1% from the 2014 peak. Among the 7 sub-indices of this Index, the scores of 4 sub-indices fell, namely, rule of law (falling by 8.5%), freedom of religion (falling by 7.4%), freedom of association (falling by 22%), and gender identity & relationship (falling by 7.5%).
- Despite these declines from 2014 to 2016, Hong Kong's score in Personal Freedom is still decent, close to those of neighboring developed countries/territories such as Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. This is testament to Hong Kong's preservation of high levels of human rights and personal freedoms under 1C2S.
- Hong Kong's Democracy Index rose from 5.85 in 2008 to a peak of 6.50 in 2015, and rank from the 84th to the 67th. This may be due to the increase in the number of directly elected seats in the Legislature. However, the score fell slightly to 6.42 in 2016, and fell further to 6.31 in 2017. Hong Kong's scores were lower than those of Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea, but was close to that of Singapore. Hong Kong's mediocre ranking is expected given that the Chief Executive is not elected by universal suffrage.

(2) 指數B — 「自由民主指數」

指數B為三項指數的平均分，分別為卡托研究所及菲沙研究所編制的「經濟自由指數」及「個人自由指數」和經濟學人智庫編制的「民主指數」。香港在經濟自由方面一直名列世界第一，在個人自由方面也名列前茅。

最新發表的「經濟自由指數」和「個人自由指數」只反映2015年的數據。我們參照卡托研究所及菲沙研究所的計算方法，將數字更新至2016年。香港的「個人自由指數」從2008年攀升至2014年的高峰，隨後回落。「民主指數」從2008年攀升至2015年的高峰，隨後同樣回落。鑑於國際社會對香港近期的政治事件反應負面，這些指標的下降並不令人意外。

- 「個人自由指數」從2008年的8.87攀升至2014年9.08的高峰，再回落到2016年的8.62，相當於5.1%的跌幅。七個子項目中，有四個子項目下降，即法治（下降8.46%），宗教自由（下降7.4%），結社自由（下降了22%），性別認同和關係（下降了7.5%）。
- 儘管自2014年至2016年錄得下跌，香港的評分仍然不俗，與日本、台灣、南韓及新加坡等鄰近發達地區相近，說明香港在「一國兩制」之下保持了高度的人權及人身自由。
- 香港的「民主指數」從2008年的5.85上升到2015年的6.50，排名由第84位提升至第67位，相信與立法會增加直選議席有關。但在2016年下降至6.42，在2017年再降至6.31。香港的得分低於日本，台灣和韓國，與新加坡相約。由於香港未能普選行政長官，所以排名未算突出屬意料之內。

Our indices are only updated to 2016 due to data limitations, and complete 2017 data on Index (B) – the Freedom and Democracy Index, are not yet available. However, partial 2017 data is available. The Democracy Index, which has 1/3 weight in Index (B), has declined by 1.7% in 2017. In the same year, Hong Kong's score in the Freedom of the World Report of the Freedom House fell from 61 to 59, declining by 1.7%. The Freedom of the World Index is less comprehensive than our Index (B) as it ignores economic freedom completely and focuses mostly on personal freedom. Nevertheless, this implies that Hong Kong's Personal Freedom Index would likely fall as well.

According to the Economic Freedom Index of Heritage Foundation, which is very similar to that of CATO-Fraser Institutes, Hong Kong's Economic Freedom Index has risen by 0.45% in 2017. However, the small rise in Hong Kong's Economic Freedom Index is likely to be more than offset by the fall in the Democracy Index and the Personal Freedom Index. Index (B) will likely fall further in 2017, showing that international think tanks are highly concerned about personal freedom and democracy in Hong Kong.

因數據所限，我們的指數只能更新到2016年，把指數B更新至2017年的數據仍未齊備，不過我們可以從部分已經發表的數據，推測2017年的走勢。「民主指數」（佔指數B比重的1/3）在2017年下降了1.7%。同期香港在自由之家「世界自由報告」中的得分從61下降到59，下降了3.3%。「世界自由報告」主要反映個人自由，完全忽略了經濟自由，不及我們的指數B全面。儘管如此，這也意味著香港2017年的個人自由指數將會繼續下降。

按美國傳統基金會的報告，香港2017年的經濟自由指數上升了0.45%。基金會的經濟自由指數，與卡托研究所及菲沙研究所的「經濟自由指數」十分相似，不過香港經濟自由指數的輕微上升，難以抵銷民主指數及個人自由指數的下跌，相信指數B於2017年將會進一步下降，反映國際智庫對香港的民主及自由狀況十分關注。

In 2017, while international opinions on Hong Kong have turned negative, opinions of the Hong Kong public on 1C2S have improved. Our two surveys only cover the second half of 2017 and cannot show trends before mid-2017. The HKU Public Opinion Programme (HKUPOP) has quarterly surveys on public's confidence on 1C2S starting from 1993. The average net percentage of the public who have confidence in 1C2S (percentage of the public that is confident less the percentage of the public that is not confident) in the four surveys in 2016 was -1.5%. The average net percentage in the four surveys in 2017 was +4.6%. From 2016 to 2017, the net percentage of the public who have confidence in 1C2S has risen by 6.1 percentage points.

Our 1C2S MMI (Mass Media Index) has also improved substantially in 2017. The MMI score has risen from 84 in December 2016 to 97 in December 2017, an increase of 15.6%. The strong improvement in media sentiment appears to be related to the change in Hong Kong's CE (Chief Executive). Mr. C.Y. Leung, the former CE, announced in December 2016 that he would not seek re-election. Mrs. Carrie Lam, the new CE, was elected in late March 2017 and she started her new term on 1st July 2017. In our second survey, we also asked the public about her new administration, and the opinion is positive.

The reason for the divergence between international and local opinions appears to be that the Hong Kong public has placed a lot of weight on the change of CE, while international think tanks have mostly neglected the change. This divergence underlines the importance of including the opinions of both the Hong Kong public and international think tanks in a balanced index of 1C2S.

在2017年，雖然國際智庫對香港的評價趨向負面，香港人對「一國兩制」的評價卻有所改善。我們的兩個民調只涵蓋2017年下半年，不能顯示2017年6月之前的趨勢，不過香港大學民意研究計劃，從1993年開始，便進行季度民調，調查香港人對「一國兩制」的信心。港大民研在2016年四次季度調查中，市民對「一國兩制」信心的平均淨值（有信心減去無信心的百分比）為-1.5%。在2017年四次季度調查中，平均淨值為+4.6%。2016年至2017年，市民對「一國兩制」有信心的淨值上升了6.1%。

我們的「一國兩制」輿情指數在2017年也大幅改善。輿情指數從2016年12月的84點上升至2017年12月的97點，上漲15.6%。媒體情緒的大幅改善似乎與行政長官換人有關。前行政長官梁振英先生於2016年12月宣布放棄連任，而新一屆行政長官林鄭月娥於2017年3月底當選，並於2017年7月1日開始新一屆任期。在第二次電話調查中，市民對她新一屆的施政也普遍正面。

香港市民與國際智庫的觀感有分歧，背後的原因似乎是香港市民對於行政長官的人選變動非常重視，而國際智庫則大都忽略了這種轉變。這種分歧亦突顯了同時納入香港市民和國際智庫的意見，對編製一個均衡的「一國兩制」指標相當重要。



B 電話調查的熱門議題 Topical questions in the telephone survey

(1) Topical questions asked in both surveys

- When conflicts arise in 1C2S, a majority believes that the Central Government and Hong Kong are equally responsible, which reflects the need for both parties to reconsider their own obligations and positions.
- The percentage of the public who plans to emigrate due to lack of confidence in 1C2S has fallen from 9.4% in the first round to 7.7% in the second round. This is a positive development.
- Both rounds of surveys indicate that the public remains deeply divided over whether the current government ought to initiate public consultation for Article 23 legislation. The absence of consensus should be a cause for concern to policy makers.

(1) 兩輪調查的共同熱門議題

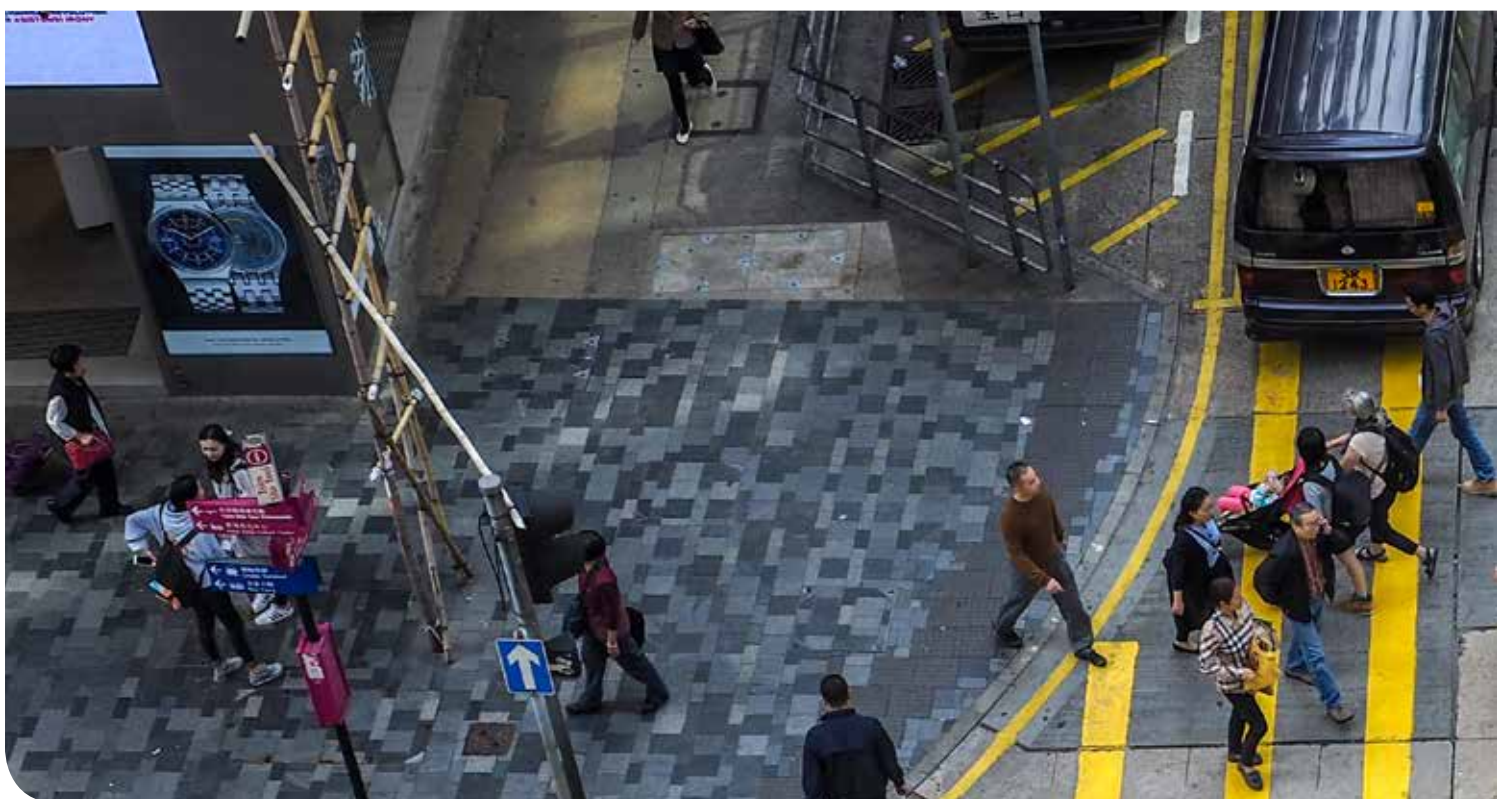
- 在實踐「一國兩制」的過程中，當內地與香港出現矛盾時，責任屬於內地或香港，最多市民選擇「一半半」，反映中央及香港雙方都需要反思自身的責任。
- 因為對「一國兩制」有信心而計劃移民的比例為7.7%，比上一輪調查的9.4%下降，是可喜的發展。
- 兩輪調查的結果同樣顯示，市民對今屆政府是否需要就二十三條立法進行諮詢的取態兩極分化，並無共識，執政者要小心從事。

(2) Topical questions in the 2nd survey on controversial political events between the two rounds

- Hong Kong people are worried about the emphasis of the Central Government on “overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong” in the Work Report of 19th CPC National Congress: 45.0% indicate that they are worried or very worried that the Central Government will tighten its policy towards Hong Kong; only 30.2% indicate that they are unworried or very unworried.
- Public opinion on amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Council to restrict filibustering is positive: 43.5% indicate agree or strongly agree; only 32.9% indicate disagree or strongly disagree.
- Public opinion on appointment of Carrie Lam as CE is positive: 49.0% indicate that social divisions remain unchanged; 41.0% indicate that they have decreased; only 7.6% indicated that they have increased.
- Public opinion on the Government proposal of ‘co-location arrangement’ for the Express Rail Link is positive: 49.5% indicate support or strongly support; only 22.6% indicate oppose or strongly oppose.

(2) 第二輪調查加入的新議題

- 對中共十九大工作報告強調中央對香港有全面管治權，市民反應負面：45.0%市民表示「擔憂」或「非常擔憂」中央對香港政策會收緊，祇有30.2%表示「不擔憂」或「非常不擔憂」。
- 對立法會修改議事規則限制議員拉布，市民反應正面：43.5%市民表示「同意」或「非常同意」，只有32.9%表示「唔同意」或「非常唔同意」。
- 市民對林鄭月娥上台後普遍感到正面：49.0%市民認為社會撕裂「冇變」，41.0%認為「減少」，只有7.6%認為「增加」。
- 市民支持政府提出的一地兩檢案，49.5%市民「支持」或「非常支持」政府提出的一地兩檢方案，只有22.6%市民表示「唔支持」或「非常唔支持」。



- Public opinion on the impact of 'co-location' arrangement on 1C2S is neutral: 48.9% indicate no impact, 31.5% indicate negative impact, only 13.6% indicate positive impact.
- Impact of enactment of national anthem law by the Hong Kong government on 1C2S is negative: 42.7% indicate negative impact; 34.3% indicate no impact; only 16.3% indicate positive impact.

Despite worries about the tightening of the Central Government's policy towards Hong Kong and the enactment of the national anthem law, Hong Kong people appear to be very pragmatic in the reaction to recent controversies. They appear to place efficiency of operating the Express Rail Link over political concerns on whether the "co-location arrangement" would infringe the Basic Law. They value effective functioning of the LegCo over endless debates. They also have a positive view of Carrie Lam, who set aside political controversies on constitutional reforms and focus on improving people's livelihood. This pragmatic approach is consistent with the negligible change in the people's evaluation of 1C2S despite the many political shocks that happened between the two surveys. This pragmatism may also explain the slight rise in public's confidence that conflicts between mainland China and Hong Kong can be resolved via dialogue and negotiation (question 9 of survey).

- 多數市民認為政府的一地兩檢方案對「一國兩制」並無影響：48.9%市民認為方案對「一國兩制」有影響，31.5%認為有「負面影響」，13.6%則認為有「正面影響」。
- 市民對訂立國歌法有一定擔憂：42.7%市民認為訂立國歌法對「一國兩制」有「負面影響」，34.3%認為「有影響」，16.3%則認為有「正面影響」。

雖然香港市民對中央政府收緊香港政策和制訂國歌法有擔憂，但是香港市民對近期的爭議依然務實。就高鐵一地兩檢安排會否抵觸《基本法》的政治考慮相比，他們更重視運作效率。他們亦重視立法會的有效運作，多於無休止的辯論。他們也對拋開政制改革的爭議，轉而聚焦於改善民生的林鄭月娥有正面的印象。即使兩次調查之間發生了許多政治爭議，市民所表現的務實態度，與他們對「一國兩制」的評價基本不變相當一致。這種務實態度也可以說明，為什麼市民對於內地與香港能夠通過對話和協商來解決衝突的信心有輕微上升（問卷題目9）。





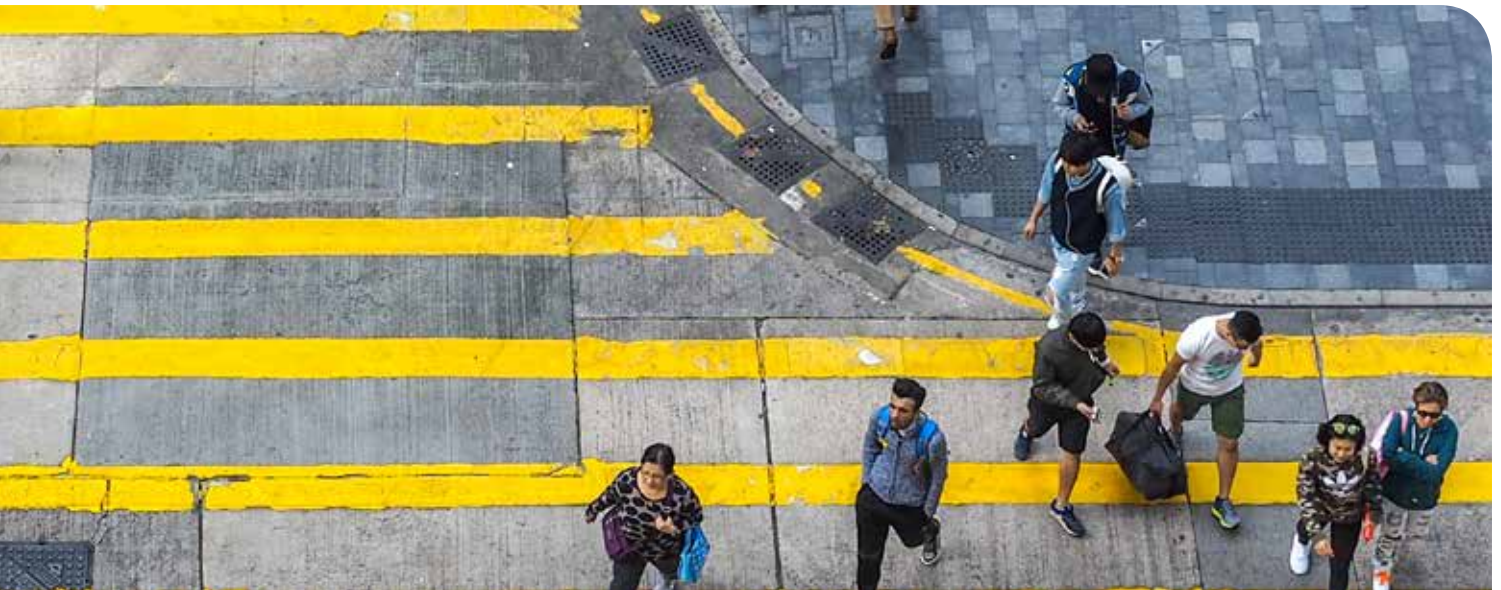
C 對「香港人」及「中國人」的身分認同 Citizens' Self-Identification as Hong Kongers and as Chinese

(1) Double identity as 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese'

- In both rounds of surveys, a majority of the public (55.9% in the first round and 56.1% in the second round) strongly identify themselves as both 'Hong Kongers' and 'Chinese'. On a scale of 0 to 10, the public's self-identifications as 'Hong Kongers' and as 'Chinese' have both increased in the last half year, rising from respectively 7.75 and 6.63 in mid-2017 to respectively 7.93 and 6.71 at the end of 2017.
- In both rounds of surveys, there is a significant positive correlation between the two identities – the more strongly one is identified with 'Hong Konger', the more strongly one is identified with 'Chinese'; the converse also holds. This is a favourable condition for the implementation of 1C2S.
- As double identity as 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' is the norm in Hong Kong, traditional surveys (e.g., those of the HKU Public Opinion Programme) that compel interviewees to choose between two identities ('Hong Konger' and 'Chinese') or choose one among four identities ('Hong Konger', 'Hong Kong Chinese', 'Chinese Hong Konger', and 'Chinese') are misleading as they implicitly put the 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' identity as mutually exclusive. Traditional surveys cannot reveal a situation in which the strength of both identities has increased, as they have in the last half year.

(1) 對「香港人」和「中國人」的雙重身分認同

- 兩輪調查中，大部分市民（第一輪為55.9%，第二輪為56.1%）都對「香港人」及「中國人」身分有高度認同。以10分為滿分，市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的身份認同在過去半年都上升，依次從2017年中的7.75分及6.63分，上升至2017年底的7.93分及6.71分。
- 兩輪調查統計分析都發現市民對「香港人」和「中國人」的認同呈現明顯正相關，即越認同「香港人」身分的市民亦越認同「中國人」的身分，反之亦然。「香港人」和「中國人」的認同相輔相成，這也是落實「一國兩制」的有利條件。
- 由於多數香港人擁有「香港人」和「中國人」的雙重身分認同，傳統民調（例如香港大學民意研究計劃）限制被訪者在兩個身分（「香港人」和「中國人」），或者四個身分（「香港人」、「中國的香港人」、「香港的中國人」和「中國人」）之間作出選擇是偏頗的。因為他們隱然把「香港人」和「中國人」的身分對立，未能反映兩種身分認同在過去半年有所加強的情況。



(2) Identity as Chinese across different groups


- In the second survey, all age groups (18 years to over 70 years old), and also all groups by educational attainment (from primary level to graduate school), have relatively strong identity as “Chinese”, with ratings above the median. In comparison with the first survey, the identity as “Chinese” of the majority of age groups (including Young Adults), and of the majority of groups by educational attainment, have both increased.
- Pro-establishment supporters and Moderates identify themselves strongly as “Chinese”. The strength of their identification has also increased in the last half year.
- Though the strength of identification of Pan-Democrats as “Chinese” is slightly above the median, the strength of their identification has fallen. Localists/Self-determinists have relatively weak identity as “Chinese” and the strength of their identification has also fallen in the last half year. The self-identity as “Chinese” of Pan-Democrats and Localists/Self-determinists (23% of our sample) are moving further away from that of the majority. This is a cause for concern.
- Though the identity of Young Adults (18 to 29 years old) as “Chinese” has strengthened slightly in the last half year; it is only marginally above the median. Policy makers need to work hard to cultivate national identity among Young Adults.

(2) 不同組別對中國人的身份認同

- 在第二輪調查中，所有年齡組別（18歲到70歲或以上）對中國人身份都有較強認同，評分都大於4（中位數）。與第一輪調查比較，大多數年齡組別（包括年青人）對中國人的身份認同都有所加強。所有教育組別（小學到研究院）對中國人身份都有較強認同，評分都大於4（中位數）。與第一輪調查比較，大多數教育組別對中國人的身份認同都有所加強。
- 建制派和中間派對中國人身份都有強烈認同，其認同感在上半年更進一步加強。
- 民主派對中國人身份認同的評分雖然稍為大於中位數，不過其認同感在上半年有所減弱。本土自決派對中國人身份認同較弱，其認同感在上半年更下降。民主派和本土自決派（佔樣本23%）對中國人身份的認同與大部分市民越走越遠，情況令人擔憂。
- 青少年（18至29歲）對中國人身份的認同雖然在最近半年稍為上升，惟仍然僅僅是大於中位數，決策者仍須努力培育青少年對國家的認同。

D 「一國兩制」輿情指數 1C2S MMI (Mass Media Index)

- By surveying over 123,000 news articles and 61 million words from 20 local daily newspapers, 1C2S MMI monitors how “1C2S” is conveyed in the mass media. The MMI complements our 1C2S Index as media sentiment is an important factor in the formation of public opinion.
- In the longer run, subject to resource availability, the MMI opens up many opportunities of further research in public opinion formation. The MMI can be compiled at high frequency intervals (e.g. monthly) as it is not subject to the long time lags of surveys. It is also possible to investigate the effect of specific significant events (e.g., co-location arrangement for the Express Rail link) on media sentiment, or to compare sentiments in the local and overseas media.
- The base month of 1C2S is set at July 2017, the 20th anniversary of the HKSAR. We compiled the MMI from April 1998 to December 2017. The overall trend of MMI is compared to two well-known opinion polls on public’s views towards 1C2S, namely, the polls of RTHK and HKU Public Opinion Programme. The trend of the MMI is similar to that of the two polls: Rising in the early 2000’s to a peak around 2007, then falling to a trough around 2014-16 with Occupy Central and the civil unrest in Mongkok, then recovering thereafter.
- The recent trend of MMI correlates quite closely with significant events. In particular, the MMI dropped sharply by over 20 points from December 2016 to June 2017 when the “Causeway Bay Bookstore” incident and the civil unrest in Mong Kok aroused widespread concern. However, the MMI bottomed out in July 2016, and has risen strongly since December 2017, when CY Leung declared that he would not run for a second term. This rise was further boosted in 2017 when Carrie Lam was elected CE. The MMI rose by a total of 24 points from the nadir of July 2016.
- 「一國兩制」輿情指數從20家本地報章搜集123,000多篇報導，逾6,100萬字，藉此透視大眾傳媒對「一國兩制」的感受及意見。媒體所傳遞的情緒是形成民意的重要因素，故此，「一國兩制」輿情指數補足了我們的「一國兩制」指數。
- 在長遠角度，如資源許可，輿情指數能為民意形成開拓更多研究機會。輿情指數能以高頻率編製（如每月），因為它不受以調查方式收集民意時所產生的滯後影響。它亦可以調查特定重大事件（例如高鐵一地兩檢安排）對媒體情緒的影響，或比較本地及海外媒體的情緒。
- 輿情指數的基數月份定於2017年7月，即香港特區成立二十周年。數值由1998年4月開始至2017年12月。我們將「一國兩制」輿情指數的整體趨勢與兩項常用的民調進行比較，即香港電台和香港大學民意研究計劃就市民對「一國兩制」看法的調查。「一國兩制」輿情指數的趨勢與兩項民意調查相似：2000年年初上升至2007年左右的高峰，然後在2014至2016年，「佔領中環」及「旺角騷亂」期間跌至低谷，隨後復蘇。
- 「一國兩制」輿情指數的趨勢與近期的重大事件息息相關，尤其是2016年12月至2017年6月，「銅鑼灣書店」事件和「旺角騷亂」引起廣泛關注，使指數大幅下跌超過20點。然而，「一國兩制」輿情指數自2016年7月起反彈。梁振英在2016年12月宣布放棄連任後，指數有明顯升幅。2017年，林鄭月娥當選為行政長官時，升勢更進一步提升，指數從2016年6月的低點一共上升約24點。



「一國兩制」概況：民意調查及指數編制
第二次報告
第二部分：主報告

“One Country Two Systems” Overview:
Public Survey and Index Construction
Second Report
Part II: Main Report

I. 「一國兩制」概況的電話民調

1C2S Overview: Telephone Survey

In order to fully access the public's assessment of 1C2S, we commissioned the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong to conduct a telephone survey from December 11 to 23 in 2017. 1,006 individuals were successfully and randomly sampled, all aged 18 or above; all of them spoke either Cantonese or Mandarin (the sampling error is $\pm 3.09\%$ within a 95% confidence level); the response rate was 39.5%, satisfying both statistical and scientific standards. For a more extensive report on the survey results, please see Appendix 2 on the homepage of the Path of Democracy.

Rating Scales:

The survey employed 1 to 7 as the rating scale in the data collection process, with 4 as the median; this scale is commonly adopted for most psychological assessments. During the actual surveying process, this scale was used instead of a 0 to 10 scale as the latter is deemed too finely graduated and cumbersome for respondents to choose from. For statistical analysis, we continue to employ the 1 to 7 scale. However, to better conform with existing indices – which tend to be expressed on a 0 to 10 scale (with 5 as the median) – we converted the results into the 0 to 10 scale for index compilation purposes.

為了了解市民對「一國兩制」的評價，我們委託香港中文大學亞太研究所於2017年12月11日至12月23日進行電話調查，以隨機抽樣方式訪問了1,006名18歲以上操粵語或普通話的市民（在95%置信水平下，抽樣誤差為 $\pm 3.09\%$ ），回應率為 39.5%，符合科學性的調查標準，詳細的調查報告（附錄二）已上載至民主思路網站。

評分尺度：

訪問以1至7分為評分尺度（4分為中位數），這是心理量度的常用尺度。至於0至10分的尺度，因為分類太細緻，市民選擇較為困難，我們不在問卷採用。在本報告的統計分析，我們一般使用1至7分的尺度，不過編制指數以0至10分（5分為中位數）表達更為方便，是以在編制指數時，我們把市民的評分結果由 1 至 7 分的尺度轉變成為0至10分的尺度。

Comparing the two rounds of surveys:

There are many changes in the results of the two rounds of surveys. However, most changes are not substantial enough to be statistically significant. In this Report, the few changes that are statistically significant will be marked with a “*”. Other changes that are statistically insignificant will not be marked.

Summary of Key Survey Findings:

1 市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價（問卷Q1-Q9） Citizens' Assessment of 1C2S's Current State (Survey Questions 1-9)

We surveyed the public's assessments of nine specific items concerning 1C2S; see Figure 2 for detailed results. Amongst the nine items, four items scored higher than 5; from the highest to the lowest, they are: maintaining original ways of life (6.21), freedom of speech (6.03), judicial independence (5.43), legislative independence (5.28) – these results suggest the public hold relatively positive opinions with respect to the above four items.

On the other hand, five items score below 5: they are, from the highest to lowest, a high degree of autonomy in the executive branch (4.73), progress in democratization (4.43), the successful implementation of “Self Governance, High Autonomy” principles (4.42), the full implementation of 1C2S in the future (4.28), and the ability for the Mainland and Hong Kong to resolve differences via dialogue and negotiation (4.17). The results suggest that the public holds relatively negative views with respect to these five items. The average across the ten items is 4.98, just short of the half way mark, indicating that the public does not give a high rating to 1C2S, a fact which policy makers ought to be aware.

The range of the ratings is relatively narrow (the lowest rating is 4.17; the highest, 6.21), most plausibly because the public generally hold a ‘holistic rating’ on 1C2S, such that regardless of the specific item surveyed, the answers are nevertheless shaped by their ‘holistic ratings’, such that the range across their answers for each specific item is relatively small.

兩輪調查的比較：

兩輪調查的結果有不少變化，不過絕大部分的變化都未達到統計的顯著水平。在本報告中，達到統計上顯著水平的變化會以「*」標誌，其他未達顯著水平的變化則沒有此標誌。

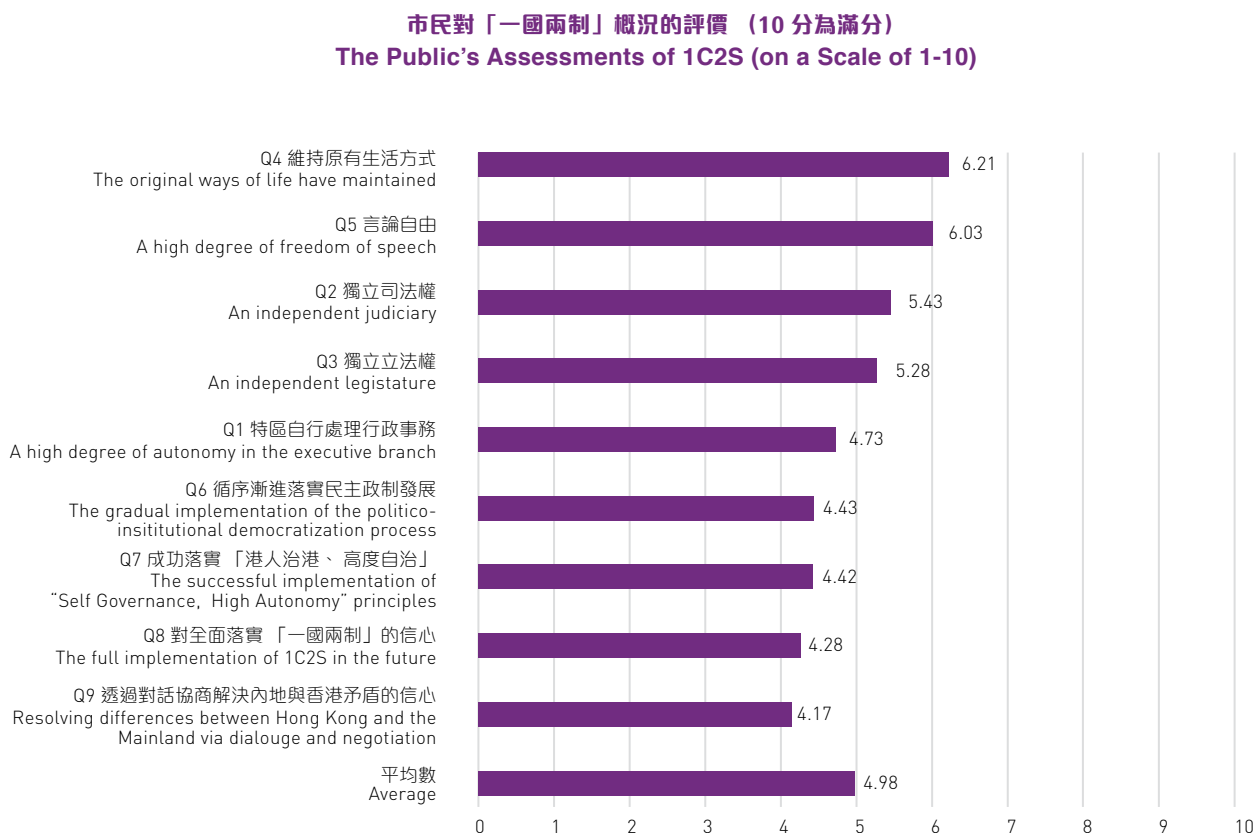
調查結果摘要如下：

我們就九個項目詢問市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價，結果見圖二。九個項目之中，有四個項目得分超過 5 分。按分數由高至低排列是：維持原有生活方式 (6.21)、言論自由 (6.03)、司法獨立 (5.43)，及立法獨立 (5.28)，反映市民對上述四個項目較滿意。

另外五個項目得分較低，依次為：自行處理內部行政事務(4.73)、民主政制發展(4.43)、落實「港人治港、高度自治」(4.42)、2047年前能全面落實「一國兩制」(4.28)，及能夠透過對話協商解決兩地矛盾(4.17)。情況與上一輪民調接近，反映市民對這五個項目的評價持續負面。以10分制計算，九個項目的平均分是4.98，市民對「一國兩制」的評分較低，執政者需要警惕。

九個項目的評分差別不大（最低是4.17，最高是6.21），情況與上次民調類同，相信市民心中對「一國兩制」有一個概括的評分，無論訪問員詢問什麼項目，市民的答案也會受到心中的概括評分影響，因此對各細項的評分也不偏離整體上的概括分數。

圖二：市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價（有效樣本：918）
Fig 2: Public's Assessments of 1C2S (Valid Sample Size: 918)



2 兩輪民調結果的比較 Comparing results of two rounds of surveys

The first round survey has ten questions on 1C2S. Eight questions were framed positively (e.g., after the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent judiciary powers, maintain independent legislative power, continues to enjoy freedom of speech etc.), but the following two questions were framed negatively:

- a) "After the handover, the way of life of the Hong Kong people has not been affected by mainland China. To what extent would you agree?"
- b) "After the handover, the internal affairs of Hong Kong have not been interfered with by the central and local governments of China. To what extent would you agree?"

上一輪的調查有十條問題，其中八條以正面的形式發問（例如回歸之後香港繼續保持獨立的司法權、獨立的立法權、繼續享有言論自由、實行高度自治等等），有兩條卻以負面的形式提問，受訪者較難理解：

- (甲) 「回歸之後，香港人原有嘅生活方式並無受到內地嘅影響。你有幾同意呢？」
- (乙) 「回歸之後，特區內部事務並無受到中央各部門同內地其他省市嘅干預。你有幾同意呢？」

Questions framed negatively are more difficult to understand. Moreover, the standard deviations of the above two questions were 1.85 and 1.82 respectively, which were higher than those of the other eight questions (ranging from 1.64 to 1.77). This indicates that the design of the above two questions needs to be improved.

To improve our questionnaire, we made two changes in the second round survey. Firstly, we changed the framing of question (a) from negative to positive (“After the handover, Hong Kong people has been able to maintain their original way of life”). Secondly, we deleted question (b) as it largely overlapped with other questions (e.g., after the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent judiciary powers; maintain independent legislative power; continues to enjoy freedom of speech; has been able to practice a high degree of autonomy etc.).

Due to the above changes, when we compare the results of the two surveys, we can only compare the results of the eight questions that are identical across the two rounds. Table 1 shows the results of the comparison. It also shows the effects on the average scores when questions (a) and (b) are included or excluded as the case may be.

In the eight questions that are identical in both rounds, the scores of 5 questions have fallen: A high degree of autonomy in the executive branch, judiciary independence, legislative independence, freedom of speech, and the successful implementation of “Self Governance, High Autonomy” principles. The scores might have been affected by recent political controversies.

However, the scores of two questions have increased, namely “resolving differences between Hong Kong and the Mainland via dialogue and negotiation”, and “the gradual implementation of institutional democratization process”. The scores of these two questions might have been positively affected by the efforts of Mrs. Carrie Lam to heal societal divisions.

The average score of the eight questions have fallen from 4.88 in the first survey to 4.84 in the second survey, falling by a negligible 0.04 or 0.8%.

(甲) 與 (乙) 兩條題目答案的標準差分別為 1.85及1.82，高於其他八條題目答案的標準差（在1.64至1.77之間），顯示這兩條題目的設計有待改進。

為了改善問卷，在本輪調查中，我們作出兩項更改。首先，我們將 (甲) 題改為以正面的形式發問（「回歸之後，香港人繼續維持原有嘅生活方式，你有幾同意呢？」）。其次，因為 (乙) 題目與其他題目高度重疊（例如回歸之後香港繼續保持獨立的司法權、獨立的立法權、繼續享有言論自由、實行高度自治等等），我們把它刪除。

因為以上兩點更改，在比較兩輪調查結果的時候，我們只可以比較兩輪調查中完全相同的八條題目。表一列出比較的結果，亦顯示剔除或包括 (甲)、(乙) 兩條題目對總評分的影響。

在兩輪調查八個完全相同的項目中，有五個項目的評分下降，包括：特區自行處理行政事務、司法獨立、立法獨立、言論自由、及成功落實「港人治港、高度自治」。在兩輪民調之間，發生了多項具爭議性的政治事件，可能影響市民對「一國兩制」的看法。以上五個項目的評分下降，並非意料之外。

在八個項目中，有兩個項目的評分卻上升：包括「透過對話協商解決內地與香港矛盾的信心」與及「循序漸進落實民主政制發展」。這兩個項目的評分上升，可能與林鄭月娥致力減少社會撕裂的施政作風有關。

第二輪調查八個項目的平均分為4.84，比第一輪調查的4.88分稍微下跌0.04分，下跌幅度為0.8%，變化甚微。

表一：市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價：兩輪調查的比較

Table 1: Public's Assessments of 1C2S [Comparison of Two Rounds of Survey]	平均分 Average (0-10)	2017.6	2017.12
1 回歸之後，香港實行到高度自治，自行處理特區 嘅行政事務。你有幾同意呢？ After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to practice a high degree of autonomy, and has been able to handle its own internal administrative affairs. To what extent would you agree?	4.82	4.73	
2 回歸之後，香港繼續保持到獨立嘅司法權。你有幾同意呢？ After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent judiciary powers. To what extent would you agree?	5.61	5.43	
3 回歸之後，香港繼續保持到獨立嘅立法權。你有幾同意呢？ After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent legislative powers. To what extent would you agree?	5.42	5.28	
5 回歸之後，香港繼續享有言論自由。你有幾同意呢？ After the handover, Hong Kong continues to enjoy the freedom of speech. To what extent would you agree?	6.15	6.03	
6 回歸之後，香港嘅民主政制發展，正係按照基本法嘅規定，循序漸進地落實。你有幾同意呢？ After the handover, the development of Hong Kong's democratic system has been progressively implemented, following the provision of the Basic Law. To what extent would you agree?	4.36	4.43	
7 香港回歸已經二十年，整體嚟講，你認為落實『港人治港、高度自治』有幾成功呢？ Twenty years after the handover, how successful has been the practice of 'Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong with a high degree of autonomy'?	4.43	4.42	
8 你有幾大信心香港喺未來（即2047年前）能全面落實『一國兩制』呢？ How confident are you in the full implementation of 'one country, two systems' in Hong Kong in the future (before 2047)?	4.28	4.28	
9 對於當內地同香港出現嘅矛盾時，兩地可透過對話協商得以解決，你有幾大信心呢？ When conflicts between mainland China and Hong Kong arise, how confident are you that the conflicts can be resolved through consultation and dialogue?	3.97	4.17	
	平均分 Average	4.88	4.84
4 回歸之後，香港人繼續維持原有嘅生活方式。你有幾同意呢？ After the handover, the original ways of life of the Hong Kong people have maintained. To what extent would you agree?	-	6.21	
	平均分 Average	-	4.98
甲 回歸之後，香港人原有嘅生活方式並無受到內地影響。你有幾同意呢？ A After the handover, the way of life of the Hong Kong people has not been affected by mainland China. To what extent would you agree?	5.12	-	
乙 回歸之後，特區內部事務並無受到中央各部門同內地其他省市嘅干預。你有幾同意呢？ B After the handover, the internal affairs of Hong Kong have not been interfered with by the central and local governments of China. To what extent would you agree?	4.26	-	
	平均分 Average	4.84	-

註：只計算回答此部分全部問題的市民。第一輪為897人，第二輪為918人。

Note: Only those who answered all questions in this section are counted. There are 897 respondents in the first round and 918 in the second round.



3 對香港人及中國人的身分認同 (Q12、Q13) Citizens' Self-Identification as Hong Kongers and as Chinese (Questions 12 - 13)

表二：市民對香港人及中國人的身分認同：兩輪調查的比較
Table 2: Public's identification as 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' (Comparison of Two Rounds of Survey)

	受訪人數 Respondents		平均分 Average (1-7)		平均分 Average (0-10)	
	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12
「我係香港人」 "I am a Hong Konger"	979	986	5.65	5.76	7.75	7.93
「我係中國人」 "I am a Chinese"	979	986	4.96	5.00	6.63	6.71

我們分別詢問市民是否認同「香港人」及「中國人」的身分，結果見表二。

市民對「香港人」身分的認同甚高，以 1 分至 7 分的尺度量度，平均為 5.76 分，轉變成 0 分至 10 分的尺度，平均則為 7.93 分，略高於上次民調的 7.75 分。

市民對「中國人」身分的認同亦高，以 1 分至 7 分的尺度量度，平均分為 5 分，轉變成 0 分至 10 分的尺度，平均則為 6.71 分，亦較上次民調的 6.63 分高。

市民對「香港人」和「中國人」的認同程度可以用散佈圖 (scatter plot) 顯示。圖三的橫軸為對「香港人」的認同程度，縱軸則為對「中國人」的認同程度。按 1 至 7 分的尺度，4 分為中位數，4 分表示中等認同，是圖三座標的原點，高於 4 分代表較高認同，低於 4 分則代表較低認同。圖三顯示對「香港人」和「中國人」都非常認同（即選擇最高的 7 分）的市民，是人數最多的組別，共有 213 人，佔總數 21.6%。

We respectively surveyed how citizens identify themselves, whether as 'Hong Kongers' or 'Chinese', or both (Table 2).

On the whole, the public identified themselves strongly as 'Hong Kongers', with an average of 5.76 on the 1 to 7 scale (and therefore 7.93 on the 0 to 10 scale). The public also identified themselves reasonably strongly as 'Chinese', with an average of 5 on the 1 to 7 scale, and 6.71 on the 0 to 10 scale.

The extent to which the public identified themselves as 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' can be better denoted by a scatter plot. The x-axis in Figure 3 constitutes the strength of self-identification as a Hong Konger; the y-axis, self-identification as Chinese. On the 1 to 7 scale, the median is 4, which indicates a moderate level of identification. Ratings that are higher than 4 indicate relatively strong identification; ratings that are lower than 4 indicate relatively weak identification. Fig. 1 suggests that a plurality of citizens identify themselves strongly as both Hong Kongers and Chinese, with 213 individuals selecting 7 for both categories (21.6% of the total).

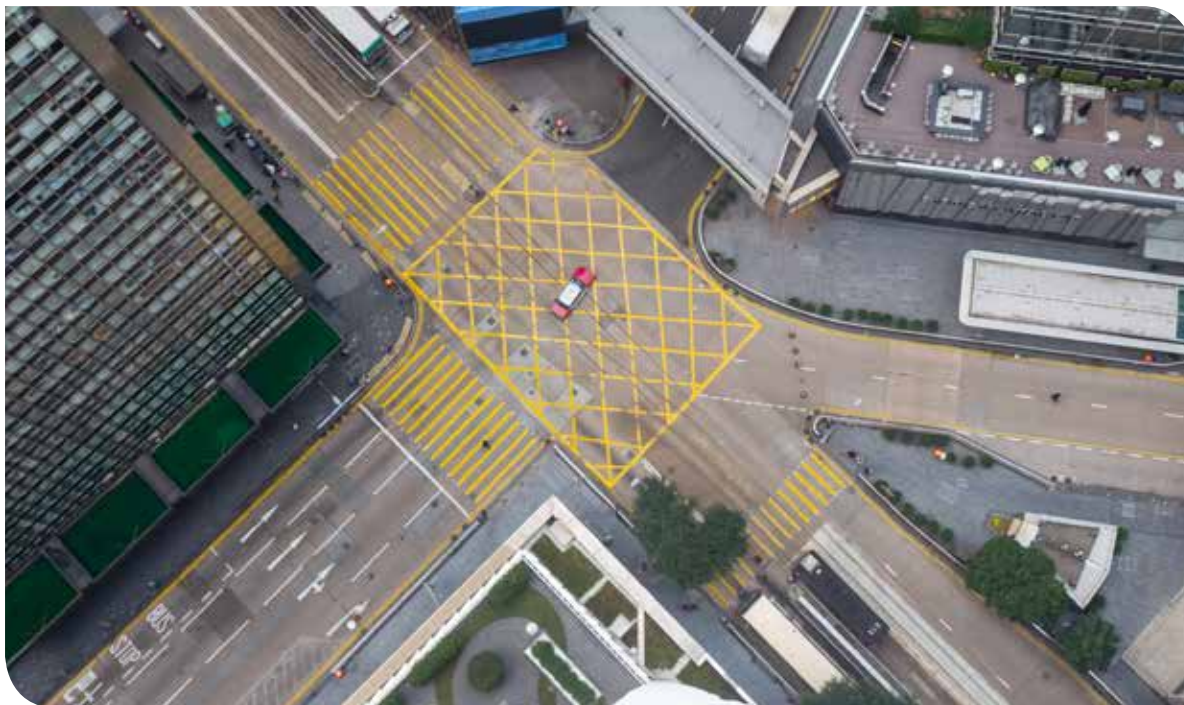


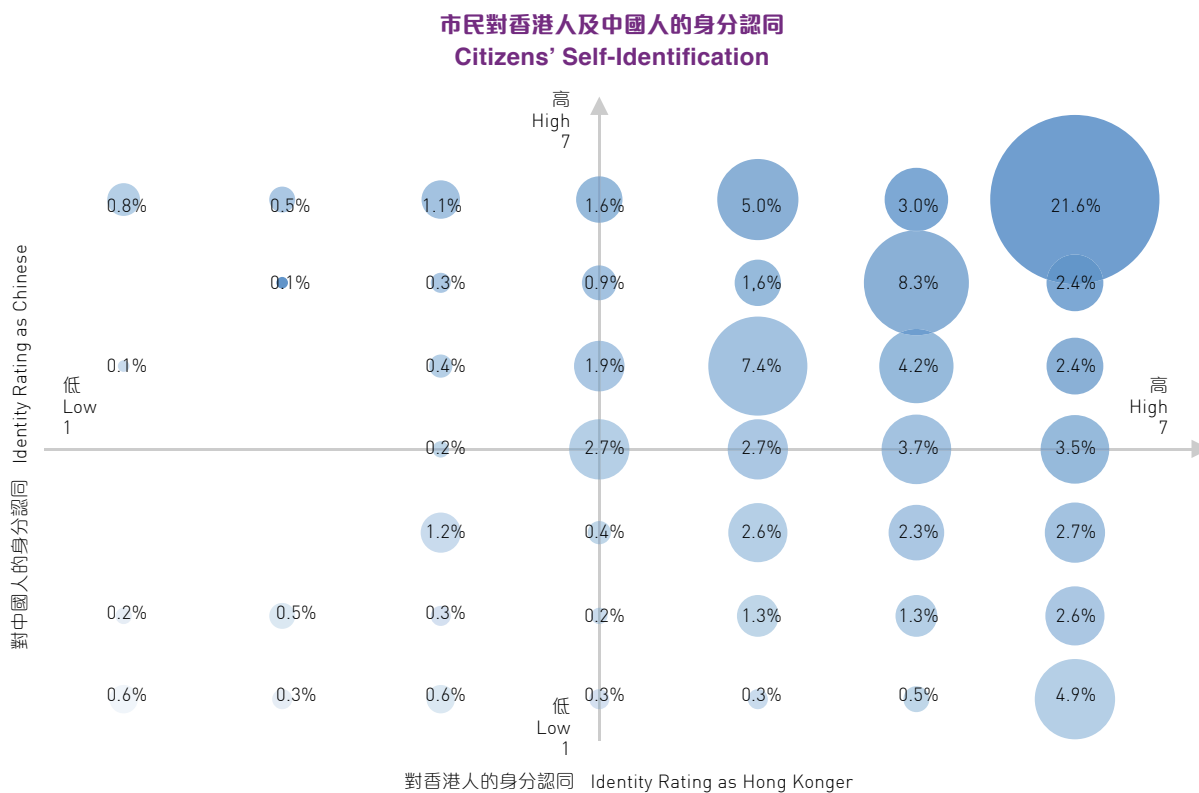
Fig 3 clearly depicts that most Hong Kong citizens are cognizant of their double identities as both Hong Kongers and Chinese; 553 individuals hold relatively strong levels of identification as both Hong Kongers and Chinese (56.1% of the total). Identification as Chinese may not be the same as “devotion to China”, but identification as both Chinese and Hong Kongers is a pre-requisite for “devotion to China and Hong Kong”. The fact that a majority of Hong Kong people identify themselves as both “Hong Konger” and “Chinese” provides a strong basis for implementation of 1C2S.

Statistical analysis yields the observation that there exists a significant positive correlation between identification as a Hong Konger and identification as Chinese, suggesting that the more strongly one identifies with Hong Kong, the more strongly one also identifies with China (see Figure 4). The converse also holds. The rank correlation coefficient is 0.184 and is statistically very significant at the 99.9% confidence level, which is similar to the first survey where the corresponding coefficient was highly significant at 0.132. The finding that the two identities as “Hong Konger” and “Chinese” are mutually reinforcing each other again provides a strong basis for the implementation of 1C2S.

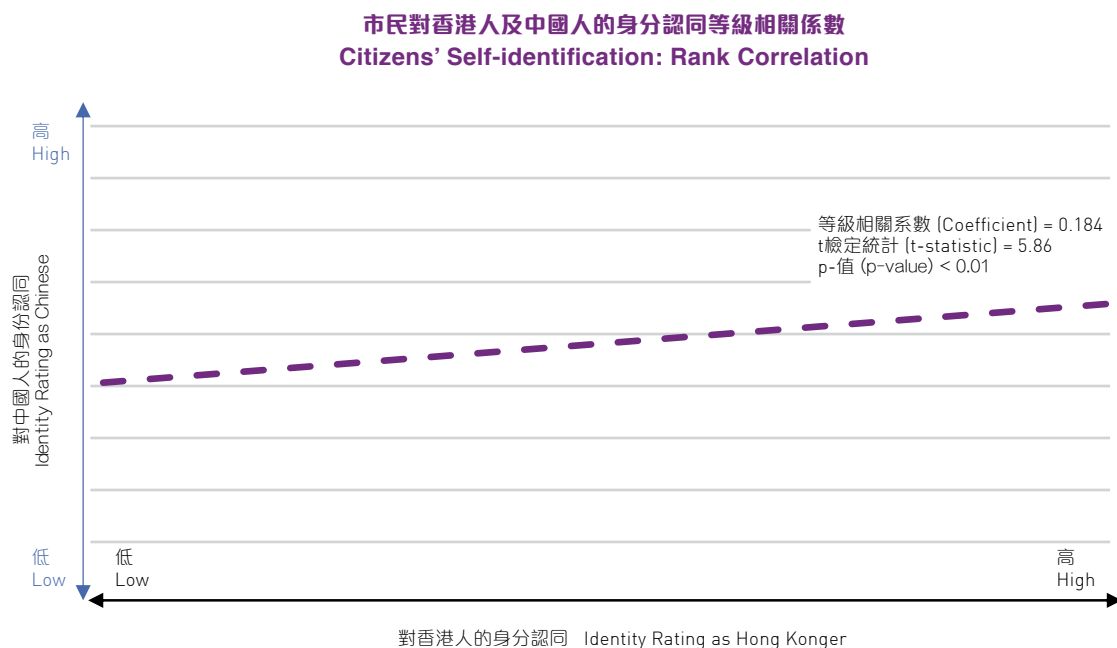
圖三清楚顯示大部分香港市民都同時認同自己是香港人和中國人的雙重身分，對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身分都有較高認同（高於4分）的人數有553人，佔總數56.1%。認同「中國人」未必等同「愛國」，不過同時認同「中國人」和「香港人」兩種身分卻是「愛國愛港」的先決條件。香港大部分市民都同時認同「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身份，這是落實「一國兩制」的有利條件。

兩輪調查統計分析都發現市民對「香港人」和「中國人」的認同呈現明顯正相關，即越認同「香港人」身分的市民亦越認同「中國人」的身分，反之亦然，兩者的等級相關係數（rank correlation coefficient）是0.184（上一輪的係數是0.132），兩者的關係在統計上十分顯著，達到99.9%的置信水平（見圖四）。「香港人」和「中國人」的認同相輔相成，這也是落實「一國兩制」的有利條件。

圖三：市民對香港人及中國人的身分認同散佈圖（有效樣本：986）
 Fig 3: Scatter Plot for Citizens' Self-Identification (Valid Sample Size: 986)



圖四：市民對香港人及中國人的身分認同等級相關係數（有效樣本：986人）
 Fig 4: Rank Correlation of Citizens' Self-Identification (Valid Sample Size: 986)



4 身分認同的問卷設計：與其他民調的比較

Survey Design: Comparison with Other Public Surveys

The University of Hong Kong (HKU), and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) have the following three well-known programmes that track the self-identification of the Hong Kong public with longitudinal surveys:

- i. The HKU Public Opinion Programme (HKUPOP) has surveyed the self-identification of the Hong Kong public since 1997;
- ii. The CUHK Center for Communication and Public Opinion Survey has carried out similar surveys since 1996;
- iii. The Centre for Social and Political Development Studies, HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, CUHK has conducted similar surveys since 1998.

The results of these three studies have been widely quoted by scholars and the press in Hong Kong.

In the past, the first two studies have classified the public's self-identification into four categories, namely 'Hong Konger', 'Hong Kong Chinese', 'Chinese Hong Konger' and 'Chinese', while the third study has classified the public's self-identification into two categories, namely 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese'. Such classifications implicitly put the 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' identities as mutually exclusive, implying that the more strongly one identifies himself as 'Hong Konger', the less strongly one identifies himself as 'Chinese'. Our research and analysis suggests that in reality, the contrary holds. Many citizens identify themselves strongly as both 'Hong Kongers' and 'Chinese' – to ask that citizens choose one amongst the four categories (or one amongst the two categories) above can easily lead to bias.

The above three studies are designed to identify the primary identification of interviewees. However, if interviewees identify equally strongly (or equally weakly) as both 'Hong Kongers' and 'Chinese', compelling them to choose one over another would give misleading results. Figure 1 shows that 41.7% of the public have equally strong identification with both identities. Moreover, in the scatter plot, the 3 largest groups are those giving equally high scores of 5 or 6 or 7 as to both identities. The 3 groups together account for 37.3% of our sample.

中大和港大有以下三個知名的民調機構對身分認同問題作長期追蹤研究：

- i. 香港大學的民意研究計劃，從1997年開始就市民的身分認同進行調查；
- ii. 中文大學的傳播與民意調查中心，從1996年開始進行相類似的調查；
- iii. 中文大學香港亞太研究所社會與政治發展研究中心，從1998年開始進行身分認同的調查。

這三個民調的結果都被本地學者和傳媒廣泛引用。

上述(i)和(ii)兩個調查都把市民的身分認同分為四類：包括「香港人」、「香港的中國人」、「中國的香港人」，及「中國人」（即提供此四類身分供市民選擇），而第三個民調則把市民的身分認同分為兩類：包括「香港人」及「中國人」。這三個問卷設計都隱然把「香港人」和「中國人」的身分對立，意味似乎對「香港人」認同越強的市民，對「中國人」身分的認同越弱。我們的調查和分析說明實際的情況恰恰相反：眾多市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的身分都非常認同，要求市民從以上四種身分（或兩種身分）選擇一種，這樣的問卷設計容易出現偏頗。

傳統民調雖然較能辨別主要的身分認同，但如果市民同樣重視（或漠視）兩種身分，不管選擇了哪一種身分，相信也有一定隨意性。圖一顯示有41.7%市民認為「香港人」和「中國人」身分不分軒輊，在傳統民調框架下會感到抉擇左右為難。而且人數最多的三個組別，更是對「香港人」和「中國人」都有較強認同（即給分同為5分、6分或7分），證明回歸以來的追蹤民調一直輕視了大批市民的雙重認同。

Besides possible bias, the above questionnaire designs also do not allow researchers to answer the following two important questions on identity raised in this study:

- i. What is the proportion of the public that strongly (or relatively strongly) identify themselves as both 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese'?
- ii. Is the identification with 'Hong Konger' and with 'Chinese' correlated?

Our survey finds that, in the last half year, the public have identified themselves more strongly as 'Hongkonger' and also as 'Chinese'. On the other hand, HKUPOP finds that the strength of identities goes in opposite directions: Identity as 'Hongkonger' has strengthened as identity as 'Chinese' has weakened. This is because HKUPOP assumes that the two identities are mutually exclusive and compels respondents to choose one identity over the other: If respondents identify more with 'Hongkongers', they must identify less with 'Chinese'. Such a questionnaire design can produce highly biased results.

Over recent years, HKUPOP has also acknowledged the fact that bias is likely to occur when requesting interviewees to select one amongst the four categories above. Indeed, in its news release at the end of 2016, the programme admits that: "the concepts of 'Hongkongers', 'Hongkongers in China', 'Chinese' and 'Chinese in Hong Kong' may overlap with each other, and making a one-in-four choice may not reflect the actual strengths of one's ethnic identities". Since June 2007, the Public Opinion Programme has incorporated separate questions that seek to identify specifically the strengths of citizens' identification with 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese', using methods that are similar to those adopted by this study. However, the other two surveys have yet to carry out a similar revision – there is thus obvious room for improvement. Lastly, though the HKUPOP has added separate questions on identity since 2007, it has not released any analysis of the above two questions based on its data.

除了容易出現偏頗外，以上三個民調的問卷設計，都不能回答本研究提出的兩個有關身分認同的重要問題：

- i. 有多少市民同時非常認同（或同時較為認同）「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身分？
- ii. 市民對「香港人」和「中國人」的認同是否相關？

本研究發現，在最近半年，市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的身分的認同都同時上升。香港大學的民意研究調查，卻發現「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身分認同出現此消彼長的情況：市民對香港人的身分認同上升，對中國人的身分認同卻下降。這是因為港大民研假定中國人與香港人兩種身分對立，要求受訪者作非此即彼的選擇，如果市民對香港人的身分認同上升，市民對中國人身分的認同一定下降，問卷的設計假定兩種認同一定此消彼長，結果便出現偏差。

近年港大民研計劃亦意識到，要求市民從以上四種身分選擇一種，容易出現偏頗。港大民研計劃在2016年底的新聞公報中亦承認：「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」。從2007年6月開始港大民研計劃已在其問卷加入獨立題目分別測試市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同程度，方法與本研究相似。不過另外兩個民調仍然未加入獨立題目，分別測試市民對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同程度，其做法有待改善。此外，港大民研計劃雖然已經在2007年中加入獨立題目，但一直沒有利用其資料就以上兩個長期被忽略的問題發表分析。

5 各年齡、教育及政治傾向組別對中國人的身分認同：兩輪調查的比較

Identity as “Chinese” across groups by age, by educational attainment, and by political inclination: Comparison of two rounds of surveys

Table 3 compares the self-identity as “Chinese” across groups by age, by educational attainment, and by political inclination in the two rounds of surveys. In the second survey, all age groups (18 years to over 70 years old), and also all groups by educational attainment (from primary level to graduate school), have relatively strong identity as “Chinese”, with ratings above the median of 4. In comparison with the first survey, the identity as “Chinese” of the majority of age groups (including Young Adults), and of the majority of groups by educational attainment, have both increased.

Traditional surveys found that only seniors, or the less educated, or Pro-establishment supporters have relatively strong identity as “Chinese”. Our survey found that all age groups and also all groups by educational attainment have relatively strong identity as “Chinese”.

For groups identified by political inclination, Pro-establishment supporters and Moderates identify themselves strongly as “Chinese”. The strength of their identification has also increased in the last half year. The increase in the strength of identity of Pro-establishment supporters is statistically significant at the 95% level. Though the strength of identification of Pan-Democrats as “Chinese” is slightly above the median of 4 in the second survey, the strength of their identification has fallen, and the decrease is statistically significant at the 95% level. Localists/Self-determinists have relatively weak identity as “Chinese”, with a rating of around 3. The strength of their identification has also fallen in the last half year.

表三比較兩輪調查中各年齡、教育及政治傾向組別對中國人的身分認同。從表三可見，在第二輪調查中，所有年齡組別（18歲到70歲或以上）對中國人身分都有較強認同，評分都大於4（中位數）。與第一輪調查比較，大多數年齡組別（包括年青人）對中國人的身分認同都有所加強。所有教育組別（小學到研究院）對中國人身分都有較強認同，評分都大於4（中位數）。與第一輪調查比較，大多數教育組別對中國人的身分認同都有所加強。

傳統民調認為只有年長、低學歷、建制派市民才較認同「中國人」身分，我們的調查卻發現，所有年齡組別與所有教育組別對中國人身分都有較強認同。因為傳統民調假定中國人與香港人兩種身分對立，要求受訪者作非此即彼的選擇，結果便出現偏差。

在政治傾向方面，建制派和中間派對中國人身份都有強烈認同，其認同感在近半年更進一步加強，建制派認同感的加強達到統計上95%的顯著水平。民主派對中國人身分認同的評分雖然稍為大於4（中位數），不過其認同感在近半年有所減弱，減弱程度達到統計上95%的顯著水平。本土自決派對中國人身分認同較弱（評分只有3左右），其認同感在近半年更下降。

表三：各年齡、教育及政治傾向組別對中國人的身分認同：兩輪調查的比較

Table 3: Self-identity as "Chinese" of Groups by Age, by Education, and by Political Inclination: Comparison of Two Rounds of Surveys

		受訪人數 Respondents		佔比 Share		平均分 Average (1-7)	
		2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12
所有市民 All Respondents		979	986	100%	100%	4.96	5.00
按年齡劃分 Age	18-29	176	169	18.0%	17.2%	3.97	4.04
	30-39	165	166	16.9%	16.9%	4.54	4.77
	40-49	173	173	17.7%	17.6%	5.05	4.92
	50-59	204	201	20.8%	20.4%	5.25	5.29
	60-69	141	147	14.4%	15.0%	5.44	5.54
	70歲或以上 70 or above	120	127	12.3%	12.9%	5.83	5.66
按教育程度劃分 Educational Attainment	小學或以下 Primary or Below	124	121	12.7%	12.3%	5.65	5.80
	初中 Secondary (F.1 - F.3)	117	121	12.0%	12.3%	5.37	5.54
	高中 Secondary (F.4 - F.7)	293	295	30.1%	30.1%	5.08	4.93
	專上非學位 Non-degree tertiary	115	116	11.8%	11.8%	4.64	4.89
	大學學位 Bachelor's degree	271	274	27.8%	28.0%	4.42	4.51
	研究院 Postgraduate degree	55	53	5.6%	5.4%	5.24	4.92
按政治傾向劃分 Political Inclination	建制派 Pro-establishment*	98	96	10.4%	10.5%	6.33	6.65
	中間派 Moderates	568	591	60.6%	64.4%	5.16	5.26
	民主派 Pro-democrats*	208	199	22.2%	21.7%	4.43	4.09
	本土自決派 Localists and Self-determinists	64	32	6.8%	3.5%	3.00	2.84

* 身份認同的變化達到統計上95%的顯著水平

The change in self-identification is statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval.

Moderates are the mainstream of society (65% of our sample in the second survey). The increase in the strength of identity as "Chinese" of the public reflects the trend of Moderates and Pro-establishment supporters. However, the self-identity as "Chinese" of Pan-Democrats and Localists/Self-determinists (23% of our sample) are moving further and further away from that of the majority. This is a cause for concern.

Though the identity of Young Adults (18 to 29 years old) as "Chinese" has strengthened slightly in the last half year; it is only marginally above the median of 4. Policy makers need to work hard to cultivate national identity among Young Adults. Young Adults' identification as "Chinese" appears to be deeply polarized – 40% identify themselves relatively strongly as Chinese (above 4); 39% identify themselves relatively weakly (below 4), with the remaining 21% identifying themselves moderately so.

中間派是社會的主流（佔第二輪調查人數65%），過去半年香港市民對中國人身分的平均認同有所上升，主要反映中間派和建制派進一步認同中國人的身分。民主派和本土自決派對中國人身分的認同，卻與中間派和建制派市民背道而馳。民主派和本土自決派（佔樣本23%）對中國人身分的認同與大部分市民越走越遠，情況令人擔憂。

青少年（18至29歲）對中國人身分的認同雖然最近半年稍為上升，仍然僅僅是大於4，決策者仍須努力培育青少年對國家的認同。青少年對「中國人」的認同顯得兩極化：40%的青少年對「中國人」有較高認同（高於4分），39%的青少年對「中國人」的認同卻較低（低於4分），餘下的21%（32人）認同程度為中等（4分）。



6 對基本法的認識？ (Q11) Knowledge of Basic Law (Question 11)

Though the public's self-rating (on a scale of 1 to 10) of its familiarity with the Basic Law has increased slightly from 4.45 in the first survey to 4.53 in the second survey, the rating is still below the median of 5, indicating that the public's knowledge of Basic Law is inadequate.

在兩輪民調中，市民對基本法是否認識的評分，由4.45稍為上升至4.53，仍然低於5分，反映市民認為自己對基本法的認識並不足夠。

7 出現矛盾的責任屬中央或香港？ (Q14) Whose Responsibility Is It When Conflicts Arise between Hong Kong and the Mainland? (Question 14)

When asked to allocate blame between Central Government and Hong Kong when conflicts arise in the implementation of 1C2S, a declining majority (declining from 58% to 52.4% in the last half year) of the public selected "Equally Responsible", as per Table 4. In this survey, the respective numbers of individuals who held that the responsibility lay with the Mainland or Hong Kong were roughly comparable (respectively 26.4% and 21.3%). The corresponding numbers are higher than those in the first survey (respectively 25.4% and 16.6%). In other words, more people are blaming either the Central Government or Hong Kong, indicating that public opinions are moving towards polarization. This is a worrying trend.

從表四可見，問及在實踐「一國兩制」的過程中，當內地與香港出現矛盾時，責任屬於內地或香港，最多市民選擇「一半半」，佔總數52.4（上一輪調查則為58.0%）。認為矛盾的責任主要屬於內地或屬於香港的人數相若，分別為26.4%及21.3%（高於上一輪的25.4%及16.6%）。換言之，越來越多人認為中央或者香港其中一方需要承擔社會矛盾的主要責任，顯示公眾意見走向兩極分化。



表四：出現矛盾的責任屬中央或香港
Table 4: Responsibility for Conflict between Hong Kong and the Mainland

	受訪人數 Respondents		責任屬內地 Mainland is Responsible		一半半 Both are Equally Responsible		責任屬香港 Hong Kong is Responsible		總計 Total
	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12	
建制派 Pro-establishment	93	89	5.4%	0.0%	34.4%	29.2%	60.2%	70.8%	100%
中間派 Moderates	546	571	18.1%	20.3%	65.9%	60.8%	15.9%	18.9%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, localists and self-determinists	271	224	46.9%	52.2%	50.2%	42.6%	3.0%	7.6%	100%
總計 Total	910	884	25.4%	26.4%	58%	52.4%	16.6%	21.3%	100%

A rising majority of Pro-Establishment supporters (rising from 60.2% to 70.8% in the last half year) held that the responsibility primarily lay with Hong Kong. However, a rising share of Pan-Democrats and Localists/Self-determinists (rising from 46.9% to 52.2%) believe that the responsibility lay mostly with Mainland China. The opinions of the two camps are polarizing.

Amongst moderates and independents, a declining majority (declining from 65.9% to 60.8% in the last half year) held that both parties were equally to blame. In this survey, the respective numbers of individuals who held that the responsibility lay with Mainland or Hong Kong were roughly comparable (respectively 20.3% and 18.9%). The corresponding numbers are slightly higher than those in the first survey (respectively 18.1% and 15.9%). This shows opinions within Moderates are also polarizing.

The results suggest that both the Central Government and Hong Kong ought to reflect on its own responsibility for deadlocks and conflicts between the two.

大多數建制派認為矛盾的責任屬於香港，有70.8%，高於上一輪調查的60.2%。另一方面，近一半民主派和本土自決派認為矛盾的責任屬於內地，有52.2%，亦高於上一輪調查的46.9%。建制派和非建制派的觀點出現兩極分化。

至於中間派或無政治傾向的市民中，認為雙方的責任「一半半」有60.8%，低於上一輪調查的65.9%。認為矛盾的責任主要屬於內地或屬於香港的人數相若，分別為20.3%及18.9%（高於上一輪的18.1%及15.9%），反映中間派的意見亦走向兩極分化。

中央及香港雙方都需要反思自身的責任。

8 移民與對「一國兩制」的信心 (Q21、Q22) Emigration and Confidence in 1C2S (Q21,Q22)

從表五可見，在全港市民中，因為「對「一國兩制」有信心」計劃移民的比例為7.7%，比上一輪調查的9.4%下降，是可喜的發展。在中間派之中，因為「有信心」計劃移民的比例為5.9%，也比上一輪調查的7.9%下降，同樣也是可喜的發展。在民主及本土自決派之中，因為「有信心」計劃移民的比例為15.7%，卻比上一輪調查的13.9%上升。民主派和本土自決派（佔樣本25%）的取態與中間派（佔樣本65%）及大部分市民背道而馳。

因為「有信心」而計劃移民海外的，有49.3%是中間派（稍低於上一輪的52.3%），50.7%是非建制派（稍高於上一輪的46%）。

In Table 5, 7.7% of the public indicate that they have plans to emigrate due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S. This ratio is lower than 9.4% in the first survey, and this is an encouraging development. Among Moderates, the ratio of those who plan to emigrate due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S has declined from 9.4% to 5.9% in the last half year, which is also encouraging. However, among the pan-democrats, localists and self-determinists (25% of our sample), the ratio of those who plan to emigrate due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S has increased from 13.9% to 15.7% in the last half year. Their attitude is diverging from those of Moderates (65% of our sample) and the general public.

Among those who plan to emigrate due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S, 49.3% were moderates (slightly lower than 52.3% in the first survey), and 50.7% was non-establishment supporters (slightly higher than 46% in the first survey).

表五：因為「對「一國兩制」有信心」計劃移民的比例
Table 5: Citizens' Emigration Plans due to the Lack of Confidence in 1C2S

	受訪人數 Respondents		因為對「一國兩制」「有信心」計劃移民的比例 Due to the Lack of Confidence in 1C2S	
	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12
建制派 Pro-establishment	100	96	1.0%	0.0%
中間派 Moderates	583	596	7.9%	5.9%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, localists and self-determinists	274	229	13.9%	15.7%
總計 Total	957	921	9.4%	7.7%

Past studies have suggested that surveys often inaccurately amplify the number of individuals who seek to emigrate, for only a fraction of those who express interest in emigrating eventually do so in reality – as such, caution should be exercised in interpreting the findings, though they still provide valuable reference of the degree and extent of concern. Amongst the moderates, those who confess to having plans to emigrate due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S may do so due to – on one hand – their disillusionment towards the Central Government and the Pro-Establishment, but also – on the other – disillusionment towards perceived instability instigated by the “Yellow Ribbons”; the latter may cause disaffection amongst the moderates due to the perceived damage of radical politics on the rule of law and Hong Kong’s economy. Neither of the possibilities above could be ruled out.

根據過往研究的結果，在民調中聲稱移民的人數，往往遠超真正移民的人數，需要小心解讀，不過民調的結果也有一定的參考價值。中間派聲稱「有信心」而計劃移民，一方面可能是對中央及建制派不滿，另一方面卻可能是認為「黃絲帶搞亂香港」，例如認為激進政治損害法治及香港經濟，兩種可能性都不能排除。

9 二十三條立法諮詢 (Q10) Attitudes towards Article 23 Public Consultation (Q10)

Table 6 shows that, on the scale of 1 to 7, the opinions of whether the government should initiate public consultation for Article 23 legislation are clearly divided, with 18.6% (16.1% in the first survey) selecting 1 (“very unnecessary”), and 17.7% (15.5% in the first survey) opting for 7 (“very necessary”).

The reason for such polarization plausibly is due to the fact that a considerable proportion of the public is strongly opposed to having Article 23 legislated at all, and hence is opposed to any consultation, whilst those in favour hold that – given the inevitability of Article 23’s legislation under the Basic Law, it is marginally better to have at least some consultation, as opposed to none.

從表六可見，按1至7分的尺度，香港市民對今屆政府是否需要就二十三條立法進行諮詢的取態兩極分化，給予1分（「非常無需要」諮詢）的市民佔總數18.6%（上一輪調查位為16.1%），給予7分（「非常需要」諮詢）的市民佔總數17.7%（上一輪調查為15.5%），兩者旗鼓相當。

取態兩極分化的原因相信是部分市民十分反對二十三條立法，是以反對任何諮詢；而部分市民卻認為二十三條立法是香港憲制責任，不能避免，有諮詢總比無諮詢好，是以十分贊成諮詢。

Compared with moderates or independents, pro-establishment voters are more inclined towards “very necessary”, whilst pan-democrats, localist and self-determinists are more inclined towards “very unnecessary”. Amongst samples that explicitly state their political stance, 58.4% (53.9% in the first survey) of those who answered “very unnecessary” were moderates, whilst 57.5% (60% in the first survey) of those who answered “very necessary” were also moderates – constituting roughly the same proportion in both extremes. With regards to public consultation on Article 23 legislation, moderates – as with the wider Hong Kong public – remain deeply divided. In view of this, policy makers should exercise caution in approaching this subject.

與中間派或無政治傾向的市民比較，建制派較為傾向「非常有需要」諮詢，而民主派及本土自決派則較為傾向「非常無需要」諮詢。僅計算有表明政治傾向的樣本，在認為「非常無需要」諮詢的市民中，58.4% 是中間派（上一輪調查是53.9%），在認為「非常有需要」諮詢的市民中，57.5% 也是中間派（上一輪調查是60%），兩者也是旗鼓相當。對二十三條立法諮詢的問題，中間派與全港市民一樣未有共識，決策者需要小心從事。

表六：二十三條立法諮詢
Table 6: Attitudes towards Article 23 Public Consultation

	建制派 Pro-establishment		中間派 Moderates		民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, Localists and Self-determinists	
	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12	2017.6	2017.12
N	95	93	551	574	263	224
1	3.2%	7.5%	15.1%	16.9%	25.9%	26.8%
2	6.3%	6.5%	10.3%	13.4%	22.4%	24.6%
3	10.5%	7.5%	18.9%	13.1%	16.0%	9.5%
4	12.6%	7.5%	15.2%	16.0%	11.0%	12.1%
5	15.8%	19.4%	12.9%	17.4%	6.5%	8.2%
6	21.1%	9.7%	10.7%	7.3%	5.7%	3.5%
7	30.5%	47.9%	16.9%	15.9%	12.5%	12.1%
平均分 Average	5.17	4.55	4.00	4.25	3.17	2.99%



10 兩輪調查中出現的新議題 New Topics after the First Survey

After the first survey, some hot topics have arisen which may influence the public's assessment of 1C2S. In the second survey, we include below six new questions to collect the public's opinion:

1. The work report of 19th CPC National Congress states that the Central Government has "overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong", and will ensure that 'One Country, Two Systems' "will not change". Are you worried that the Central Government will tighten its policy towards Hong Kong? (Q15)
2. Recently some lawmakers motion for the amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Council to restrict filibustering. Do you agree with this amendment? Do you strongly disagree, disagree, half-half, agree or strongly agree? (Q16)
3. Since Carrie Lam has been appointed CE, do you think societal division have increased, decreased or unchanged? (Q17)
4. The Government proposes 'co-location arrangement' for the Express Rail Link. Do you support this? (Q18)
5. Do you think the 'co-location arrangement' has positive, negative or no impact on 'One Country, Two Systems'? (Q19)
6. Do you think the enactment of the national anthem law by the Hong Kong government has positive, negative or no impact on 'One Country, Two Systems'? (Q20)

在第一輪調查後，出現不少熱門的新議題，可能影響市民對「一國兩制」的評價。我們在第二輪問卷中，加入以下六條新題目調查市民的意見：

1. 「中共十九大工作報告提及，中央對香港有『全面管治權』，並且確保『一國兩制』不會變。你擔唔擔憂未來中央對港政策會收緊呢？」(Q15)
2. 「最近有立法會議員動議修改議事規則限制議員拉布，你有幾同意呢？」(Q16)
3. 「林鄭月娥上台後，你覺得香港嘅社會撕裂係增加咗、減少咗，定係冇變呢？」(Q17)
4. 「政府提出高鐵一地兩檢嘅方案，你支持唔支持呢？」(Q18)
5. 「你認為政府嘅高鐵一地兩檢方案會對『一國兩制』帶嚟正面影響、負面影響，定係冇影響呢？」(Q19)
6. 「你認為香港政府訂立國歌法會對『一國兩制』帶嚟正面影響、負面影響，定係冇影響呢？」(Q20)





10.1 是否擔憂十九大工作報告顯示未來中央對香港政策會收緊 (Q15) Public concern about the tightening of the Central Government's policy towards Hong Kong in the light of Work Report of 19th CPC National Congress (Q15)

Table 7 shows that among all the respondents, 45.0% are “worried” or “very worried” that the Central Government will tighten its policy towards Hong Kong, and only 30.2% select “unworried” or “very unworried”. As expected, most of the pro-establishment supporters are “unworried” or “very unworried” (75.5%). Among moderates (64.8% of our sample), those who are “worried” or “very worried” constitute 38.2%, which is slightly higher than those who are “unworried” and “very unworried” (33.6%). On the whole, the public is worried about the tightening of the Central Government’s policy towards Hong Kong in the light of Work Report of 19th CPC National Congress.

從表七可見，在整體樣本中，45.0%市民表示「擔憂」或「非常擔憂」，只有30.2%表示「不擔憂」或「非常不擔憂」。一如所料，大部分建制派表示「不擔憂」或「非常不擔憂」（75.5%），大部分非建制派則表示「擔憂」或「非常擔憂」（76.0%）。在中間派的市民中（佔總樣本64.8%），表示「擔憂」或「非常擔憂」的有38.2%，稍為高於表示「不擔憂」或「非常不擔憂」的33.6%。整體而言，市民對十九大工作報告的反應，是擔憂中央對香港政策會收緊。

表七：是否擔憂十九大工作報告顯示未來中央對香港政策會收緊

Table 7: Public concern about the tightening of the Central Government’s policy towards Hong Kong in the light of Work Report of 19th CPC National Congress

	受訪人數 Respondents	不擔憂/非常不擔憂 Unworried/ Very Unworried	一半半 Half-Half	擔憂/非常擔憂 Worried/ Very Worried	總計 Total
建制派 Pro-establishment	94	75.5%	18.1%	6.4%	100%
中間派 Moderates	595	33.6%	28.2%	38.2%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, Localists and Self-determinists	229	8.3%	16.7%	76.0%	100%
小計 Subtotal	918	31.6%	24.1%	44.3%	100%
總有效樣本 Total valid samples	1006	30.2%	23.1%	45.0%	98.4%



10.2 對修改立法會議事規則限制議員拉布的意見 (Q16) Opinion on Amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Council to Restrict Filibustering (Q16)

Table 8 shows 43.5% of the public “agree” or “strongly agree” amending the Rules of Procedures to restrict filibustering, and only 32.9% “disagree” or “strongly disagree”. Most of the pro-establishment supporters (85.1%) “agree” or “strongly agree”, while most (59.6%) non-establishment supporters “disagree” or “strongly disagree”. Among the moderates (64.6% of our sample), 51% “agree” or “strongly agree”, and only 25.9% “disagree” or “strongly disagree”. On the whole, the public leans towards restricting filibustering.

從表八可見，在整體樣本中，有43.5%市民「同意」或「非常同意」修改議事規則限制議員拉布，只有32.9%表示「唔同意」或「非常唔同意」。一如所料，大部分建制派（85.1%）表示「同意」或「非常同意」，而大部分非建制派（59.6%）則表示「唔同意」或「非常唔同意」。在中間派的市民中（佔樣本64.6%），51%表示「同意」或「非常同意」，只有25.9%表示「唔同意」或「非常唔同意」。整體而言，市民傾向限制拉布。

表八：對修改立法會議事規則限制議員拉布的意見

Table 8: Opinion on Amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the Legislative Council to Restrict Filibustering

	受訪人數 Respondents	唔同意/非常唔同意 Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	一半半 Half-Half	同意/非常同意 Agree/ Strongly Agree	總計 Total
建制派 Pro-establishment	94	7.4%	7.4%	85.1%	100%
中間派 Moderates	582	25.9%	23.0%	51.0%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, Localists and Self-determinists	225	59.6%	24.6%	17.8%	100%
小計 Subtotal	901	32.4%	21.3%	46.3%	100%
總有效樣本 Total valid samples	1003	32.9%	20.5%	43.5%	96.8%

10.3 林鄭月娥上台對社會撕裂的影響 (Q17)

The Impact of Carrie Lam's appointment as CE on Societal Division (Q17)

How does Carrie Lam's appointment as CE affect societal division? Among all the respondents (Table 9), 49.0% opt for "unchanged"; 41.0% opt for "decreased" and only 7.6% select "increased". The majority of the pro-establishment supporters (63.2%) opt for "decrease" and only 2.1% select "increase". 51.9% of non-establishment opt for "unchanged"; 33.8% opt for "decreased", and only 14.3% selected "increased". Among moderates (64.3% of our sample), 52.7% opt for "unchanged"; 42.3% opt for "decreased" and only 4.9% selected "increased". On the whole, the public tend to think that the appointment of Carrie Lam as CE has decreased societal division.

林鄭月娥上台，對社會撕裂有何影響？在整體樣本中（表九），49.0%市民認為「冇變」，41.0%認為社會撕裂「減少」，只有7.6%認為社會撕裂「增加」。大部分建制派（63.2%）認為社會撕裂「減少」，只有2.1%認為社會撕裂「增加」。至於非建制派，有51.9%認為社會撕裂「冇變」，33.8%認為社會撕裂「減少」，只有14.3%認為社會撕裂「增加」。在中間派的市民中（佔樣本64.3%），52.7%認為社會撕裂「冇變」，42.3%認為社會撕裂「減少」，只有4.9%認為社會撕裂「增加」。總括而言，市民傾向認為社會撕裂在林鄭月娥上台後減少。

表九：林鄭月娥上台對社會撕裂的影響
Table 9: The Impact of Carrie Lam's Appointment as CE on Societal Division

	受訪人數 Respondents	增加 Increased	冇變 Unchanged	減少 Decreased	總計 Total
建制派 Pro-establishment	95	2.1%	34.7%	63.2%	100%
中間派 Moderates	586	4.9%	52.7%	42.3%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, Localists and Self-determinists	231	14.3%	51.9%	33.8%	100%
小計 Subtotal	912	7.0%	50.7%	42.3%	100%
總有效樣本 Total valid samples	1006	7.6%	49.0%	41.0%	97.6%



10.4 是否支持政府提出的一地兩檢方案 (Q18)

Opinion on the 'co-location arrangement' for the Express Rail Link (Q18)

Table 10 shows that, 49.5% of the public "support" or "strongly support" the 'co-location arrangement' for the Express Rail Link. Only 22.6% "oppose" or "strongly oppose". Most of the pro-establishment supporters (86.6%) "support" or "strongly support" the 'co-location arrangement', and only 3.1% "oppose" or "strongly oppose". Among non-establishment supporters, 41.8% "oppose" or "strongly oppose", and only 27.1% "support" or "strongly support" the 'co-location arrangement'. Among moderates (64.3% of our sample), 55.8% "support" or "strongly support" the 'co-location arrangement', and only 17% "oppose" or "strongly oppose". The public supports the Government's proposal of 'co-location arrangement' on the Express Rail Link.

從表十可見，在整體樣本中，49.5%市民「支持」或「非常支持」政府提出的一地兩檢方案，只有22.6%市民表示「唔支持」或「非常唔支持」。絕大部分建制派（86.6%）「支持」或「非常支持方案」，只有3.1%表示「唔支持」或「非常唔支持」。非建制派則有41.8%表示「唔支持」或「非常唔支持」方案，只有27.1%表示「支持」或「非常支持」。在中間派的市民中（佔總樣本64.6%），55.8%「支持」或「非常支持」方案，只有17%表示「唔支持」或「非常唔支持」。總括而言，市民支持政府提出的一地兩檢方案。

表十：是否支持政府提出的一地兩檢方案#

Table 10: Opinion on the 'co-location arrangement' for the Express Rail Link#

	受訪人數 Respondents	唔支持/非常唔支持 Oppose/ Strongly Oppose	一半半 Half-Half	支持/非常支持 Support/ Strongly Support	總計 Total
建制派 Pro-establishment	97	3.1%	10.3%	86.6%	100%
中間派 Moderates	588	17.0%	27.2%	55.8%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, Localists and Self-determinists	225	41.8%	31.1%	27.1%	100%
小計 Subtotal	910	21.6%	26.4%	52.0%	100%
總有效樣本 Total valid samples	1006	22.6%	25.4%	49.5%	97.4%

#民調在2017年12月23日完結，當時人大常委會尚未通過一地兩檢《合作安排》，是以本民調不能反映此後出現的爭議。

#The survey was concluded on 23 Dec 2017 and thus cannot reflect the controversy relating to the approval of the Co-operation Arrangement for the co-location arrangement by the NPC Standing Committee

10.5 政府的高鐵一地兩檢方案對「一國兩制」的影響 (Q19)

Impact of the 'co-location arrangement' for the Express Rail Link on 1C2S (Q19)

Table 11 shows that, 48.9% of the public thinks that there will be "no impact" of 'co-location arrangement' on 1C2S; 31.5% opt for "negative impact", and 13.6% opt for "positive impact". Most of the pro-establishment supporters opt for "no impact" (65.2%), and 32.6% opt for "positive impact". Among non-establishment voters, 56.1% opt for "negative impact", but 40.7% opt for "no impact".

Among the moderates (64.4% of our sample), 55% opt for "no impact"; 27.8% opt for "negative impact", and 17.2% opt for "positive impact". To conclude, most of the public do not think that the 'co-location arrangement' has any impact on 1C2S.

從表十一可見，在整體樣本中，48.9%市民認為方案對「一國兩制」有影響，31.5%認為有「負面影響」，13.6%則認為有「正面影響」。大部分建制派（65.2%）認為方案對「一國兩制」有影響，32.6%認為有「正面影響」。至於非建制派，有56.1%認為方案有「負面影響」，40.7%則認為方案有影響。

在中間派的市民中（佔總樣本64.4%），55%認為方案有影響，27.8%認為方案有「負面影響」，17.2%則認為方案有「正面影響」。總括而言，多數市民認為政府的一地兩檢方案對「一國兩制」並無影響。

表十一：政府的高鐵一地兩檢方案對「一國兩制」的影響#
Table 11: Impact of the 'co-location arrangement' for the Express Rail Link on 1C2S#

	受訪人數 Respondents	正面影響 Positive Impact	冇影響 No Impact	負面影響 Negative Impact	總計 Total
建制派 Pro-establishment	92	32.6%	65.2%	2.2%	100%
中間派 Moderates	565	17.2%	55.0%	27.8%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, localists and self-determinists	221	3.2%	40.7%	56.1%	100%
小計 Subtotal	878	15.3%	52.5%	32.2%	100%
總有效樣本 Total valid samples	1005	13.6%	48.9%	31.5%	94.0%

#民調在2017年12月23日完結，當時人大常委會尚未通過一地兩檢《合作安排》，是以本民調不能反映此後出現的爭議。

#The survey was concluded on 23 Dec 2017 and thus cannot reflect the controversy relating to the approval of the Co-operation Arrangement for the co-location arrangement by the NPC Standing Committee.

10.6 香港政府訂立國歌法對「一國兩制」的影響 (Q20) Impact of Enactment of the National Anthem Law by the Hong Kong Government on 1C2S (Q20)

Table 12 shows that 42.7% of the public believe enactment of the national anthem law will have a “negative impact” on 1C2S; 34.3% believe there will be “no impact”, and 16.3% believe there will be “positive impact”. Among pro-establishment supporters, 45.6% opted for “positive impact”, which is slightly higher than those who opted for “no impact” -- 43.3%. Most of the non-establishment supporters (71.6%) opt for “negative impact”, and only 25.3% select “no impact”.

Among the moderates (63.9% of total), 41.1% opt for “no impact”, 38.8% opt for “negative impact”, and 20.1% select “positive impact”. In conclusion, the public has a certain degree of worry on the enactment of the national anthem law.

從表十二可見，在整體樣本中，42.7%市民認為訂立國歌法對「一國兩制」有「負面影響」，34.3%認為「冇影響」，16.3%則認為有「正面影響」。在建制派中，認為有「正面影響」的有45.6%，稍為高於認為「冇影響」的43.3%。大部分非建制派（71.6%）認為有「負面影響」，只有25.3%認為「冇影響」。

在中間派的市民中（佔總樣本63.9%），41.1%認為「冇影響」，38.8%認為有「負面影響」，20.1%則認為有「正面影響」。總括而言，市民對訂立國歌法有一定擔憂。

表十二：香港政府訂立國歌法對「一國兩制」的影響
Table 12: Impact of Enactment of the National Anthem Law by the Hong Kong Government on 1C2S

	受訪人數 Respondents	正面影響 Positive Impact	冇影響 No Impact	負面影響 Negative Impact	總計 Total
建制派 Pro-establishment	90	45.6%	43.3%	11.1%	100%
中間派 Moderates	557	20.1%	41.1%	38.8%	100%
民主和本土自決派 Pro-democrats, localists and self-determinists	225	3.1%	25.3%	71.6%	100%
小計 Subtotal	872	18.3%	37.3%	44.4%	100%
總有效樣本 Total valid samples	1005	16.3%	34.3%	42.7%	93.3%

11 總括市民對新議題的意見 Summary of Opinion on New Topics

總括而言，市民對以上六條新題目的取態並不一樣。市民擔心中央對香港的政策會收緊，亦擔心香港政府訂立國歌法，這些憂慮可能削弱市民對「一國兩制」的信心。

在另一方面，市民支持政府提出的一地兩檢方案，並認為方案對「一國兩制」並無影響。市民傾向贊成限制拉布，並認為社會撕裂在林鄭月娥上台後減少。這些發展可能加強市民對「一國兩制」的信心。

市民在第一輪調查對「一國兩制」八個項目的平均評分是4.88，第二輪則為4.84，評分相差甚微，似乎顯示以上的新議題，對市民的評分沒有決定性的影響。

To summarize, the public has different attitudes towards the six new questions. The public is worried about the tightening of the Central Government's policy towards Hong Kong and the enactment of the national anthem law. These concerns may weaken the public's confidence in 1C2S.

On the other hand, the public supports the government's proposal of the "co-location arrangement" and thinks there will be no impact on 1C2S. Moreover, the public tends to agree with restricting filibustering in LegCo. They think that societal division have decreased after Carrie Lam's appointment as CE. These developments may strengthen public's confidence in 1C2S.

The average score of the eight questions on 1C2S is 4.88 in the first survey and 4.84 in the second survey. The score is largely unchanged, showing that the new topics do not affect the public's assessment decisively.





II. 指數B：參考國際性的自由指數與民主指數 Index (B): International Freedom and Democracy Indices

Freedoms and democracy are core components of 1C2S; given the inevitable subjectivity in public polls, there exists important referential value in the more objective international indices. Index (B) is the average of 3 indices, namely, the Economic Freedom Index and Personal Freedom Index of CATO-Fraser Institutes, and the Democracy Index of the EIU (Economic Intelligence Unit). The average of the Economic Freedom and Personal Freedom Indices is known as the Human Freedom Index, which is the most comprehensive index of freedom available. Hong Kong has always ranked world's number one in Economic Freedom, and has also ranked highly in Personal Freedom. As a result, Hong Kong has also been world's number one in Human Freedom from 2008 to 2014.

Hong Kong's rank in the Democracy Index has been mediocre, behind Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea. This is expected as Hong Kong's Chief Executive is not elected by universal suffrage.

As Hong Kong is a highly developed region and given that highly developed regions tend to have comparatively higher Freedom and Democracy Indices as compared with developing regions – we have selected certain neighbouring developed countries and territories (namely, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan) as the benchmarks for comparison and assessment of Hong Kong's performance. We have also compared the respective scores of the Mainland and Hong Kong under the indices, so as to identify whether Hong Kong has become increasingly 'Mainlandised' under 1C2S. For brevity, we will refer to Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and the Chinese mainland as 'neighbouring territories'.

自由與民主是「一國兩制」的重要部分，然而民調有一定主觀性，為了更全面地分析「一國兩制」的狀況，我們除了以民調收集市民意見外，還參考了編制方式相對客觀的國際指數。指數B為三項指數的平均分，分別為卡托研究所及菲沙研究所編制的「經濟自由指數」及「個人自由指數」和經濟學人編制的「民主指數」。「經濟自由指數」和「個人自由指數」的平均值被稱為「人類自由指數」，是目前衡量自由的指數中，最全面的一種。香港在經濟自由方面一直名列世界第一，在個人自由方面也名列前茅。因此，香港在2008年至2014年期間一直在「人類自由指數」排名世界第一。

由於香港未能普選行政長官，所以香港在「民主指數」中的排名是不算突出。香港的得分低於日本，台灣和韓國，與新加坡相約。

因為香港是高度發展的地區，一般而言，發達地區的自由指數與民主指數，都高於發展中的地區，是以我們選取香港鄰近的發達國家及地區，包括日本、南韓、新加坡及台灣作比較，來評價香港的表現。我們亦比較內地與香港的自由指數與民主指數，觀察在「一國兩制」之下的香港是否趨向「大陸化」。為簡便起見，我們將稱日本、南韓、新加坡、台灣與中國內地為「鄰近地區」。

As the Human Freedom Index covers a very large number of countries, there is a two-year time lag in data compilation. The 2016 Human Freedom Index used in our first report only reflects conditions in 2014. The newly released 2017 Human Freedom Index only reflects conditions in 2015. In this Report, we update the Human Freedom Index of Hong Kong and neighbouring territories to 2016 according to the methodology of CATO-Fraser Institutes. There is no need to update the Democracy Index as it already reflects conditions in 2016.

由於「人類自由指數」覆蓋大量國家，數據整合滯後兩年。我們第一份報告中使用的「2016人類自由指數」僅反映2014年的情況。最新發布的「2017人類自由指數」僅反映2015年的狀況。我們參照卡托研究所及菲沙研究所的編製方法，在本報告中更新香港及鄰近地區的人類自由指數至2016年。而民主指數已經反映了2016年的情況，所以無須更新。

1 2015年「經濟自由指數」、「個人自由指數」及「民主指數」（表十三） 2015 Economic Freedom Index, Personal Freedom Index, and Democracy Index (Table 13)

In 2014 (data used in our First Report), Hong Kong topped the Human Freedom Index in the world. From 2014 to 2015, Hong Kong's scores in Economic Freedom and Personal Freedom declined by 0.7% and 3.2%. As a result, her score in the Human Freedom Index declined by 2%, and her rank slipped to world's number 2 behind Switzerland.

在2014年（我們第一次報告所使用的數據），香港在「人類自由指數」中居於全球首位。由2014年至2015年，香港經濟自由和個人自由得分分別下降0.7%和3.2%。因此，香港在「人類自由指數」中的得分下降了2%，落後瑞士，排在世界第二位。

Table 13 compares the 2015 scores and ranks of the three indices of Hong Kong with neighboring territories. In 2014, Hong Kong ranked above all neighbouring territories in Economic Freedom and Personal Freedom. As a result, Hong Kong also ranked above all neighbouring territories in Index (B), the Freedom and Democracy Index, even though her rank in the Democracy Index was mediocre.

表十三比較2015年香港與鄰近地區在三項指數的得分和排名。2014年，香港在經濟自由和個人自由方面超越所有鄰近地區。因此，即使香港在民主指數中排名未算突出，但是香港在指數B—「自由民主指數」中也排在所有鄰近地區之上。

In 2015, as a result of the 3.2% decline in Hong Kong's Personal Freedom Index, Hong Kong slipped behind Taiwan and Japan in Personal Freedom (but was still ahead of South Korea and Singapore). Hong Kong still topped all neighbouring territories in Human Freedom. Thus, Hong Kong's Index (B), the Freedom and Democracy Index, slipped behind Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea, but was still ahead of Singapore.

2015年，由於香港的「個人自由指數」下降3.2%，香港在個人自由方面落後台灣和日本（但仍領先於韓國和新加坡）。香港依然在人類自由方面居於鄰近地區之首。香港的指數B—「自由民主指數」被日本、台灣和韓國追過，但仍然領先新加坡。

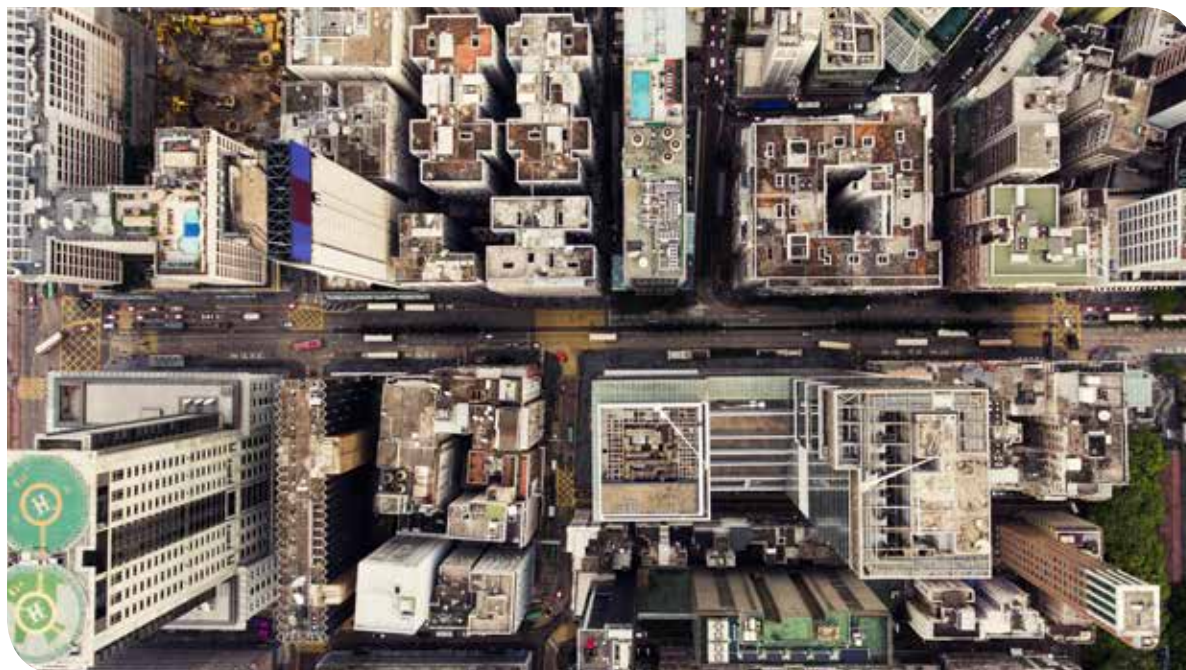
表十三：香港與鄰近地區的國際指數
Table 13: International Indices of Hong Kong and Neighbouring Territories

	人類自由指數 (2015) Human Freedom Index			民主指數 (2015) Democracy Index	總分 Aggregate
	經濟自由 Economic Freedom	個人自由 Personal Freedom	總分 Aggregate		
香港 Hong Kong	8.97 (1)	8.79 (26)	8.88 (2)	6.50 (67)	8.09
中國內地 Mainland China	6.40 (134)	5.62 (136)	6.01 (130)	3.14 (136)	5.05
日本 Japan	7.47 (39)	8.93 (23)	8.20 (27)	7.96 (23)	8.12
韓國 South Korea	7.54 (32)	8.79 (27)	8.17 (29)	7.97 (22)	8.10
新加坡 Singapore	8.81 (2)	7.86 (50)	8.34 (18)	6.14 (74)	7.60
台灣 Taiwan	7.70 (21)	8.89 (20)	8.34 (18)	7.83 (31)	8.17

註1：括號內為排名，下同。
Note 1: Rankings are bracketed.

註2：「人類自由指數」的「個人自由」與「經濟自由」兩個子類別共數十個細項，評價全球159個國家與地區。
Note 2: The 'Individual Freedom' and 'Economic Freedom' sub-categories each contains a few dozens of individual items, for the assessment of 159 countries and territories around the world.

註3：「民主指數」按五個類別：選舉程序與多樣性、政府運作、政治參與、政治文化和公民自由，評價全球167個國家與地區。
Note 3: The 'Democracy Index' assesses 167 countries and territories around the world on the basis of five items: electoral procedural justice and plurality, governance, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties.



2 「個人自由指數」的構成 (表十四) The Composition of the 'Personal Freedom Index' (Table 14)

The 'Personal Freedom Index' is composed of 7 items: they are respectively, rule of law, security and safety, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of expression and information, and gender identity and relationships – all key components of human rights and individual freedoms. Table 14 shows the 2014 scores and rankings of Hong Kong and neighbouring territories. Hong Kong's good performance on the Personal Freedom Index suggests that Hong Kong is indeed capable of defending its core values under 1C2S.

Despite recent declines in Hong Kong's Personal Freedom Index, the scores of Hong Kong in rule of law and freedom of speech are relatively high in comparison with Hong Kong's scores in the Democracy Index. This is not surprising given the restrictions on electing the Chief Executive in Hong Kong. Interestingly, in our surveys, the Hong Kong public also gives higher scores to rule of law and freedom of speech relative to Hong Kong's progress in democratization.

「個人自由指數」由七個子項目組成，分別為法治、安全、遷徙、宗教自由、結社自由、言論及資訊和性別認同及關係，都是人權和人身自由的重要元素。表十四為2014年香港與鄰近地區的分數和排名。香港在「個人自由指數」表現良好，顯示香港能夠捍衛「一國兩制」的核心價值。

國際指數與我們的民調各有特點，雖然大異其趣，但兩者的結果也有相同之處。香港近年在個人自由指數的得分雖然下跌，不過自由指數的子項目之中的法治水平和言論自由的得分仍然較民主指數的得分為高。因為香港未有普選行政長官，這個結果並不令人意外。在我們的民調中，香港市民對法治水平和言論自由的評分，同樣高於時對民主政進程的評分。

表十四：香港與鄰近地區的「個人自由指數」(2015)
Table 14: Personal Freedom Index for Hong Kong and Neighbouring Territories

	個人自由指數 (2015) Personal Freedom Index							
	法治 Rule of Law	安全 Security & Safety	遷徙 Freedom of Movement	宗教自由 Religion Freedom	結社自由 Freedom of Association & Assembly	言論及資訊 Freedom of Expression & Information	性別認同 及關係 Gender Identity & Relationships	總分 Aggregate
香港 Hong Kong	7.79 (16)	9.40 (41)	10.00 (1)	9.26 (7)	7.64 (71)	8.77 (39)	9.25 (36)	8.79 (26)
中國內地 Mainland China	4.65 (83)	7.51 (111)	3.33 (143)	4.94 (154)	1.67 (126)	5.84 (140)	10.00 (1)	5.62 (136)
日本 Japan	7.58 (20)	9.68 (27)	10.00 (1)	8.75 (43)	8.89 (52)	9.23 (25)	9.25 (36)	8.93 (23)
韓國 South Korea	7.58 (21)	9.46 (37)	8.33 (71)	9.26 (8)	9.44 (39)	9.02 (33)	9.25 (36)	8.79 (27)
新加坡 Singapore	8.04 (12)	9.41 (39)	8.33 (71)	7.69 (104)	3.61 (112)	7.36 (96)	8.00 (77)	7.86 (50)
台灣 Taiwan	7.11 (25)	9.50 (36)	10.00 (1)	9.19 (15)	9.86 (28)	9.25 (24)	10.00 (1)	8.89 (20)

3 更新「經濟自由指數」 Updating the 'Economic Freedom Index'

The Heritage Foundation's Economic Freedom Index is very similar to that of CATO-Fraser Institutes, but the former only has a one-year time lag instead of the two-years. The 2017 report of Heritage Foundation already reflects conditions in 2016, giving us the data to update the CATO-Fraser Economic Freedom Index. From 2015 to 2016, Heritage Foundation's Economic Freedom Index has risen by 1.01%. We apply this percentage change to the 2015 Economic Freedom Index of CATO-Fraser, and the updated 2016 score is 9.09 (Table 16).

傳統基金會的「經濟自由指數」與卡特研究所及菲沙研究所的同名指數非常相似，但前者只有一年的時差，而不是兩年。傳統基金會2017年的報告已反映2016年的情況，為我們提供了更新卡特研究所及菲沙研究所「經濟自由指數」的數據。從2015年到2016年，傳統基金會的經濟自由指數上升了1.01%。我們將這百分比變化套用於卡特研究所及菲沙研究所的2015年「經濟自由指數」，更新後的2016年得分為9.09（表十六）。

4 更新「個人自由指數」（表十五） Updating the 'Personal Freedom Index' (Table 15)

The 7 components of the 'Personal Freedom Index' are aggregated from a list of sub-components. We collect the sub-components from their sources and updated the 'Personal Freedom Index' to 2016. A complete list of sub-components and their sources is shown in Appendix I.

「個人自由指數」的七個子項目由眾多成分數據組成，我們蒐集相關國際數據，更新並計算2016的「個人自由指數」。詳細的子項目成分及資料來源可參閱附錄一。

From 2014 to 2016, the scores of 4 sub-indices decreased, namely, rule of law (falling from 7.8 to 7.14, decreasing by 8.46%), freedom of religion (falling from 10 to 9.26, decreasing by 7.4%), association (falling from 9.79 to 7.64, decreasing by 22%), gender identity and relationship (from 10 to 9.25, decreasing by 7.5%). The scores of 2 sub-indices rose, namely, security and safety (rising from 9.3 to 9.4, increasing by 1.1%), and expression and information (rising from 8.23 to 8.67, increasing by 5.3%). The score of freedom of movement is unchanged. Hong Kong's score of Personal Freedom fell from 9.08 in 2014 to 8.62 in 2016, falling by 5.1%. The 22% decrease in the sub-index of freedom of association and assembly contributed the most to the fall in the Personal Freedom Index.

2014年到2016年期間，有四個子項目下降，即法治（從7.80下降到7.14，下降8.46%），宗教自由（從10降到9.26，下降7.4%），結社自由（從9.79下降到7.64，下降了22%），性別認同和關係（從10到9.25，下降了7.5%）。兩個子項目上升，分別是安全（從9.3上升到9.4，上升了1.1%），言論及資訊（從8.23上升到8.67，上升了5.3%）。遷徙的則沒有改變。香港個人自由從2014年的9.08下降到2016年的8.62，下降了5.1%。結社自由下降22%是「個人自由指數」下降的主要原因。

In comparison with neighbouring territories in 2016, Hong Kong ranked relatively high in freedom of religion (slightly ahead of Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, and tie with South Korea). Hong Kong did not rank so well in rule of law (slightly ahead of Taiwan but slightly behind Japan, South Korea, and Singapore), in association (slightly behind Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan but ahead of Singapore), and in expression and information (slightly behind Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea but ahead of Singapore). Aggregating all 7 sub-indices, Hong Kong's Personal Freedom Index ranked slightly behind Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea, but ahead of Singapore. As a whole, Hong Kong's 2016 score of 8.62 was close to those of developed neighbouring territories.

與鄰近地區在2016年的表現相比，香港的宗教自由相對較高（略高於台灣、日本及新加坡，與韓國同分）。香港在下列三個子項目表現強差人意：法治水平（略低於日本、韓國和新加坡，但略高於台灣）、結社自由（略落後台灣、韓國和日本，但高於新加坡）以及言論及資訊自由（略微落後於台灣、日本和韓國，但在新加坡之前）。綜合所有7個子項目，香港的「個人自由指數」略低於台灣、日本和韓國，但領先新加坡。總體而言，香港2016年的8.62分與發達的鄰近地區接近。

表十五：更新香港與鄰近地區的「個人自由指數」
Table 15: Updated Personal Freedom Index for Hong Kong and Neighbouring Territories

	個人自由指數 (2016) Personal Freedom Index (2016)								
	年份 Year	法治 Rule of Law	安全 Security & Safety	遷徙 Freedom of Movement	宗教自由 Religion Freedom	結社自由 Freedom of Association & Assembly	言論及資訊 Freedom of Expression & Information	性別認同 及關係 Gender Identity & Relationships	總分 Aggregate
香港 Hong Kong	2014	7.80	9.33	10.00	10.00	9.79	8.23	10.00	9.08
	2015	7.79	9.40	10.00	9.26	7.64	8.77	9.25	8.79
	2016	7.14	9.40	10.00	9.26	7.64	8.67	9.25	8.62
中國內地 Mainland China	2016	4.70	7.51	3.33	4.94	1.67	6.08	10.00	5.66
日本 Japan	2016	7.64	9.68	10.00	8.75	8.89	9.02	9.25	8.92
韓國 South Korea	2016	7.44	9.46	8.33	9.26	9.44	9.01	9.25	8.75
新加坡 Singapore	2016	7.68	9.41	8.33	7.69	3.61	7.49	8.00	7.79
台灣 Taiwan	2016	7.11	9.50	10.00	9.19	9.86	9.33	10.00	8.99

5 更新指數B - 自由民主指數 (表十六)

Updating Index (B) – the Freedom and Democracy Index (Table 16)

從經濟學人智庫已經發表了2016的民主指數，及已經更新的經濟自由指數及個人自由指數，我們可以計算更新的人類自由指數及指數B。香港2016年的人類自由指數得分為8.85，高於所有鄰近地區。香港指數B -- 民主自由指數的得分是8.04，低於台灣及南韓，卻高於日本及新加坡。

The 2016 Democracy Index was released by the EIU. From the updated Economic Freedom and Personal Freedom Indices, we can obtain the updated Human Freedom Index and Index (B). In 2016, Hong Kong's score in the Human Freedom Index was 8.85, above all neighboring territories. Hong Kong's score in Index (B) – the Freedom and Democracy Index was 8.04, lower than Taiwan and South Korea but above Japan and Singapore.

表十六：更新香港與鄰近國家及地區的國際指數
Table 16: Updated International Indices of Hong Kong and Neighbouring Territories

指數B — 「自由民主指數」 (2016) Index (B) – Freedom and Democracy Index (2016)					
	人類自由指數 (2016) Human Freedom Index			民主指數 (2016) Democracy Index	總分 Aggregate
	經濟自由 Economic Freedom	個人自由 Personal Freedom	總分 Aggregate		
香港 Hong Kong	9.09	8.62	8.85	6.42 [68]	8.04
中國內地 Mainland China	7.06	5.66	6.36	3.14 [136]	5.29
日本 Japan	7.11	8.92	8.02	7.99 [20]	8.01
韓國 South Korea	7.81	8.75	8.28	7.92 [24]	8.16
新加坡 Singapore	8.89	7.79	8.34	6.38 [70]	7.69
台灣 Taiwan	7.89	8.99	8.44	7.79 [33]	8.22

6 香港各指數近年的趨勢 (表十七) Hong Kong's trends in terms of different Indices (Table 17)

Hong Kong's Economic Freedom Index score decreased from the 9.17 in 2008 to 8.97 in 2015, but rebounded to 9.09 in 2016. The Personal Freedom Index climbed from 8.87 in 2008 to a peak of 9.08 in 2014, but fell to 8.62 in 2016, falling by 5.1%. The Human Freedom Index score had increased slightly from 9.02 in 2008 to a peak of 9.06 in 2014, but declined to 8.85 in 2016, falling by 2.3%.

Over the past decade, Hong Kong has made some progress in its democratization, with its Democracy Index score increasing from 5.85 in 2008 to a peak of 6.5 in 2015, and rank from the 84th to the 67th. This was probably due to the increase of directly elected seats in our Legislature. However, the score fell slightly to 6.42 in 2016, falling by 1.2%. Index (B), the Freedom and Democracy Index, rose from 7.96 in 2008 to a peak of 8.19 in 2014, but declined to 8.04 in 2016, falling by 1.8%.

香港「經濟自由指數」得分由2008年的9.17下降至2015年的8.97，但在2016年回升至9.09。「個人自由指數」由2008年的8.87上升至2014年的9.08高峰，但下降至2016年的8.62，跌幅為5.1%。「人類自由指數」得分由2008年的9.02輕微上升至2014年9.06的高峰，但於2016年下降至8.85，跌幅為2.3%。

過去近十年，香港的民主有一定發展，「民主指數」由2008年的5.85上升至2015年6.5分的頂點，排名由第84位提升至第67位，相信與立法會增加直選議席有關。但此分數於2016年回落至6.42分，下降了1.2%。指數B—「自由民主指數」從2008年的7.96上升至2014年的8.19高峰，但在2016年下降至8.04，下降了1.8%。

表十七：香港近年在國際指數的分數及排名
Table 17: Hong Kong's Scores and Ranks in International Indices

	指數B — 「自由民主指數」 (2016) Index (B) - Freedom and Democracy Index (2016)				
	人類自由指數 (2016) Human Freedom Index			民主指數 (2016) Democracy Index	總分 Aggregate
	經濟自由 Economic Freedom	個人自由 Personal Freedom	總分 Aggregate		
2008	9.17 (1)	8.87 (26)	9.02 (1)	5.85 (84)	7.96
2010	8.96 (1)	8.90 (26)	8.93 (1)	5.92 (81)	7.93
2011	8.92 (1)	9.14 (18)	9.03 (1)	5.92 (80)	7.99
2012	8.98 (1)	9.09 (18)	9.04 (1)	6.42 (63)	8.16
2013	8.97 (1)	9.01 (20)	8.99 (1)	6.42 (65)	8.13
2014	9.03 (1)	9.08 (20)	9.06 (1)	6.46 (66)	8.19
2015	8.97 (1)	8.79 (26)	8.88 (2)	6.50 (67)	8.09
2016	9.09	8.62	8.85	6.42 (68)	8.04

Given the adverse international reactions to recent political events, the declines in these indices are not surprising. Hong Kong's Personal Freedom Index, Democracy Index, and Index (B) – the Freedom and Democracy Index, have declined respectively by 5.1%, 1.2%, and 1.8% from their peaks. Even though the Personal Freedom Index has the largest decline, the 2016 score of 8.62 is still quite decent, close to those of developed neighbouring territories.

Looking into the change in the seven sub-indices of the Personal Freedom Index from 2014 to 2016, four sub-indices have substantial declines, namely, rule of law, religious freedom, freedom of association and assembly, and gender identity and relationships. The international community does have concerns on personal freedoms in Hong Kong.

Our indices are only updated to 2016 due to data limitations, and they probably have deteriorated more given the controversial events in 2017. In 2017, the scores of Hong Kong's Democracy Index (EIU) and World Freedom Index (Freedom House) fell another 1.7% and 3.3% respectively. As mentioned above, though opinions of international think tanks on Hong Kong have turned negative, opinions of the Hong Kong public on 1C2S have improved. The Hong Kong public has been positive about the change of CE, but international think tanks have mostly neglected this change.

Despite recent declines, Hong Kong's scores and rankings in the Personal Freedom Index, Democracy Index, and Index (B) – the Freedom and Democracy Index, remain way above those of the Mainland. The fear that Hong Kong has become 'Mainlandised' is vastly exaggerated.

鑑於國際社會對香港近期的政治事件反應負面，例如立法會議員被褫奪資格、示威者被判入獄及對司法獨立的關注，這些指標的下降並不令人意外。香港的「個人自由指數」、「民主指數」和指數B—「自由民主指數」分別自高峰下降了5.1%，1.2%和1.8%。此跌幅未算很大。儘管「個人自由指數」的跌幅最大，但2016年的8.62分仍然不錯，與發達的鄰近地區相約。

縱觀2014年至2016年期間，「個人自由指數」七項目的變化，有四個子項目得分下跌，分別是法治水平、宗教自由、結社自由及性別認同及關係，顯示國際社會對香港的個人自由有所顧慮。

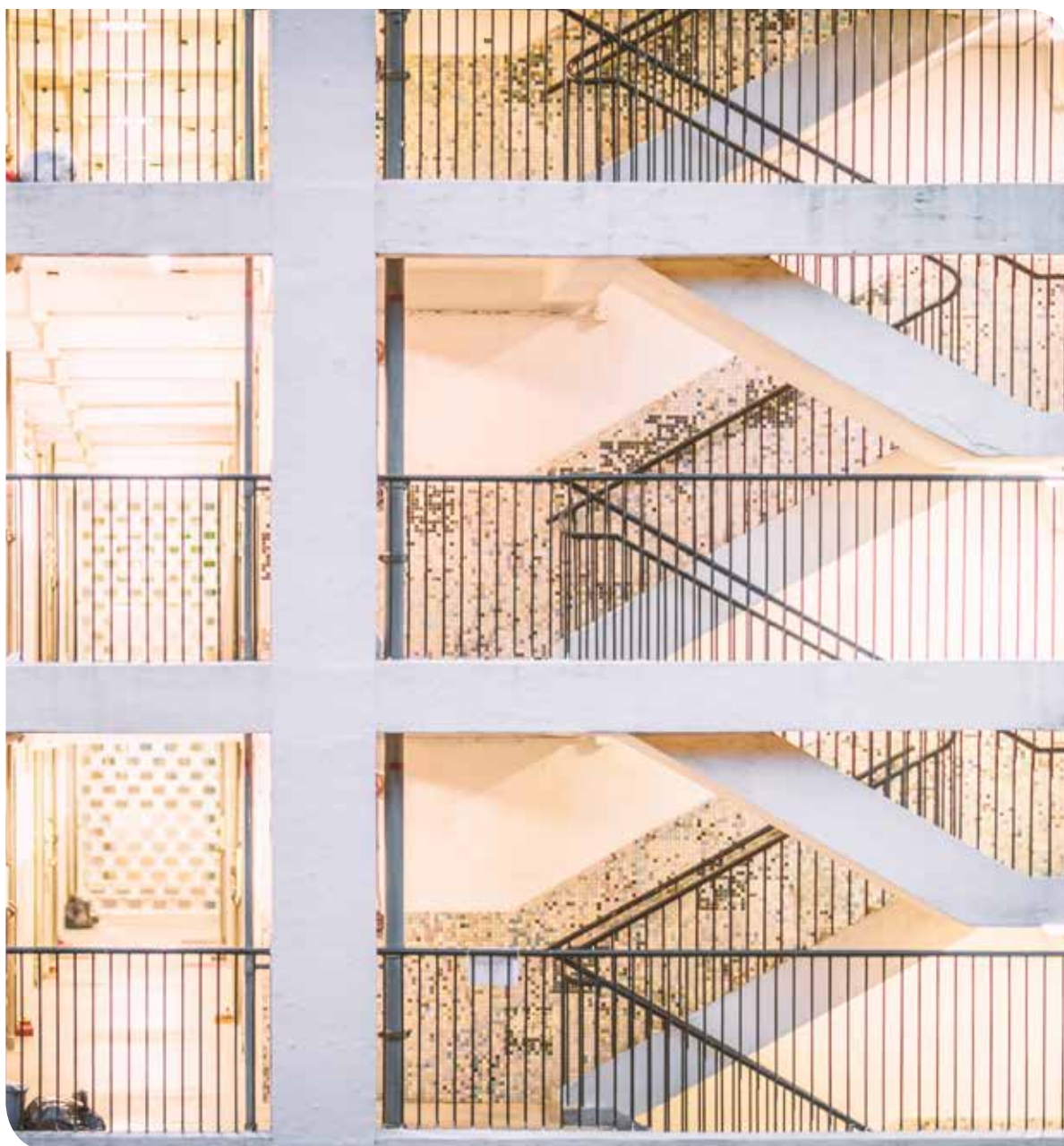
由於數據所限，我們的指數只更新至2016年，而考慮到2017年發生的爭議，它們可能有更大幅度的下降。在2017年，香港的「民主指數」（由經濟學人智庫編製）及「世界自由指數」（由自由之家編製）分別下降1.7%及3.3%。如前所述，雖然國際智庫對香港的評價趨向負面，香港人對「一國兩制」的評價卻有所改善，這是因為港人對轉變特首有正面評價，而國際智庫卻忽略這個轉變。

儘管近年的下跌，香港的「個人自由指數」、「民主指數」和指數B—「自由民主指數」的得分和排名仍然高於內地不少，印證香港被「大陸化」的說法是缺乏根據的。

III. 編製「一國兩制」指數 Constructing the Index

Constructing the Index requires the collection of a substantial volume of data and detailed analysis; this study is merely the first step in constructing a comprehensive Index. As aforementioned, whilst the public's assessment of 1C2S and international assessments of Hong Kong's democracy and freedoms most certainly diverge, both measurements remain valuable points for reference. As such, we synthesize both assessments in constructing a more comprehensive index.

編制「一國兩制」指數，需要收集大量資料及進行詳細分析，本研究是編制這個指數的第一步。如前所述，香港市民對「一國兩制」的評價及國際研究機構對香港自由民主的評價雖然大異其趣，但兩者都有重要的參考價值，是以我們綜合兩種評價來編制較為全面的「一國兩制」指數。



1 從民調評價編制的指數 Constructing the Index from Public Survey

「一國兩制」概況民調就九個不同項目詢問市民對「一國兩制」的評價，基於這九個項目的評分，我們採用以下三種方式編制指數（結果見表十八）：

- 以簡單平均數（十個項目分數的平均）編制指數
- 以「主成分分析」編制指數
- 以「因子分析」編制指數。

The 1C2S Public Survey recorded the public's assessments of nine different items under 1C2S; based on the scores of these nine items, we adopted the following three methods in constructing the Index (see Table 18 for the results):

- Simple Average
- Principal Component Analysis
- Factor Analysis

表十八：從民調評分編制的「一國兩制」指數（有效樣本：918人）
Table 18: Score Constructed from Public Survey (Valid Sample Size: 918)

	評分 Score (1-7)	評分 Score (0-10)
以簡單平均數編制 Simple Average	3.99	4.98
以「主成分分析」編制 Principal Component Analysis	3.99	4.99
以「因子分析」編制 Factor Analysis	3.96	4.94

三種方式編制指數結果十分接近，原因是市民對九個項目的評價十分接近（九個項目的分佈高度相關），是以其主要成分或主要因子與每個項目都十分接近。

The results of all three methods are highly similar, largely due to the clustered nature of the public's assessments of the nine items (cf. the distributions of the nine items are highly correlated), which causes the core components or sub-items across all three methods to be highly similar.

以簡單平均數（九個項目分數的平均）編制指數 Simple Average (of the Nine Items)

This is the most common method employed in constructing indices – its strength lies in its parsimony and accessibility; its weakness is that it assigns equal weighting to all items (i.e. it assumes equal importance for all items).

這是編制指數最常用的方法，優點是簡單及容易明白，缺點是假定所有項目都同等重要（即所有項目的權重相等）。

以「主成分分析」編制指數 Principal Component Analysis

Principal Component Analysis is a statistical method that processes and simplifies data; it is the standard scientific method employed in constructing indices. Through statistical analysis, it extracts the data set's principal components and identifies their weights in a way that best explains the variations across the data; its flaw lies in the complex calculations involved, which render the method inaccessible to laypersons. After complex calculations, we have found that there is negligible difference between results arrived at by using the average approach, and the results acquired via Principal Component Analysis.

主成分分析是一種分析和簡化數據的統計技術，是以科學化方式編制指數的標準方法，其方法是通過對數據進行特徵分解，以得出數據的主要成分與它們的權值，優點是揭露數據的內部結構，從而更好解釋數據的變化，缺點是計算十分繁複，外行人亦難以明白。經過繁複計算後，我們發現數據的主要成分與九個項目的每一個項目都十分接近，是以計算的結果與採用簡單平均數的方法沒有大分別。

以「因子分析」編制指數 Factor Analysis

Factor Analysis extracts common factors from the data, and shares a similar methodology with Principal Component Analysis. Its strength lies in its ability to identify hidden and representative factors amongst the many variables and group variables of a similar nature and converting the same into a common factor, which reduces the total number of variables. Its weakness is that its complex calculations are difficult to navigate for laypersons. After complex calculations, we have found that there is negligible difference between the results arrived at by using the average approach, and the results acquired using Factor Analysis.

因子分析是從數據中提取公性因子的統計方法，技術與主成分分析類似，其優點是可以在多項變量中找出隱藏及具有代表性的因子，將相同本質的變量歸入一個因子，從而減少變量的數目，缺點是計算十分繁複，外行人亦難以明白。經過繁複計算後，我們發現數據的主要因子與九個項目的每一個項目都十分接近，是以計算的結果與採用簡單平均數的方法沒有大分別。

因為三種方式編制指數結果十分接近，我們選取最簡單常用的方法，即以簡單平均數（九個項目分數的平均）編制「一國兩制」指數。

Given the similarity of the results from all three methods, we adopted the simplest and most commonly used method – i.e. the average of the nine items – in constructing the Index.

2 「一國兩制」指數的評分：兩輪報告的比較 Comparison of Two Rounds of The Index

The Index, which is the average of Indices (A) and (B), is 6.54. As mentioned before, this is not directly comparable with that in the first Report. Table 20 compares the scores of the Index using a fully comparable methodology across the two rounds. Survey results of the first and second rounds are 4.88 and 4.84 respectively (calculated by the 8 identical questions, see Table 1). The 'Freedom and Democracy Index' in the first report is 8.19 with data from 2014. Since we have updated the 'Freedom and Democracy Index' to 2016 from international databases, both rounds of 1C2S Index should employ the latest estimates of 8.04. Using a fully comparable index construction method, the Index declined from 6.46 to 6.44, falling by a negligible 0.02 or 0.3%.

「一國兩制」指數為指數A與B的平均數，即6.54。如前所述，兩次報告不能直接比較。表十九按完全可比的口径來比較兩輪「一國兩制」指數的評分。第一、二次民調的得分依次為4.88及4.84（按完全可比的八個項目計算，詳情見表一）。第一次報告的「自由民主指數」來自2014年的資料，得分是8.19。如今我們利用國際資料更新該指數，估計2016年的得分為8.04，兩輪報告都應該使用這個最新的估計。按以上完全可比的口径，第一次報告的「一國兩制」指數應該為6.46，第二次報告則為6.44，稍微下跌0.02或0.3%，變化微不足道。

表十九：比較兩輪「一國兩制」指數的評分
Table 19: Comparison of Two Rounds of The Index

子項目得分（權重相等） Sub-Item Scores (Equal Weighting Assigned)			平均分 Average
指數A：民意調查 Public Survey	指數B：「自由民主指數」 Freedom and Democracy Index		
2017.6	4.88	8.04	6.46
2017.12	4.84	8.04	6.44



3 「自由之家」的「世界自由指數」對香港的評價 Hong Kong's Scores and Ranks in Freedom House's 'Freedom in the World'

Apart from Cato and Fraser Institutes' Economic and Personal Freedom Indices, which provide part of the basis for our Index, the 'Freedom in the World' survey conducted by Freedom House is also a commonly used indicator for freedom. While our Index is not based on this index, we think it is perhaps necessary to comment on it given the recent negative news on Hong Kong's decline in this index. The 'Freedom in the World' consists of two ratings, namely political rights and civil liberties, divided into seven scores (Table 20).

According to the 2018 'Freedom of the World' (reflecting the situation in 2017), Hong Kong has a rating of 2 in civil liberties (1 representing the freest and 7 the least free) and 5 in political rights, giving an overall rating of 3.5. Ranking 111th in the world, Hong Kong is placed below Japan, Taiwan and South Korea, yet above Singapore. The aggregate score of Hong Kong (the total of all 7 scores, higher the freer) fell continuously by 2 points a year from 67 in 2013 to 61 in 2016, and fell further to a record low of 59 in 2017.

除了卡托研究所和菲沙研究所的「經濟自由指數」及「個人自由指數」，「自由之家」的「世界自由指數」也是一個常常被引用來量度自由的指標。我們的指數，是基於前者而非後者。不過因為最近傳媒廣泛報道香港在「世界自由指數」的排名大幅下跌，是以我們需要討論這個現象。「世界自由指數」包括「政治權利」及「公民權利」兩大部分共七個子項目（表二十）。

按2018年發表的「世界自由指數」（反映2017年的情況），香港公民權利被評為第二級（第一級最自由，第七級最不自由），但政治權利只有第五級，自由總評分只有3.5級，在全球排名只有111位，不及日本、台灣和南韓，卻優於新加坡。香港的自由總評分（七個子項目的總數，愈高愈自由），近年不斷下跌，從2013年的67分，每年下跌兩分，2016年為61分，到2017年更創59分的歷史新低。



'Freedom of the World' has a relatively low rating for Hong Kong, which is different from our 'Freedom and Democracy Index'. The 'Freedom and Democracy Index' is a more balanced and comprehensive index than the 'Freedom of the World'. The former has three main components, namely economic freedom, personal freedom (similar to Freedom House's civil liberties) and democracy index (similar to Freedom House's political rights). Each component has 1/3 weight. The latter neglects economic freedom completely (zero weight) and considers only civil liberties (similar to personal freedom in the Index) with a weight of 0.6, and political rights (similar to our democracy index) with a weight of 0.4.

Further, Freedom House's 'Civil Liberties' Index only includes four main components, while Cato and Fraser Institutes' 'Personal Freedom Index' includes seven main components (Table 14). The latter is thus more comprehensive in scope.

Our Index and Freedom House's 'Freedom of the World' Index are not contradictory. In our 'Freedom and Democracy Index', Hong Kong has a high ranking for personal freedom and but only ranked 68th in the 'Democracy Index'. This is similar to Freedom House's result (relatively high rating for civil liberties but low rating for political rights). In addition, part of the data in two components of the 'Personal Freedom Index' ('Freedom of Association and Assembly' and 'Freedom of Expression') comes from Freedom House's data (see Appendix I). It therefore follows that the widely publicised decline of Hong Kong in this index does not invalid our results.

「世界自由指數」對香港的評價不高，與我們編制的「自由民主指數」大異其趣。與「自由之家」的「世界自由指數」比較，我們的「自由民主指數」較為平衡，也較為全面。「自由民主指數」包括三個大項目：經濟自由、個人自由（與自由之家的公民權利相似）及民主指數（與自由之家的政治權利相似），每個大項目的比重各佔1/3。「自由之家」的「世界自由指數」卻完全忽略經濟自由（比重為零），只考慮公民權利（即個人自由，比重為0.6）及政治權利（即民主指數，比重為0.4）。

此外，自由之家的公民權利指數包含四個子項目，卡托研究所和菲沙研究所的「個人自由指數」則包括七個子項目（表十四），後者涵蓋的範圍較為全面。

我們的「自由民主指數」，與「自由之家」的「世界自由指數」並不完全矛盾。按我們的「自由民主指數」，香港的個人自由評分甚高，不過民主指數的評分卻不佳，全球排名只有68位，結果與自由之家的評價相似（公民權利的評級較高，政治權利的評級頗低）。此外，「個人自由指數」中的「言論自由」及「結社及集會自由」兩個子項目，部分數據也是來自「自由之家」的資料（見附錄1）。「自由之家」對香港的評價，並不能否定本報告的結果。

表二十：「自由之家」的「世界自由指數」對香港的評價（2016）
Table 20: Hong Kong's Scores in Freedom House's 'Freedom in the World' (2016)

評級 (1-7級) Ratings (1-7)	評分 Scores		
政治權利 Political Rights	選舉程序 Electoral Process	3/12	
	政治多樣性及參與 Political Pluralism and Participation	7/16	
	政府運作 Functioning of Government	6/12	
公民權利 Civil Liberties	言論及信仰自由 Freedom of Expression and Belief	12/16	
	集會及組織自由 Associational and Organizational Rights	8/12	
	法治 Rule of Law	12/16	
	個人自主及個人權利 Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights	13/16	
總評級 Overall Rating	3.5	總分 Aggregate Score	61/100

IV. 「一國兩制」輿情指數

1C2S Mass Media Index (1C2S MMI)

News sentiment influences public opinion. By mining over 123,000 news articles and 61 million words from 20 local daily newspapers, 1C2S MMI monitors how “One Country Two Systems” (“1C2S”) is conveyed in the mass media to provide a timely barometer of public sentiment towards 1C2S. The MMI complements our 1C2S Index as media sentiment is an important factor in the formation of public opinion. To dovetail with our main Index, we will compile the MMI half yearly.

This represents our initial attempt to use big data techniques to measure media sentiment towards 1C2S. In the longer run, subject to resource availability, the MMI opens up many opportunities of further research in public opinion formation. The MMI can be compiled at high frequency intervals (e.g. monthly) as it is not subject to the long time lags of surveys. It is also possible to investigate the effect of specific significant events (e.g., co-location arrangement for the Express Rail link) on media sentiment, or to compare sentiments in the local and overseas media.

1C2S MMI is a net sentiment index of newspaper articles over a given time. Newspaper is only part of the media, and the MMI does not cover news reported by traditional media such as television and radio, as well as news carried by new media. Measuring the sentiments of news reported by television and radio is very difficult as there is no comprehensive text-based data base available. Measurement of sentiments of new media is also very difficult as it will be very demanding on resources. Furthermore, while widely accepted credibility ratings of different newspapers are available through regular opinion polls, comparable ratings on the credibility of different new media outlets are not available. We will thus confine our study to newspaper articles on 1C2S.

It should be noted that many newspapers have also broadcasted their news through online outlets such as websites and mobile apps. In so far as the news articles of these online outlets are the same as their printed versions, the sentiments of these articles are already included in our MMI regardless of whether they are printed or broadcasted online. 1C2S MMI currently only gauges sentiment of an important subset of mass media, printed newspapers, as a general representation of sentiment in mass media.

媒體所表達的情緒影響著民意。「一國兩制」輿情指數從20家本地報章搜集123,000多篇報導，逾6,100萬字，編製對「一國兩制」的輿論情緒晴雨表，藉此透視大眾傳媒對「一國兩制」的感受及意見。媒體所傳遞的情緒是形成民意的重要因素，故此，「一國兩制」輿情指數補足了我們的「一國兩制」指數。為配合我們的主指數，輿情指數將會以半年結。

此為我們利用大數據技術去衡量媒體對「一國兩制」情緒的首次嘗試。在長遠角度，如資源許可，輿情指數能為民意形成開拓更多研究機會。輿情指數能以高頻率編製（如每月），因為它不受以調查方式收集民意時所產生的滯後影響。它亦可以調查特定重大事件（例如高鐵一地兩檢安排）對媒體情緒的影響，或比較本地及海外媒體的情緒。

「一國兩制」輿情指數為一段時間內所有報紙文章的情緒淨值指數。報紙只是媒體的一部分，輿情指數不包括電視、電台等傳統媒體報導的新聞，也不包括新媒體所報導的新聞。由於電視和電台沒有全面的文本數據庫，所以要衡量它們的新聞情緒非常困難。衡量新媒體的情緒則對資源有較高要求，所以也非常困難。此外，民意調查定期評估不同報紙的公信力，得到廣泛認可，然而對新媒體的公信力卻沒有可比的評價。故此，我們的研究將會聚焦與「一國兩制」有關的報紙文章。

值得注意的是，不少報紙也透過網站、手機程式等網上媒介傳播。這些網上媒介的報導與印刷版本大多相同，所以無論是印刷或網上版本，其情緒已經涵括在輿情指數之中。目前，輿情指數只衡量大眾傳媒的一個重要部分——印刷報紙，以評估大眾傳媒整體的輿情。



1 「一國兩制」輿情指數（半年結） 1C2S MMI (Half-Yearly)

2017年下半年的「一國兩制」輿情指數為97.14，比上半年的99.96有輕微下跌，與主指數同樣稍為下跌。

The 1C2S MMI index in the second half of 2017 comes in at 97.14, a slight decrease from 99.96 recorded in the previous 6 months. This is consistent with the decrease of the main Index.

表二十一：「一國兩制」輿情指數（半年結）
Table 21: 1C2S MMI (Half-Yearly)

2016 H2	2017 H1	2017 H2
84.04	99.96	97.14

註：「一國兩制」輿情指數的基數月訂為2017年7月，以標誌回歸20周年的情況。

Note: The base month of 1C2S MMI is set at July 2017, 20 years after the establishment of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.



2 與現時民調比較 Comparison of Historical Performance of 1C2S MMI

The big data era opens doors to new modes of public opinion research. Through sentiment analysis, a technique that combines natural language processing, text analysis and computational linguistics, researchers can establish the overall attitude conveyed by a speaker or writer. A Hong Kong study in 2013 suggests that sentiment analyses lead telephone surveys by about 2 weeks.⁽¹⁾

有別於傳統民調，大數據時代開啟了輿情研究的新方法。情緒分析結合自然語言處理，文本分析和計算語言學的技術，研究員能夠從文稿中構建作者的整體態度。事實上，一項在香港進行的研究表明，情緒分析的結果會領先電話調查大約兩個星期⁽¹⁾。

註1：
Note 1: Fu, K. W., & Chan, C. H. (2013). Analyzing online sentiment to predict telephone poll results. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 16(9), 702-707.

Fig 5 juxtaposes 1C2S MMI with survey results regarding views towards 1C2S by two organizations, namely Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) and Public Opinion Programme by the University of Hong Kong (HKUPOP).⁽²⁾⁽³⁾ Remarkably, these series depict a similar overall trend of public views - albeit with some quantitative differences across the 3 samples. All three series rose in the early 2000's to a peak around 2007; then fell to a trough around 2014-16 with Occupy Central and the civil unrest in Mongkok, and then recovered thereafter.

As for quantitative differences, 1C2S MMI tends to reveal the immediate effect of speeches and activities of high-ranking officials, especially those of the Chinese leaders which have extensive coverage in mass media. Survey-based indicators might be affected by events with no direct relevance to 1C2S such as the re-election of Donald Tsang with high popularity in 2007. 1C2S MMI also serves as a better proxy for cases with high newsworthiness, while survey-based indicators trace incidents which impose more universal impacts. For example, 1C2S MMI gives a more negative rating during the civil unrest in Mong Kok, which came as a shock yet affected only limited parties. Survey-based indicators, on the other hand, show a more negative rating during the "Occupy Central" movement, which affected the general public in various aspects.

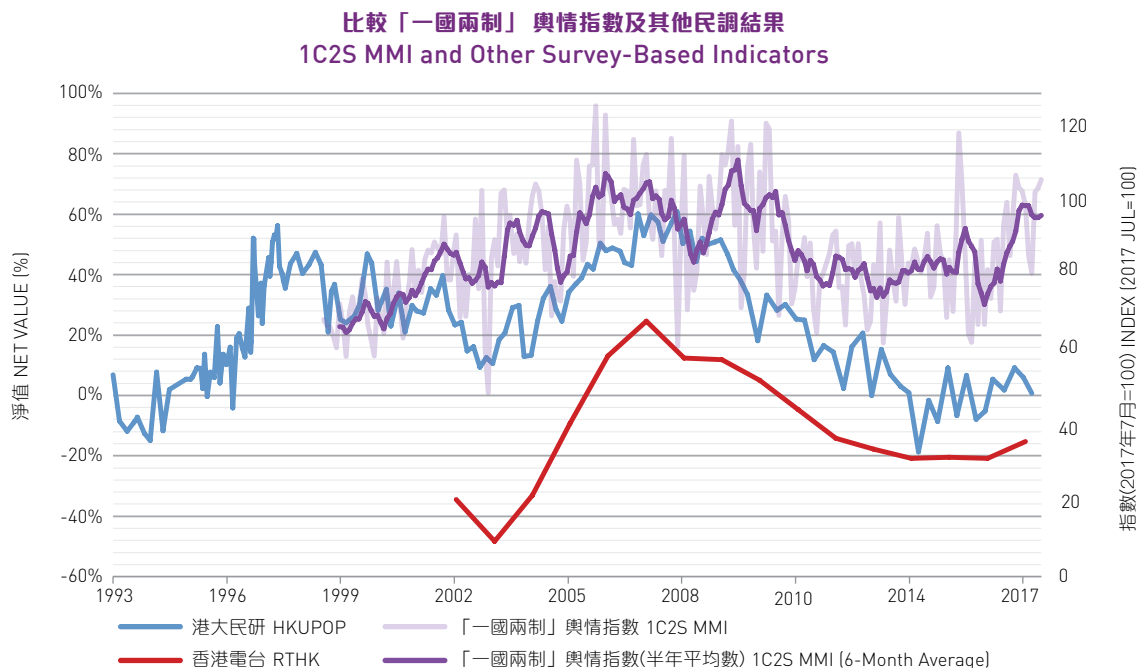
註2：香港電台每年委託香港亞太研究所就香港現況及前景進行調查，相應問題為「對回歸以來香港整體發展的滿意度」

Note 2: RTHK commissions the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (HKIAPS) to conduct annual surveys on 1C2S. The related question is: "Satisfactory to the overall development of Hong Kong after the handover"

註3：香港大學民意研究計劃近年每三個月就市民對「一國兩制」信心進行調查，相應問題為「咁整體黎講，你對一國兩制有冇信心？」

Note 3: HKUPOP conducts quarterly surveys on 1C2S. The related question is: "Generally speaking, are you confident in 'One Country, Two Systems'?"

圖五：比較「一國兩制」輿情指數及其他民調結果
Fig 5: 1C2S MMI and Other Survey-Based Indicators



圖五比較「一國兩制」輿情指數與兩個團體關於「一國兩制」的民意調查，分別為香港電台⁽²⁾和香港大學民意研究計劃⁽³⁾。結果顯示，儘管三項結果在數字上存在差異，但都呈現相似的整體趨勢。三組數字均由2000年年初起上升至大概2007年的頂點，隨著「佔領中環」與旺角騷亂下降至2014-16年的低谷，隨後回升。

就三項結果的差異而言，「一國兩制」輿情指數較能反映高級官員講話和活動的即時影響，尤其是受媒體廣泛報道的中國領導人。民調所顯示的整體觀感則有可能受到與「一國兩制」無直接關係的事件影響，例如民望高企的曾蔭權在2007年再次當選行政長官，令市民的未來感到樂觀。「一國兩制」輿情指數亦較能呈現新聞性高的事件，而民調則體現較有普遍影響的事件。例如，突發性高卻牽連較少群眾的旺角騷亂時，「一國兩制」輿情指數給予了較負面的評價。而在各方面都影響廣大公眾的「佔領中環」運動中，民調給予了較負面的評價。

表二十二：「一國兩制」輿情指數數表（2014年至今）
Table 22: Time Series of 1C2S MMI since 2014

年份 Year	半年 Half-Year	月份 Month	「一國兩制」輿情指數 (2017年7月=100) 1C2S MMI (2017-Jul = 100)	
			月結 Monthly	半年平均數 6-Month
2014	H1	一月 Jan	79.97	79.14
		二月 Feb	74.17	78.94
		三月 Mar	96.57	79.17
		四月 Apr	81.99	82.34
		五月 May	73.21	82.29
		六月 Jun	84.30	81.70
	H2	七月 Jul	83.46	82.28
		八月 Aug	88.12	84.61
		九月 Sep	84.98	82.68
		十月 Oct	81.82	82.65
		十一月 Nov	85.67	84.73
		十二月 Dec	92.29	86.06
2015	H1	一月 Jan	75.30	84.70
		二月 Feb	77.80	82.98
		三月 Mar	94.43	84.55
		四月 Apr	87.11	85.43
		五月 May	84.35	85.21
		六月 Jun	69.72	81.45
	H2	七月 Jul	85.16	83.10
		八月 Aug	71.31	82.01
		九月 Sep	93.72	81.89
		十月 Oct	119.39	87.27
		十一月 Nov	105.59	90.81
		十二月 Dec	86.43	93.60
2016	H1	一月 Jan	65.41	90.31
		二月 Feb	62.97	88.92
		三月 Mar	84.60	87.40
		四月 Apr	67.90	78.82
		五月 May	90.49	76.30
		六月 Jun	67.87	73.21
	H2	七月 Jul	82.53	76.06
		八月 Aug	74.79	78.03
		九月 Sep	90.05	78.94
		十月 Oct	90.74	82.75
		十一月 Nov	71.54	79.59
		十二月 Dec	94.74	84.06
2017	H1	一月 Jan	100.73	87.10
		二月 Feb	86.41	89.03
		三月 Mar	96.44	90.10
		四月 Apr	107.89	92.96
		五月 May	104.60	98.47
		六月 Jun	103.72	99.96
	H2	七月 Jul	100	99.84
		八月 Aug	86.38	99.84
		九月 Sep	81.64	97.37
		十月 Oct	103.44	96.63
		十一月 Nov	104.57	96.63
		十二月 Dec	106.79	97.14

3 指數構成 The Construction of 1C2S MMI

Our sample consists of around 123,000 newspaper articles related to 1C2S from 20 local daily newspapers that were published between April 1998 and December 2017.

Each article undergoes a “tokenisation” process whereby articles are segmented into words/phrases (often referred to as tokens) via a computer algorithm. In the sample period of approximately 20 years, our text corpus contains some 61 million tokens. From this massive dataset, common words that are inconsequential to the understanding of news articles, such as “我”, “你”, “的”, are first removed before further analysis.

To determine the sentiment of an article, words are categorised as: “positive”, “negative” or “neutral” (not a sentiment word). A positive word is then given a sentiment score of 1, a negative word is assigned a score of -1, and a neutral word has a score of 0. The classification scheme adopted is given by the sentiment dictionary for Traditional Chinese words developed by Ku et al. (2009).^[4]

The positive, or negative as the case may be, sentiment of a paragraph is quantified via a count of the number of positive (negative) words it contains, adjusted by the its total word count. The sentiment score of an article is calculated as the average difference between positive and negative proportions among constituent paragraphs. Table 23 reveals substantial differences in the number of news articles published by newspapers during the sample period. Article count of a newspaper alone could be an insufficient representation of its influence and perceived importance among readers. To ensure 1C2S MMI’s reliability, the sentiment score for each newspaper is further weighted by public perceptions of its credibility based on the survey “Public Evaluation on Media Credibility” conducted by Centre for Communication Research, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Finally, 1C2S MMI is derived as an index that captures the weighted average sentiment score among newspapers in a given month.

「一國兩制」輿情指數的資料由新聞文章組成，包含1998年4月至2017年12月期間，來自本地20份日報關於「一國兩制」，約123,000份報導及評論，逾6,100萬字內容（見表23及表24）。

每篇文章都會進行「分詞」（tokenization），通過電腦運算將文章分解成語例（token，為單詞或短語）。我們利用約20年的資料組成語料庫，包含大約6,100萬個語例。在進一步分析這個龐大的語料庫之前，首先剔除無助理解文章的常見單詞（如「我」、「你」、「的」）。

為辨別一篇文章的情緒，語例被判斷為「正面」、「中立」（非情感詞）或「負面」。「正面」的語例得1分，「中立」得0分，「負面」得-1分，並採用由古倫維、何修維及陳信希（2009）開發的繁體中文情緒字典^[4]。

我們計算每段落所包含的正、負面語例數量，每篇文章的情緒評分則為各個段落經字數調整後的淨值。「一國兩制」輿情指數即為當月所有文章的平均情緒評分。從表三可以看到，不同報章所刊登的文章數目有明顯差別。因此，只考慮文章數目不足以呈現不同報章對讀者觀感的影響力。為確保可靠性，本指數將採用由香港中文大學傳播與民意調查中心「市民對傳媒公信力的評分」，為每份報章的情緒評分加權。

註4：

Note 4: Ku, Lun-Wei, Ho, Hsiu-Wei and Chen, Hsin-His (2009). Opinion Mining and Relationship Discovery Using CopeOpi Opinion Analysis System, *Journal of American Society for Information Science and Technology*, volume 60, number 7, pages 1486-1503, July 2009.

表二十三：報章來源
Table 23: Data Source of MMI

報章 Newspaper	文章篇數 Number of Articles
A報 A Daily	81
am730	1,750
蘋果日報 Apple Daily	7,801
頭條日報 Headline Daily	847
香港商報 Hong Kong Commercial Daily	11,817
新報 Hong Kong Daily News	4,476
信報 Hong Kong Economic Journal	8,607
經濟日報 Hong Kong Economic Times	3,690
公正報 Hong Kong Globe	194
都市日報 Metro Daily	1,187
明報 Ming Pao Daily News	10,138
東方日報 Oriental Daily News	6,904
爽報 Sharp Daily	152
成報 Sing Pao	4,600
星島日報 Sing Tao Daily	6,424
晴報 Sky Post	385
大公報 Ta Kung Pao	24,710
太陽報 The Sun	4,828
天天日報 Tin Tin Daily News	452
文匯報 Wen Wei Po	24,226
總數 Total	123,269

表二十四：按年份劃分的資料字數
Table 24: Number of Words

年份 Year	字數 Number of Words
1998	669,676
1999	2,498,254
2000	2,320,584
2001	2,640,690
2002	2,545,546
2003	2,713,403
2004	4,801,621
2005	2,874,994
2006	1,879,834
2007	2,797,512
2008	1,446,629
2009	1,815,839
2010	1,880,198
2011	2,040,824
2012	3,441,893
2013	3,312,415
2014	5,386,835
2015	4,411,567
2016	5,590,354
2017	6,204,647
總數 Total	61,273,315

4 準確度覆查 Accuracy of 1C2S MMI Index

1C2S MMI index is underpinned by a lexicon-based model which treats each paragraph as a bag of words and as a result may detract from the overall context of the paragraph. For instance, the model may not be able to detect nuances in writing such as sarcasm and therefore do not understand fully the true meaning of a paragraph. Nonetheless, whilst this may be a limitation when analysing publications such as novels, this is less of an issue for news articles which are written in a more direct manner.

To ascertain the accuracy of this lexicon-based method in identifying the sentiment of a paragraph, two researchers manually categorised around 18,000 paragraphs randomly drawn from the text corpus into “positive”, “neutral” and “negative” categories. References to which newspaper a paragraph came from were removed before the paragraph was presented to our team of researchers. If these two researchers classified a paragraph differently, a third researcher would be asked to make the final verdict.

In this accuracy test, sentiment labels given by the first two researchers coincided with each other around 80% of the time. As shown in Table 5, 2,363 paragraphs were considered as “positive” whereas 1,472 were classified as “negative.”

Sentiment scores for each group of paragraphs were then derived by the same lexicon model used in the construction of 1C2S MMI. In our model, the sentiment of a paragraph is assumed to be encapsulated in the proportion of positive words minus that of negative words - the higher the sentiment score, the more positive a paragraph is expected to be.

Table 25 also shows the average sentiment scores of these 3 groups of paragraphs. In particular, “positive” paragraphs identified by the team of researchers have an average sentiment score of 21.76%, around 7.5 times as high as “negative” paragraphs. In addition, the differences in average sentiment scores among these 3 groups are tested to be statistically significant via a multivariate regression model, suggesting that results given by the lexicon model are largely in line with judgements made by human researchers.

「一國兩制」輿情指數是建基於由詞彙組成的模型，此模型視每段落為一籃子的詞語，從而抽離整篇文章的脈絡。其中一個效果是可能無法辨認到諷刺等寫作手法，因而不能完全理解每一個段落的真正含義。這個局限在分析小說等文學作品時可能較為明顯，但對於寫作手法較直接的新聞文章而言，相信不是一個問題。

為證實此詞彙模型辨別情緒的準確度，兩位研究員從語料庫中隨機抽取了約18,000個段落，親自分類為「正面」、「負面」和「中立」，再與詞彙模型比較。各段落的出處在給予研究員之前已經被隱藏。假如兩名研究員對同一個段落的情緒判斷有異，第三名研究員將會重讀並作出判斷。

是次覆查中，兩名研究員在大約八成的情況下均能作出相同的判斷。如表五所顯示，2,363及1,472個段落分別被判決為「正面」及「負面」。

利用與「一國兩制」輿情指數相同的詞彙模型，此等段落的情緒將會被評分。在我們的計算中，情緒評分為正、負面詞語量的淨值，所以評分愈高代表情緒愈正面。

表二十五也顯示利用詞彙模型計算的情緒評分。被真人研究員判斷為「正面」的段落，情緒評分為21.76%，約為「負面」段落的7.5倍。再者，利用多變量回歸分析，三個類別的情緒評分發現具統計學上的顯著差異，證實詞彙模型的計算結果與我們研究員的人手分類一致。

表二十五：覆查結果
Table 25: Results of Accuracy Test

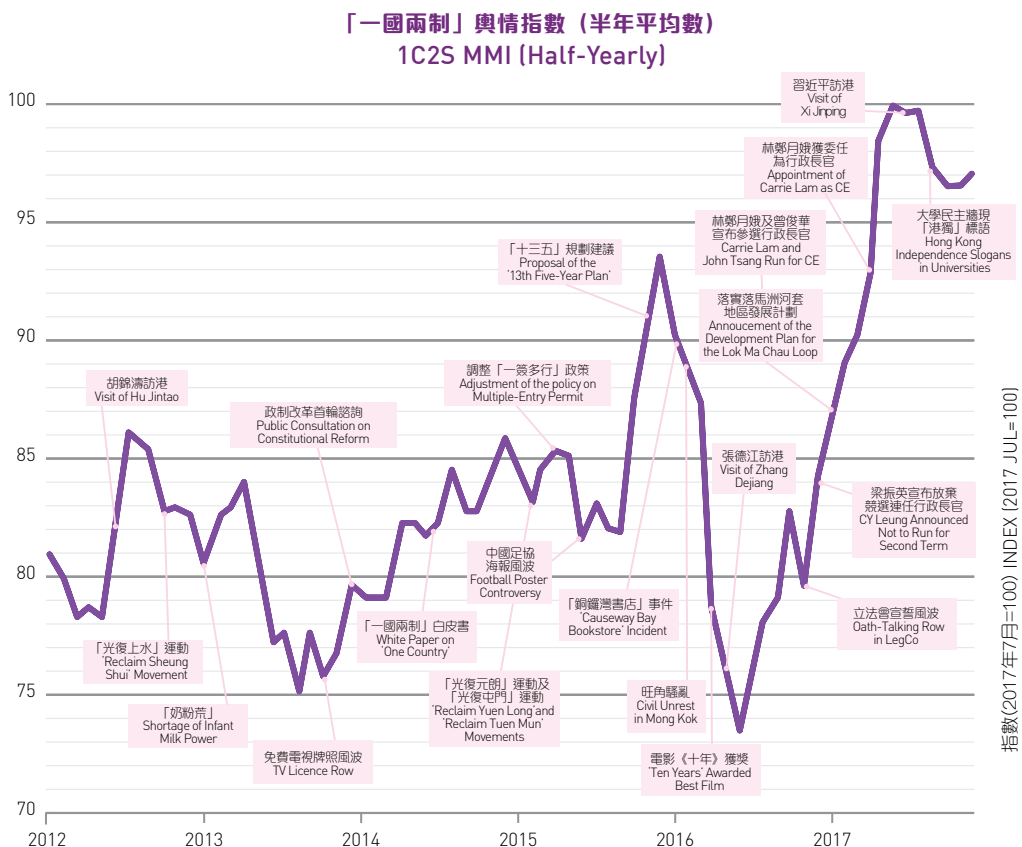
	正面 Positive	中立 Neutral	負面 Negative
真人研究員對情緒的判斷 No. of Paragraphs Classified by Human Researchers	2,363	14,202	1,472
情緒淨值（基於詞彙模型計算） Net Value	21.76%	14.42%	2.92%

5 「一國兩制」輿情指數 (2012-2017) Recent Performance (2012-2017)

Fig 6 illustrates the changes of 1C2S MMI from 2012 to date. 1C2S MMI reached its peak of more than three years when President Hu Jintao visited Hong Kong in June and the new government took office in July 2012. A steady decline followed the "Reclaim Sheung Shui" movement in September which stirred up the discussion on "Hong Kong independence". The MMI dropped further with the shortage of infant milk power caused by parallel traders in January 2013, reaching a nadir in October at the time of the TV licence row.

圖六表示「一國兩制」輿情指數由2012至今的變化。2012年6月及7月，時任國家主席胡錦濤到訪港及新一屆政府就職，令輿情指數攀上維持了三年多的高位峰，其後持續下降。先有9月的「光復上水」運動而展開「港獨」的討論，2013年1月由水貨客所製造的「奶粉荒」，及至10月的免費電視牌照風波，將輿情指數推到該段時期的最低點。

圖六：「一國兩制」輿情指數 (2012-2017)
Fig 6: 1C2S MMI (2012-2017)



As the public consultation on constitutional reform started in December 2013, 1C2S MMI regained support. Although the knife attack on Kevin Lau and the "Reclaim Yuen Long" and "Reclaim Tuen Mun" movements led to some fluctuations in the MMI between 2014 and 2015, the overall level was relatively stable because the media did not present a one-sided view of the 'White Paper on "One Country, Two Systems"', the NPC Standing Committee's "8.31" decision and the "Occupy Central" movement.

Premier Li Keqiang's government work report started another upward trend since March 2015. His report reiterated that Hong Kong will continue to enjoy a high degree of autonomy. The upsurge was supported by the adjustment of the policy on multiple-entry permit in April. Despite the controversy over Chinese Football Association's poster in June, the proposal of the "13th Five-Year Plan" promulgated by the Central Government in November ensured Hong Kong's strategic positions and boosted 1C2S MMI substantially to a new peak since 2012.

1C2S encountered the most severe challenge in the beginning of 2016 when 1C2S MMI plummeted to the lowest level ever since the handover. The "Causeway Bay Bookstore" incident aroused widespread media attention in January. The civil unrest in Mong Kok evolved into a clash between civilians and the police in February. The award of the independent film "Ten Years" as the best film in Hong Kong Film Awards in April aggravated the negative sentiment in the mass media.

Zhang Dejiang, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, visited Hong Kong in May 2016, and the MMI bottomed out in June. The MMI has risen strongly since December 2016, when CY Leung announced that he would not run for a second term. Hong Kong and Shenzhen concluded the development plan for the Lok Ma Chau Loop in January 2017. In the same month, Carrie Lam and John Tsang announced to run for Chief Executive. Carrie Lam was appointed as CE and met by President Xi Jinping. Though the NPC Standing Committee's interpretation of the Basic Law in response to the oath-taking row in the Legislative Council in November 2016 and "Hong Kong independence" slogans were found posted in universities in September 2017, MMI still rose to a peak in the second half of 2017 under the new administration of Carrie Lam.

隨著政制改革在2013年12月展開首輪諮詢，輿情指數重拾支持。雖然2014至2015年間發生劉進圖遇襲案及「光復元朗」、「光復屯門」運動，但是《「一國兩制」白皮書》、人大「8.31」決定和「佔領中環」的輿情相持不下，令這一年多的輿情指數在波幅中維持相對平穩水平。

2015年3月，總理李克強在政府工作報告中再次強調「高度自治」，4月更調整「一簽多行」政策，輿情普遍正面。儘管6月發生中國足協海報風波，依然無礙11月時國家「十三五」規劃的建議對「一國兩制」打下的強心針，輿情指數亦突破2012年的頂點。

「一國兩制」在2016年年初面臨最大的挑戰，輿情指數接連急跌。「銅鑼灣書店」事件在1月引起傳媒廣泛關注，旺角騷亂在2月演變成警民流血衝突，再加上獨立電影《十年》在4月獲獎，讓「一國兩制」瞭上陰霾，達到比2003年更負面的低谷。

輿情指數自此從谷底反彈，先有2016年5月全國人大常委會委員長張德江訪港，2016年12月梁振英宣布放棄連任後，指數有明顯升幅。2017年1月港深兩地落實落馬洲河套地區發展計劃、同月林鄭月娥及曾俊華相繼宣布參選行政長官，及至4月林鄭月娥接過行政長官任命狀並獲國家主席習近平接見。期間，2016年11月全國人大常委會就立法會宣誓風波釋法，以及2017年9月數所大學的民主牆出現「港獨」標語，均令輿情指數錄得跌幅，不過在林鄭月娥的新政府下，2017年第二季仍然是自2009年以來的高峰。

附錄一：「個人自由指數」子項目成分

Appendix I: Sub-components of the “Personal Freedom Index”

	評分成分 Sub-components	來源 Sources
法治 Rule of Law	Procedural Justice	Rule of Law Index, World Justice Project
	Civil Justice	
	Criminal Justice	
安全 Security	Homicide	Global Study on Homicide, UN Office on Drugs and Crime
	Disappearance	Human Rights Data Project, CIRI
	Intensity of Violent Conflicts	Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Uppsala University
	Level of Organized Conflict (Internal)	Global Peace Index, Institute for Economics and Peace
	Terrorism Fatalities	Global Terrorism Database, University of Maryland
	Terrorism Injuries	
	Women's Security	Gender, Institutions and Development Database, OECD
遷徙 Movement	Freedom of Foreign Movement	Human Rights Data Project, CIRI
	Freedom of Domestic Movement	
	Women's Freedom of Movement	Gender, Institutions and Development Database, OECD
宗教自由 Freedom of Religion	Freedom to Establish Religious Organizations	Institutional Profiles Database, French Ministry of the Economy
	Autonomy of Religious Organizations	
結社自由* Freedom of Association *	Freedom of Association	Institutional Profiles Database, French Ministry of the Economy
	Freedom of Assembly and Demonstration	
	Autonomy of Organizations	
	Freedom to Establish Organizations	
	Associational and Organizational Rights	Freedom of the World, Freedom House

	評分成分 Sub-components	來源 Sources
言論及資訊 Expression and Information	Press Killed	Committee to Protect Journalists
	Press Jailed	
	Laws and Regulations that Influence Media Content	Freedom of the Press, Freedom House
	Political Pressures and Controls on Media Content	
	Access to Cable / Satellite	
	Freedom of Access to Foreign Information	Institutional Profiles Database, French Ministry of the Economy
State Control over Internet Access		
性別認同及關係 Gender Identity and Relationships	Same-sex Relationships	State-Sponsored Homophobia Report, International Lesbian & Gay Association
	Parental Rights	Gender, Institutions and Development Database, OECD
	Divorce	

* 法國財經部國庫署未有更新相關數字，是項數值由自由之家「全球自由報告」取代

* The component is replaced by Freedom House's "Freedom of the World" as the Institutional Profiles Database is out-of-date

“ONE COUNTRY TWO SYSTEMS”

I N D E X

「一國兩制」指數

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“ONE COUNTRY TWO SYSTEMS”

I N D E X

「一國兩制」指數

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