

# “ONE COUNTRY TWO SYSTEMS”

I N D E X

「一國兩制」指數

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## 目錄

### Index

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前言 Preface	P. 1
「一國兩制」概況：民意調查及指數編制 "One Country Two Systems" Overview: Public Survey and Index Construction	P. 3
I. 研究結果撮要 Summary of Results	P. 6
II. 「一國兩制」概況的電話民調 1C2S Overview: Telephone Survey	P. 11
III. 參考國際性的自由指數與民主指數 International Freedom and Democracy Indices	P. 30
IV. 「一國兩制」指數的編制 Constructing the 1C2S Index	P. 40
附錄 Appendix	P. 46

# 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 decided to conduct one such objective evaluation. We administered a public opinion survey on 1C2S, and developed an index for it. The index draws data from the survey as well as international indices that compare Hong Kong with other countries and territories in relation to human rights, freedom and democracy.

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

「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。

民主思路就香港回歸20年作出客觀回顧，進行了一項「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。

我們設計的「一國兩制」民調，就著十個不同項目（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

We 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 implementation, based on both local public opinion and global perceptions.

This study is our first attempt at deriving a 1C2S Index. Going forward, we will refine our data collection and index construction methodologies. The public survey will be carried out once every six months to calibrate the 1C2S Index for the reference of the public and policy makers.

One of the policy propositions we have been advocating is to establish a committee to review the implementation of 1C2S. The committee would include representatives from the Central Government, Hong Kong SAR Government and civil society, report to the public and make recommendations on improvement on a regular basis. The development of the 1C2S Index is the first step towards this. We look forward to receiving your feedback and working together with stakeholders from all sectors to fully and accurately implement the grand concept of 1C2S.

Path of Democracy


權、法治、言論自由和結社者及集會自由等子項目)的評價。編制的指數綜合地反映了市民對「一國兩制」的主觀評價，也反映了國際的研究機構按照較為客觀的標準對香港的人權、自由及民主現況的評價。

本研究為編製「一國兩制」指數的初步嘗試。我們將進一步完善國際資料蒐集及編製指數的方法，每半年進行一次民調來編製「一國兩制指數」供社會及決策者參考。

民主思路曾經倡議：「設立包括中央、特區及民間代表組成之『一國兩制』檢討委員會，每年定期會面檢討『一國兩制』落實中出現之問題，並向香港公眾匯報及徵詢改善意見」。編制「一國兩制指數」，是徵詢公眾意見，檢討「一國兩制」落實中出現之問題的第一步，希望各方不吝賜教，能夠攜手共同推進「一國兩制」的實踐。

民主思路





# 「一國兩制」概況：民意調查及指數編制 “One Country Two Systems” Overview: Public Survey and Index Construction

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# 「一國兩制」概況：民意調查及指數編制

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

In light of the approaching 20th anniversary of the handover, Path of Democracy has conducted a public survey and developed an index, which seeks to calibrate the current state of 1C2S, for anyone who is interested in the progress of 1C2S. The index's data sources from two components: firstly, we commissioned a telephone survey on 1C2S carried out by Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and secondly, comparative analysis of Hong Kong with reference to international indices that track aggregate freedom and democracy levels.

The telephone survey is representative of citizens' general appraisal of 1C2S. Whilst mass opinion can be subjective and may hence lack objective foundations, public perception nonetheless has crucial referential value for policy makers, given the important role played by the public in the political process. On the other hand, international indices which track over a hundred countries and regions whilst they do not specifically track 1C2S, they nonetheless serve as an equally important point of reference, given that the preservation of Hong Kong's freedom and democracy constitutes a core component of 1C2S. We consider that these indices do provide an informative and reliable source of reference as they are constructed in accordance with highly objective standards.

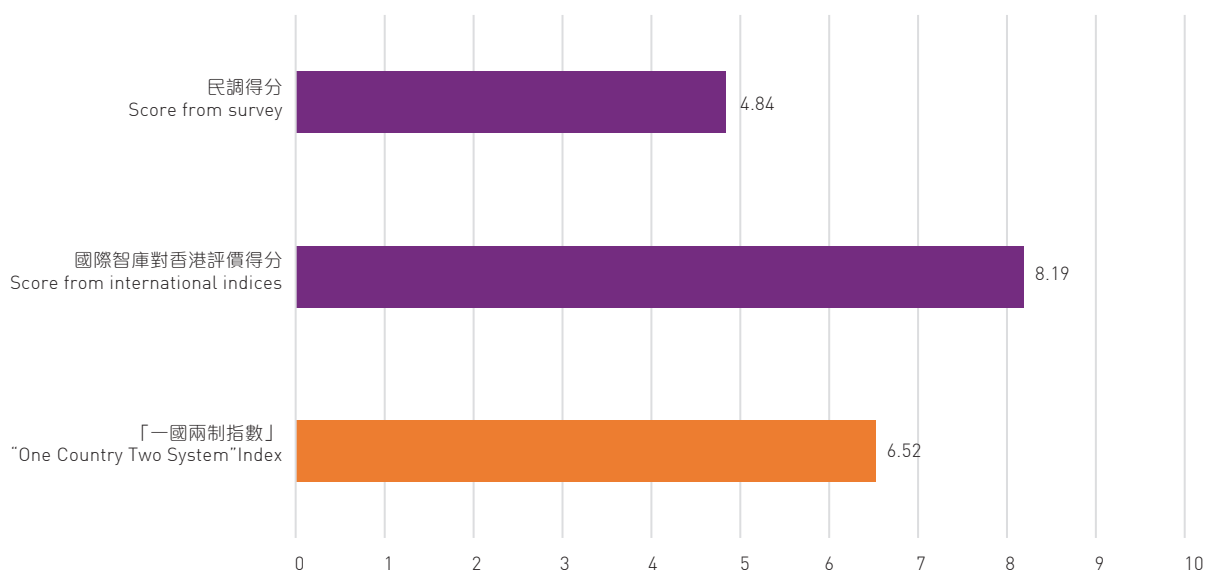
The index compiled from the telephone survey is 4.84 (on a scale of 0 to 10), and the index compiled from international indices that track Hong Kong's freedom and democracy is 8.19 (Figure 1). The 1C2S Index is the average of the above 2 indices or 6.52 (See Part IV of this report for details of the compilation methodology). The score given by the Hong Kong public is much lower than that of international think tanks for reasons that will be explained in detail in Part IV.

在香港回歸20週年，民主思路著手進行「一國兩制」概況的民意調查及編制指數，供社會人士及決策者參考。指數的數據來自兩方面，一方面是我們委託香港中文大學香港亞太研究所進行有關「一國兩制」的民意電話調查，另一方面參考國際性的自由指數及民主指數，進行香港與其他國家或地區的比較。

民調代表市民心中對「一國兩制」的評價，民意是市民的主觀評價，不一定有理性基礎，不過香港市民是兩制中其中一制的主角，他們的意見對決策者有重要的參考價值。國際性的自由指數及民主指數涵蓋全球百多個國家和地區，主要並非針對「一國兩制」，不過維持香港的自由及民主是「一國兩制」的重要部分，況且這些指數按照較為客觀的標準編制，同樣有重要的參考價值。

從市民對「一國兩制」評價而編制的指數為4.84分（10分為滿分），至於從國際研究機構對香港的自由民主及人權的評價而編制的指數為8.19分（見圖一）。本研究編制的「一國兩制指數」，為以上兩種評價的平均，即6.52分（編制指數的詳細方法見本報告第四部分）。市民的評價遠低於國際研究機構的評價，原因見本報告第四部分。

### 「一國兩制指數」 “One Country Two System” Index



圖一：「一國兩制指數」  
Fig. 1: “One Country Two System” Index

本研究為編制「一國兩制」指數的初步嘗試。我們將進一步完善資料蒐集及編制指數的方法，每半年進行一次民調來編制「一國兩制指數」供社會及決策者參考。

This study is an initial attempt to construct the 1C2S Index. We will seek to further refine our data collection and index construction, and carry out a public survey every 6 months in order to update the 1C2S Index for the reference of the public and relevant policy makers.



# I. 研究結果撮要

## Summary of Results





## 1. 「一國兩制」概況民調 1C2S Public Survey

1.1 The research surveyed the public's assessment of ten items (e.g. freedom of speech, judiciary independence, legislative independence etc.), with the average score being 4.84 (out of a total of 10). The public has a relatively low rating of 1C2S – a cause for concern for policy makers.

1.2 In terms of self-identification, 55.9% of the public and 55.0% of the Pan-democrats strongly identify as both 'Hong Kongers' and 'Chinese'. There is a significant positive correlation between the two identities – in other words, 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.

1.3 Young adults (18 to 29 years old) identify less strongly as Chinese; this is a warning sign.

1.4 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.

1.5 When conflicts arise in 1C2S, 55.4% of the public 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.

1.1 「一國兩制」概況民調就十個項目（言論自由、司法獨立、立法獨立等）詢問市民對「一國兩制」的評價，平均分是4.84（10分為滿分）。市民對「一國兩制」的評分不高，執政者需要警惕。

1.2 在身分認同方面，55.9%市民及55.0%民主派同時對「香港人」及「中國人」都有較強認同。對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種認同明顯正相關，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，這是落實「一國兩制」的有利條件。

1.3 青少年（18 – 29歲）對中國人的認同較弱，這是「一國兩制」的警號。

1.4 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。

1.5 當「一國兩制」出現矛盾，55.4%市民認為中央與香港各有「一半半」責任，反映中央及香港雙方都需要反思自身的責任。

## 2 國際研究機構對香港自由民主的評價

### International Assessments of Hong Kong's Freedom and Democracy

2.1 Hong Kong ranks very highly across the international 'Personal Freedom Index' and 'Economic Freedom Index' developed by the Cato and Fraser Institutes. In the 2014 rankings (the latest available), Hong Kong's Economic Freedom Index Score is 9.03, placing it 1st in the world. Its Personal Freedom Index is 9.08 – which places it above developed countries/territories across East Asia, 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.

2.2 The 'Personal Freedom Index' is composed of items that include human rights, rule of law, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly and association etc. These are values that are universally championed, as well as the core values of Hong Kong. Hong Kong excels in all these items.

2.3 Hong Kong's 2016 'Democracy Index' score (calibrated by the Economist Intelligence Unit) is 6.42, which places it beneath Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea, but ahead of Singapore.

2.4 Recent years have seen an increase in Hong Kong's scores and rankings in both 'Individual Freedom Index' and 'Democracy Index', illustrating that Hong Kong's human rights conditions, freedom, and democracy have made positive improvements, and that Hong Kong has not become 'mainlandized'.

2.1 香港在國際性的「個人自由指數」及「經濟自由指數」（卡托及菲沙研究所編制）的評分及排名都極高。在2014年（最新發布的資料），香港「經濟自由指數」得分為9.03，位列全球第一。「個人自由指數」得分為9.08，優於東亞的發達社會（日本、台灣、南韓和新加坡），說明香港在「一國兩制」之下保持了高度的人權及人身自由。

2.2 「個人自由指數」的構成包括人權、法治、言論自由和結社及集會自由等項目，是普世價值，也是香港核心價值，香港在這些項目的評分都很高。

2.3 香港2016年的「民主指數」（經濟學人智庫編制）得分為6.42，低於日本、台灣和南韓，卻超越新加坡。

2.4 近年香港的「個人自由指數」及「民主指數」的評分及全球排名都上升，說明期間香港的人權、自由及民主都有所改善，並無「大陸化」。

### 3 編制「一國兩制」指數 Constructing the 1C2S Index

3.1 From the survey data on the public's evaluation of on 1C2S, we compile the index with 3 different methods, namely, simple average (average of the scores on the 10 items), principal component analysis, and factor analysis. The compiled indices are respectively 4.84, 4.83, and 4.82.

As the results of the 3 methods are very close, we adopted the simplest and most commonly used method, that of simple average to compile our index, and the score is 4.84.

3.2 This study calculates the 'Freedom and Democracy' Index for Hong Kong as the average of 3 components, namely, the 'Economic Freedom Index', 'Personal Freedom Index', and 'Democracy Index' obtained from international indices, and the score is 8.19.

3.3 This study further combined scores derived from the public survey (adopting the simple average approach) and the 'Freedom and Democracy' Index calculated above, and assigning equal weighting to both, calculates the score for Hong Kong under the 1C2S Index to be 6.52.

3.1 基於民調中市民對「一國兩制」的評價，我們採用「簡單平均數」（十個項目分數的平均）、「主成分分析」及「因子分析」三種辦法編制指數，結果十分接近，依次為4.84、4.83及4.82。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（十個項目分數的平均）編制「一國兩制」指數，得分為4.84。

3.2 本研究從「經濟自由指數」、「個人自由指數」及「民主指數」三個項目編制「自由民主指數」（三個項目權重相等），香港的得分為8.19。

3.3 本研究進一步結合從民調評價編制的指數及從國際機構評價編制的「自由民主指數」，兩部分的權重相等，由此編制成「一國兩制指數」，香港的得分為6.52。







## II. 「一國兩制」概況的電話民調

### 1C2S Overview: Telephone Survey

In order to fully gauge the public's assessment of 1C2S, we recently commissioned the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong to conduct a relevant telephone survey. 1,002 individuals were randomly sampled, all aged 18 or above; all of them spoke either Cantonese or Mandarin (the sampling error is  $\pm 3.1\%$  within a 95% confidence level); the response rate was 36.8%; the research satisfies statistical and scientific standards. For a more extensive report on the survey results, please see the Appendix.

#### Rating Scales:

The survey employed 1 to 7 as the rating scale used 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, for 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.

為了解市民對「一國兩制」的評價，我們最近委託香港中文大學香港亞太研究所進行電話調查，以隨機抽樣方式訪問了1,002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 $\pm 3.1\%$ ），回應率為36.8%，符合科學性的調查標準，詳細的調查報告見附錄。

#### 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。



調查結果摘要如下：

Summary of Key Survey Findings:

## 1 市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價（問卷Q1-7、Q9-11）

### Citizens' Assessment of 1C2S's Current State (Survey Questions 1-7, Questions 9-11)

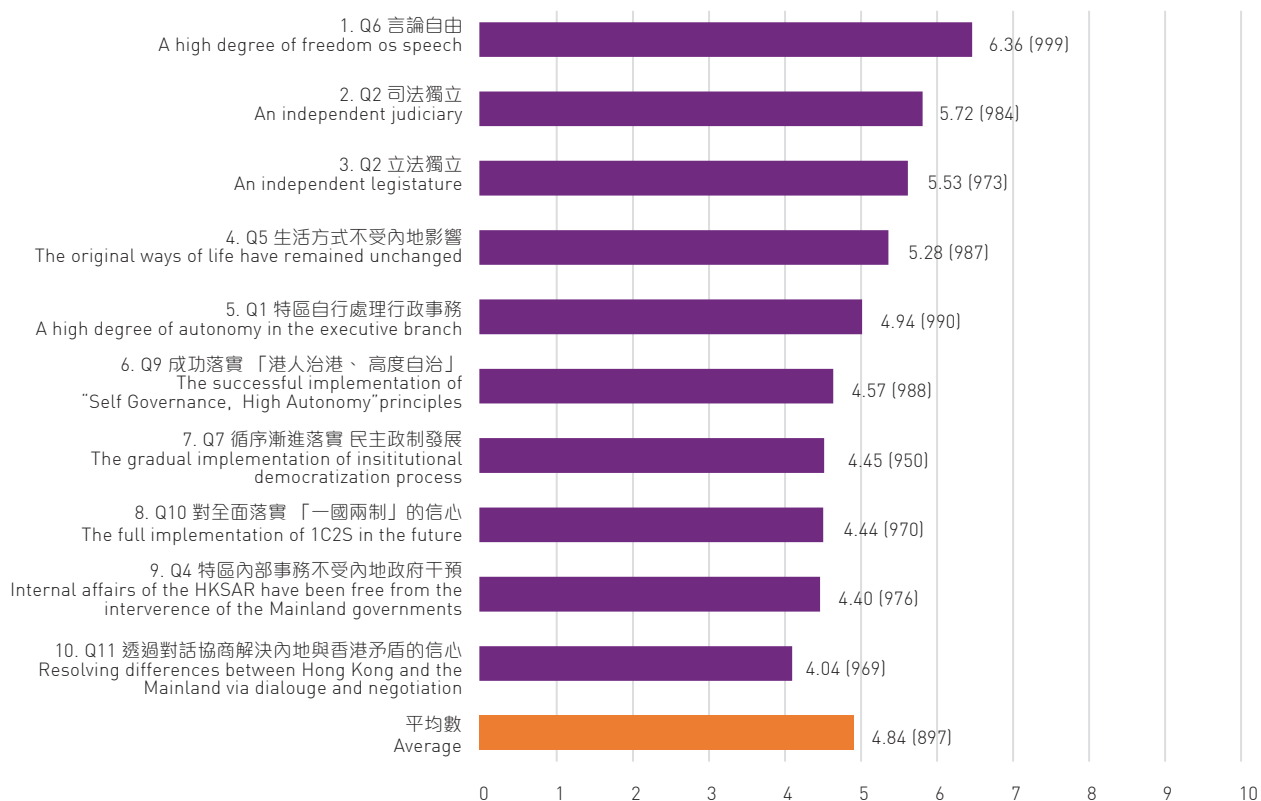
我們就十個項目詢問市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價，結果見圖二。十個項目之中，有四個項目得分超過5分。按分數由高至低排列，是言論自由（6.36）、司法獨立（5.72）、立法獨立（5.53），及生活方式不受內地影響（5.28），反映市民對以上四個項目評價較為正面。有六個項目得分卻低過5分，依得分次序是自行處理內部行政事務（4.94）、高度自治（4.57）、民主政制發展（4.45）、2047年前能全面落實「一國兩制」（4.44）、內地並無干預香港內部事務（4.40），以及能夠透過對話協商解決兩地矛盾（4.04），反映市民對這六個項目的評價較為負面。十個項目的平均分是4.84，市民對「一國兩制」的評分不高，執政者須要警惕。

We surveyed the public's assessments of ten specific items concerning 1C2S; see Figure 2 for detailed results. Amongst the ten items, four items scored higher than 5; from the highest to the lowest, they are: freedom of speech (6.36), judicial independence (5.72), legislative independence (5.53), and the absence of mainland interference with original ways of life (5.28) – these results suggest that the public hold relatively positive opinions with respect to the above four items.





市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價（10 分為滿分）  
The Public's Assessments of 1C2S's Current State (on a Scale of 1-10)



圖二：市民對「一國兩制」概況的評價（註：括號內為有效樣本數）

Fig. 2: The Public's Assessments of 1C2S's Current State [Note: Valid sample sizes are bracketed]

十個項目的評分差別不大（最低是4.04，最高是6.36），相信原因是市民心中對「一國兩制」有一個概括的評分，無論訪問員詢問什麼項目，市民的答案都受到心中的概括評分的影響，是以十個項目的評分差別不大。



On the other hand, six items score beneath 5: they are, from the highest to lowest, autonomy to handle internal administrative affairs (4.94), high degree of autonomy (4.57), progress in democratization (4.45), comprehensive implementation of 1C2S prior to 2047 (4.44), the absence of Mainland interference in Hong Kong's domestic affairs (4.40), and the ability for the Mainland and Hong Kong to resolve differences via dialogue and negotiation (4.04). The results suggest that the public holds relatively negative views with respect to these six items. The average across the ten items is 4.84, 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 restricted (the lowest rating is 4.04; the highest, 6.36), 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.



## 2 對香港人及中國人的身分認同（問卷 Q13-14）

### Citizens' Self-Identification as Hong Kongers and as Chinese (Survey Questions 13-14)

We respectively surveyed whether citizens self-identified as 'Hong Kongers' and 'Chinese'; see Table 1 for detailed results.

On the whole, the public self-identified strongly as 'Hong Kongers', with an average of 5.65 on the 1 to 7 scale (and therefore 7.75 on the 0 to 10 scale). The public also self-identified reasonably strongly as 'Chinese', with an average of 4.96 on the 1 to 7 scale, and 6.60 on the 0 to 10 scale.

我們分別詢問市民是否認同「香港人」及「中國人」的身分，結果見表一。

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 5.65 分，轉變成 0 分至 10 分的尺度，平均分則為 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 4.96 分，轉變成 0 分至 10 分的尺度，平均分則為 6.60 分。

表一：市民對香港人及中國人的身分認同（有效樣本：979）

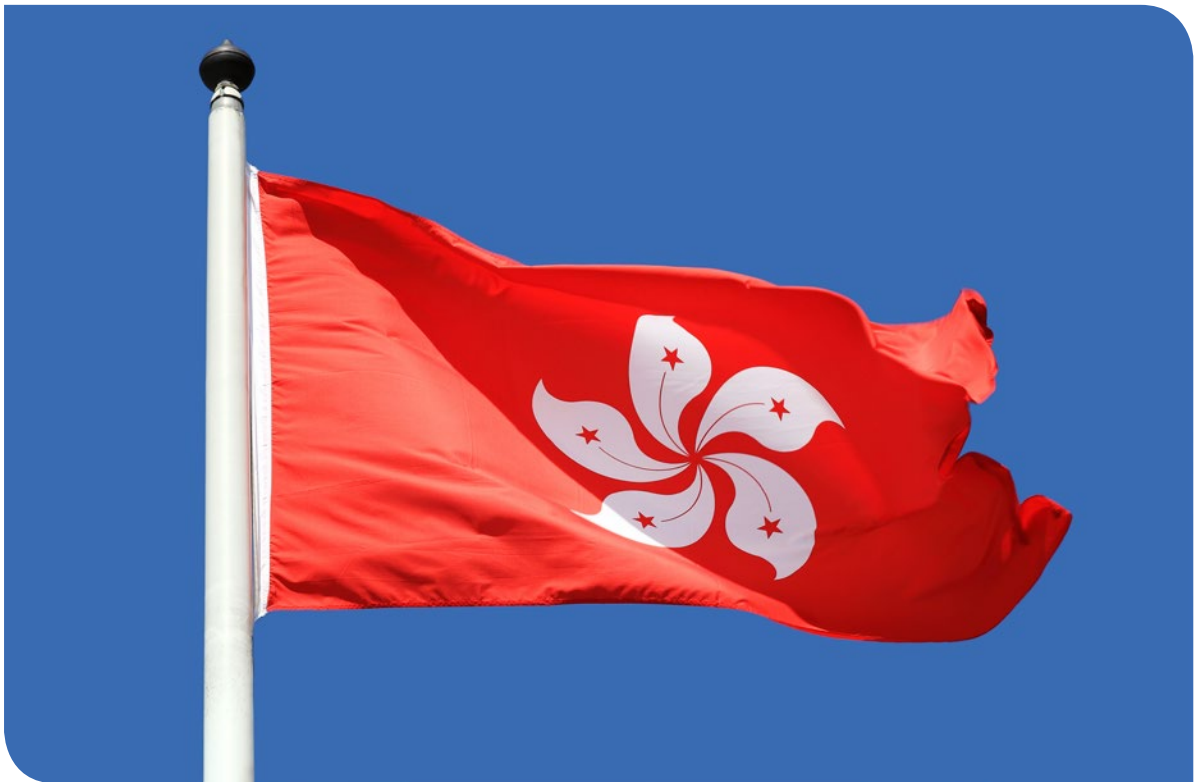
Table 1: Public's identification as 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' [Valid Sample Size: 979]

問卷題目 No.	問題 Question	平均分 (1-7) Average Rating	評分 (1-10) Average Rating
Q.13	「如果1分代表『非常唔認同』，7分代表『非常認同』，對於『我係香港人』呢個身分，你有幾認同呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」 “On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 denoting 'Disagree strongly' and 7 'Agree strongly', to what extent do you agree with the statement 'I self-identify as a Hong Konger?'”	5.67	7.75
Q.14	「如果1分代表『非常唔認同』，7分代表『非常認同』，對於『我係中國人』呢個身分，你有幾認同呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」 “On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 denoting 'Disagree strongly' and 7 'Agree strongly', to what extent do you agree with the statement 'I self-identify as Chinese?’”	5.67	7.75

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171人，佔總數17.5%。

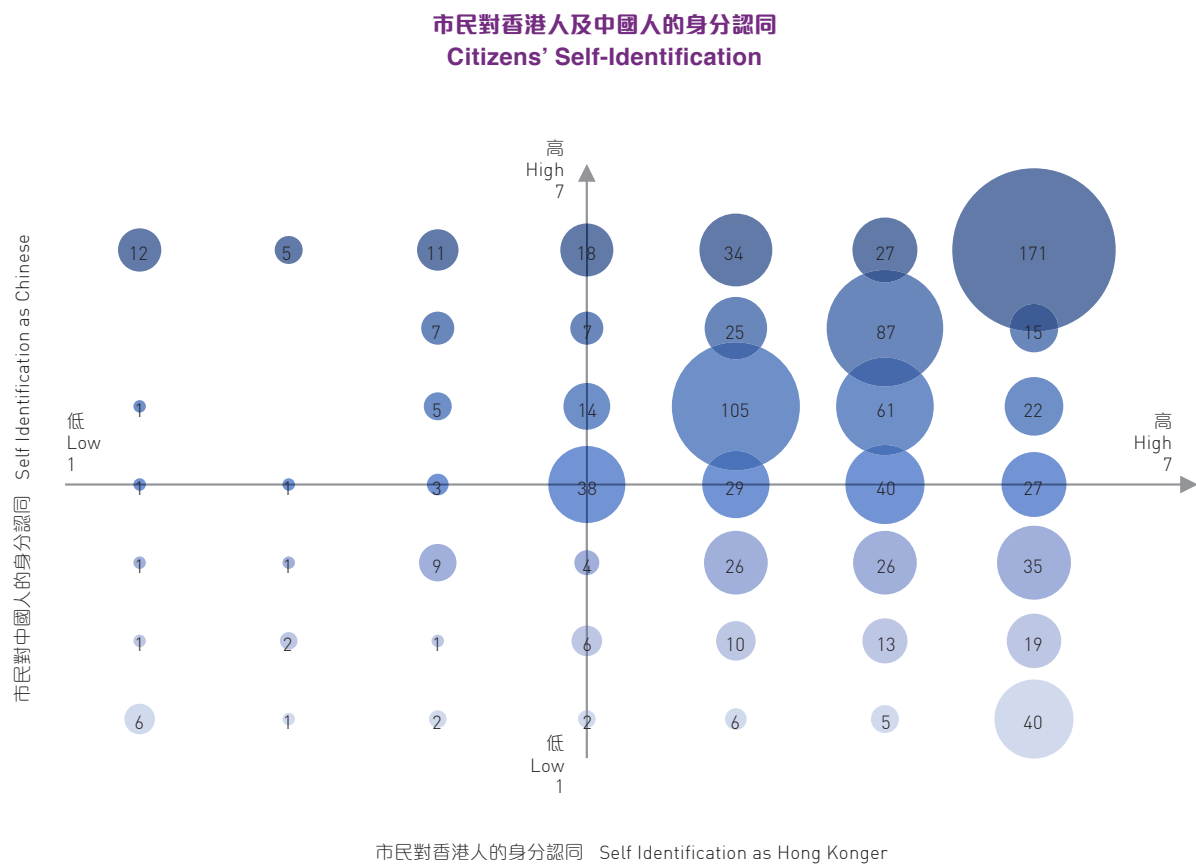
圖三清楚顯示大部分香港市民都同時認同自己是香港人和中國人的雙重身分，對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身分都有較高認同（高於4分）的人數有547人，佔總數55.9%。認同「中國人」未必等同「愛國」，不過同時認同「中國人」和「香港人」兩種身分卻是「愛國愛港」的先決條件。香港大部分市民都同時認同「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身份，這是落實「一國兩制」的有利條件。

表二概括列出這些市民的特徵，他們涵蓋所有年齡組別（從18歲到老年），所有教育程度組別（從小學到研究院），亦涵蓋香港大部分政治光譜，包括民主派、中間派及建制派（唯獨本土自決派的人較少，只有2.3%），他們是香港市民的大多數。



The extent to which the public self-identify with the categories of 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese' can be 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; [4,4] is the Origin of Figure 3. 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 strongly as both Hong Kongers and Chinese, with 171 individuals selecting 7 for both categories (17.5% of the total).



圖三：市民對香港人及中國人的身分認同散佈圖（有效樣本：979）  
Fig. 3: Scatter Plot for Citizens' Self-Identification (Valid Sample Size: 979)

表二：對香港人及中國人擁有較高認同的市民特徵（有效樣本：547人）

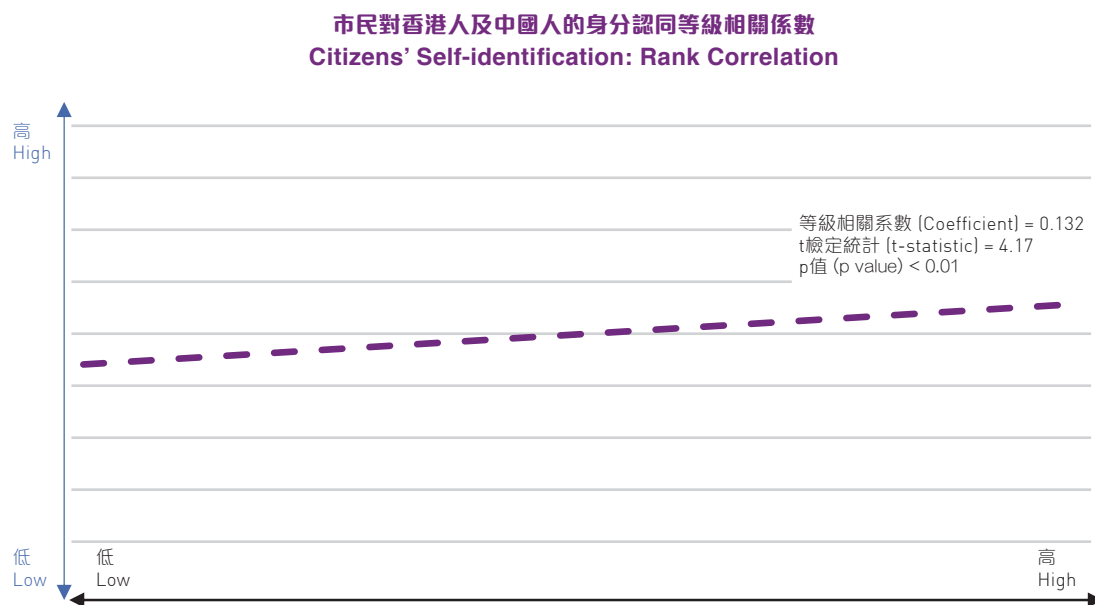
Table 2: Attributes of Citizens who Self-Identify Strongly as Hong Kongers and Chinese (Valid Sample Size:547)

年齡 Age	%	教育程度 Education Level	%	政治傾向 Political Orientation	%
18-29	13.0	小學或以下 Primary or Below	15.1	建制派 Pro-Establishment	15.7
30-39	13.6	初中 Secondary 1-3	12.1	中間派及無政治傾向 Moderate and / or Apolitical	62.0
40-49	19.1	高中 Secondary 4-6	31.2	民主派 Pan-Democrat	20.0
50-59	23.6	專上非學位 Diploma or Equivalent	11.9	本土自決派 Localist / Self-determin- ist	20.0
60-69	17.4	大學學位 Bachelor's or Equivalent	23.3		
70+	13.2	研究院 Graduate	6.4		



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. The converse also holds. The rank correlation coefficient is 0.132, suggesting that the correlation is statistically very significant at a confidence level of 99.9% (see Figure 4). The finding that the two identities as “Hong Konger” and “Chinese” are mutually reinforcing again provides a strong basis for the implementation of 1C2S.

統計分析發現市民對「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 0.132，兩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：979人）  
Fig. 4: Rank Correlation of Citizens' Self-Identification (Valid Sample Size: 979)



### 3 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 has surveyed the self-identification of the Hong Kong public since 1997;
- ii. The CUHK Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey has carried out similar surveys since 1996;
- iii. The Centre for Social and Political Development Studies, Hong Kong 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

香港大學和香港中文大學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. 香港大學民意研究計劃，從1997年開始就市民的身分認同進行調查；
- ii. 香港中文大學傳播與民意調查中心，從1996年開始進行相類似的調查；
- iii. 香港中文大學 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

'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 as 'Hong Konger', the less strongly one identifies as 'Chinese'. Our research and analysis suggests that in reality, the contrary holds. Many citizens identify 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.

Besides possible bias, the above questionnaire designs 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) identifies themselves as both 'Hong Konger' and 'Chinese'?
- ii. Is the identification with 'Hong Konger' and with 'Chinese' correlated?

Over recent years, HKU's Public Opinion Programme 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 apparent room for improvement. Lastly, while the HKU Programme has added separate questions on identity since 2007, but it was not until July 7, 2017 that a researcher in CUHK published analyses based on the collected data, showing that the two identities are not opposed to each other. The results are very similar to ours.

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。

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?

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。港大民研計劃在去年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，但一直到2017年7月7日才有中文大學研究人員利用其資料就以上問題發表分析，說明香港人與中國人身分並不對立，結果與本研究近似。

## 4 民主派與青少年（18-29歲）的國民身分認同

### Self-identification of Pan-democrats and Young Adults (18-29 years old)

We compared the two subsamples of Pan-democrats and young adults (18-29 years old), and their relative identifications with ‘Hong Konger’ and ‘Chinese’, as per Table 3. On a scale of 1 to 7, the average strength of identification as ‘Chinese’ amongst Pan-democrats is 4.45, which is – despite being lower than the overall sample average of 4.96 – nonetheless higher than the median of 4. 115 out of the 208 Pan-democrats (55.3%) surveyed. In other words, over half of supporters of Pan-democrats identify strongly with both ‘Hong Kongers’ and ‘Chinese’.

Young adults identify relatively strongly as Hong Kongers, with an average identification of 3.96 for identification as ‘Chinese’,

我們比較民主派人士及青少年（18-29歲）兩個子樣本對「香港人」及「中國人」的身分認同，結果見表三。按1至7分的尺度，民主派對中國人的認同程度是4.45分，雖然低於整體的4.96分，不過仍然超越中位數（4分）。民主派人士對「香港人」及「中國人」兩者都有較高認同（即高於4分）的人數有115人，佔總數55.3%。換言之，超過一半民主派都同時認同「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身分。

青少年對「香港人」身分有較高認同，對





which is slightly lower than the median of 4. Moreover, among young adults, the identification as 'Hong Konger' is negatively correlated with the identification as 'Chinese', though this relationship is not statistically significant. The weaker extent to which young adults identify as 'Chinese' is a cause for concern for the implementation of 1C2S that demands the reflection of policy makers. Young Adults' identification as Chinese appears to be deeply polarized – 42.9% [75 persons] identify relatively strongly as Chinese (above 4); 38.9% [68] identify relatively weakly (below 4), with the remaining 18.3% identifying moderately so. On the whole, slightly more young adults identify relatively strongly as Chinese than those who do not.

「中國人」身分認同平均分是3.96，稍低於4分的中位數。此外，統計分析發現，青少年對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同出現負相關，雖然這關係在統計上並不顯著。青少年國民身分認同薄弱，是落實「一國兩制」的警號，決策者需要反思。青少年對「中國人」的認同顯得兩極化：42.9% 的青少年（75人）對「中國人」有較高認同（高於4分），38.9% 的青少年（68人）對「中國人」的認同卻較低（低於4分），餘下的18.3%（32人）認同程度為中等（4分）。在青少年之中，對「中國人」有較高認同人數仍然比有較低認同者稍多。

表三：民主派與青少年（18-29歲）的身分認同  
Table 3: Self-identification of Pan-democrats and Young Adults (18-29 years old)

	整體 (979人) Total (979)		民主派 (208人) Pan-democrats (208)		青少年 (175人) Young Adults (175)	
	平均分 (1-7) Raw Rating	評分 (1-10) Converted Rating	平均分 (1-7) Raw Rating	評分 (1-10) Converted Rating	平均分 (1-7) Raw Rating	評分 (1-10) Converted Rating
對香港人的身分認同 Self-identification as Hong Konger	5.65	7.75	5.85	8.08	5.85	8.09
對中國人的身分認同 Self-identification as Chinese	4.96	6.60	4.45	5.75	3.96	4.96







## 5 二十三條立法諮詢 (問卷Q8)

### Attitudes towards Article 23 (Survey Question 8)

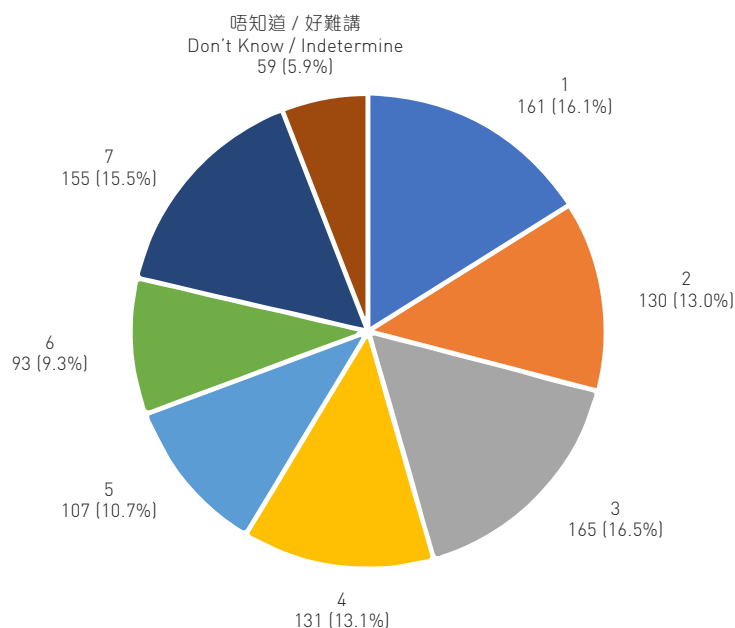
On the scale of 1 to 7, the raw rating on the extent to which the government ought to initiate consultative process for Article 23 legislation is 3.84, as per Figure 5. Opinions are clearly divided, with 16.1% of those interviewed selecting 1 (“Very unnecessary”), and 15.5% opting for 7 (“Very necessary”). The reason for such polarization plausibly is due to the fact that 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 conditionally better to have at least some consultation, as opposed to none. As compared with moderates or independents, Pro-establishment voters are more inclined towards “Very necessary”, whilst Pan-democrats and Localist/Self-determinists are more inclined towards “Very unnecessary”.

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評分為3.84分，結果見圖五。香港市民對此問題的取態兩極分化，給予1分（「非常無需要」諮詢）的市民佔總數16.1%，給予7分（「非常需要」諮詢）的市民佔總數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。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

Amongst sample that explicitly state their political stance, 53.9% of those who answered “Very unnecessary” were moderates, whilst 60% of those who answered “Very necessary” were also moderates – constituting roughly the same proportion of 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 ought to exercise caution in approaching this subject.

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，53.9% 是中間派（83人），在認為「非常有需要」諮詢的市民中，60% 也是中間派（93人），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。

**對進行二十三條立法諮詢的評分**  
**Attitudes towards Article 23 Public Consultation**



圖五：對進行二十三條立法諮詢的評分（有效樣本：1001人）  
Fig. 5: Attitudes towards Article 23 Public Consultation [Valid Sample Size: 1001]

## 6 出現矛盾的責任屬中央或香港？（問卷Q16）

Whose Responsibility Is It When Conflicts Arise between Hong Kong and the Mainland?  
(Survey Question 16)

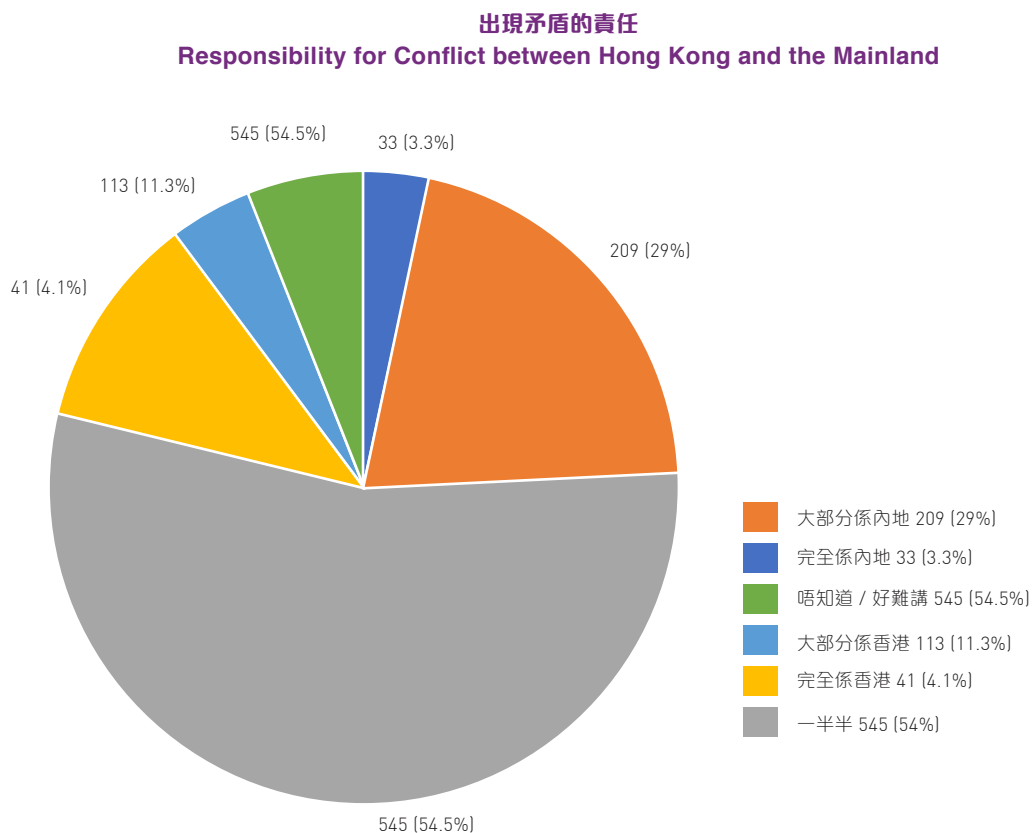


When asked to allocate blame between Central Government and Hong Kong when conflicts arise in the implementation of 1C2S, majority of the public selected “Equally Responsible” (54.4% of the total), as per Figure 6.

Most Pro-establishment supporters held that the responsibility primarily lay with Hong Kong (60.2%), whilst nearly half of Pan-democrats and Localist/ Self-determinists believe that the responsibility lay mostly with Mainland China (46.8%). Amongst moderates and independents, 65.8% held that both parties were equally responsible, whilst the numbers of individuals who held that the responsibility lay with the Mainland or Hong Kong were roughly comparable (respectively 18.3% and 15.9%). 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.

問及在實踐「一國兩制」的過程中，當內地與香港出現矛盾時，責任屬於中央或香港，最多市民選擇「一半半」，佔總數54.4%，結果見圖六。

大多數建制派認為矛盾的責任屬於香港，有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46.8%。中間派或無政治傾向的市民中，認為雙方的責任「一半半」有65.8%，而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18.3%及15.9%，反映中央及香港雙方都需要反思自身的責任。



圖六：出現矛盾的責任（有效樣本：1001人）

Figure 6: Responsibility for Conflict between Hong Kong and the Mainland [Valid Sample Size: 1001]





## 7 移民與對「一國兩制」的信心 (問卷Q17-18)

### Emigration and Confidence in 1C2S (Survey Questions 17-18)

136 of the surveyed (13.7%) expressed that they had plans to emigrate within the upcoming five years; 88 of them claimed that this was due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S – 64.7% of the total population of prospective emigrants. 46 amongst the 136 were moderates; 29 were Pan-democrats, and 9 were Localist/Self-determinists (Figure 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

有136名市民（13.7%）在未來五年有移民海外的計劃，當中88人聲稱是因為對「一國兩制」缺乏信心，佔有移民計劃的市民總數的64.7%（見圖七）。因為對「一國兩制」缺乏信心而有計劃移民海外的，有不少人（46人）屬於中間派，29人是民主派，9人是本土自決派。

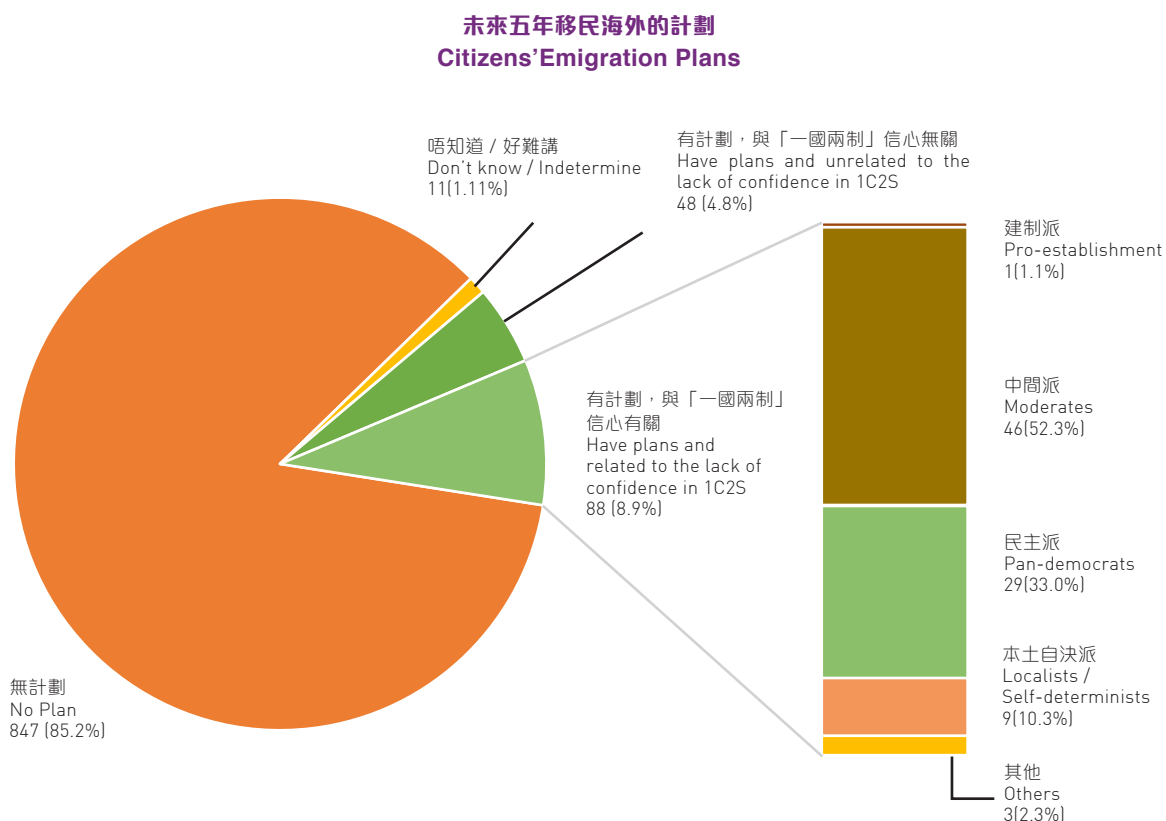
根據過往研究的結果，在民調中聲稱移民的人數，往往遠超真正移民的人數，需要小心解讀，不過民調的結果也有一定的參考價值。中間派聲稱對「一國兩制」缺乏信心而計劃移民，一方面可能是對中央及建制派不滿，另一方面卻可能是認為「黃



due to – on one hand – their disillusionment towards the Central Government and the Pro-establishment, but also – on the other – disillusionment towards the 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. We cannot ascertain why exactly moderates seek to emigrate due to their lack of confidence in 1C2S, but the results of this question most certainly is a cause for concern for policy makers.

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。我們不能肯定中間派市民為何對「一國兩制」缺乏信心而計劃移民，不過對執政者而言，這個民調結果是一個警號。



圖七：未來五年移民海外的計劃（有效樣本：994人）  
Figure 7: Citizens' Emigration Plans (Valid Sample Size: 994)

### III. 參考國際性的自由指數與民主指數 International Freedom and Democracy Indices





# CELEBRATE FREEDOM 敢於自由

Freedom and democracy are core components of 1C2S; given the inevitable subjectivity in public polls, there exists important referential value in the highly objective international indices. We employ two ranking methods that are commonly adopted internationally – they are, respectively, the Human Freedom Index developed by the Cato and Fraser Institutes, and the Democracy Index published by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

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

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，因此編制方式相對客觀的國際指數有著重要的參考價值。我們採用兩項國際常用的排名，分別為由美國卡托研究所（Cato Institute）及加拿大菲沙研究所（Fraser Institute）發表的「人類自由指數」（Human Freedom Index），以及由經濟學人智庫（Economist Intelligence Unit）發表的「民主指數」（Democracy Index）。

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」。

## 1 「經濟自由指數」、「個人自由指數」及「民主指數」（表四）

### Economic Freedom Index, Personal Freedom Index, and Democracy Index (Table 4)

Hong Kong has traditionally occupied a leading position on the Economic Freedom Index ranking (scoring 9.03 in 2014). This comes as no surprise, given that Hong Kong has consistently been recognized as the freest economy in the world. What does come as a surprise, however, is that Hong Kong also excels on the front of the Personal Freedom Index, scoring 9.08 and ranked 19th in the world – ahead of Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. Individual freedoms encompass human rights, the rule of law, freedom of speech, the right to assemble and associate etc. – they are both universal values, as well as Hong Kong's core values. Hong Kong's stellar performance on the Personal Freedom Index suggests that Hong Kong is indeed capable of defending its core values under 1C2S.

'Human Freedom Index': The Human Freedom Index aggregates both the Economic and Personal Freedom Indices by assigning equal weighting to both. Given Hong Kong's leading positions on both indices, Hong Kong currently tops the Human Freedom Index in the world.

'Democracy Index': The 'Democracy Index' measures the extent of democracy across all regimes globally – on a scale of 0 to 10, with the categories respectively being 'Perfectly Democratic' (8-10); 'Partially Democratic' (6-7.9), 'Mixed Regime' (4-5.9), and 'Autocratic' (0-3.9). Japan and the 'Four Dragons of Asia' (Hong Kong included) were ranked as 'Partially Democratic' in the 2016 Democracy Index. Hong Kong was ranked 68th, with the score of 6.42; whilst Hong Kong fell behind Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea in the ranking, it remained ahead of Singapore (70th) and Mainland China (136th). Given the absence of universal suffrage for the Chief Executive, Hong Kong's comparatively poorer performance on this front is unsurprising.

香港的「經濟自由指數」一直位於全球榜首（2014年得分為9.03）。多年來香港都被評為全球最自由的經濟體，香港在這個指數的表現並不令人感到驚奇。令人意外的是，香港在「個人自由指數」亦表現突出，得分為9.08，在全球排19位，領先台灣、日本、南韓及新加坡。個人自由包括了人權、法治、言論自由、結社及集會自由等元素，是普世價值，也是香港的核心價值。香港在個人自由指數的亮麗表現，說明香港能夠在「一國兩制」之下維護其核心價值。

「人類自由指數」：「人類自由指數」綜合了「經濟自由指數」和「個人自由指數」，兩者權重各佔一半。因為香港在經濟自由和個人自由都有極佳表現，是以香港在「人類自由指數」也位居全球榜首。

「民主指數」：「民主指數」衡量全球政體的民主程度，以10分為滿分，分為「完全民主」（8-10分）、「部分民主」（6-7.9分）、「混合政體」（4-5.9分）和「專制政體」（0-3.9分）四類。日本與「亞洲四小龍」，包括香港在內，在2016年的「民主指數」均被評為「部分民主」。香港以6.42分排第68位。香港的排名不如日本、台灣和南韓，卻領先新加坡（第70位）和中國內地（第136位）。因為香港沒有行政長官普選，香港「民主指數」的表現較差並不令人意外。



表四：香港與周邊國家及地區的國際指數

Table 4: International Indices of Hong Kong and Neighbouring Countries and Territories

	人類自由指數 (2014) Human Development Index			民主指數 (2014) Democracy Index	民主指數 (2016) Democracy Index
	經濟自由 Economic Freedom	個人自由 Personal Freedom	總分 Aggregate		
香港 Hong Kong	9.03 [1]	9.08 [19]	9.06 [1]	6.46 [66]	6.42 [68]
中國內地 Mainland China	6.45 [114]	4.81 [148]	5.63 [141]	3.00 [144]	3.14 [136]
日本 Japan	7.42 [41]	8.67 [32]	8.04 [32]	8.08 [20]	7.99 [20]
韓國 South Korea	7.40 [42]	8.57 [34]	7.98 [35]	8.06 [21]	7.92 [24]
新加坡 Singapore	8.71 [2]	7.01 [77]	8.71 [2]	6.03 [75]	6.38 [70]
台灣 Taiwan	7.65 [24]	8.71 [31]	8.18 [26]	7.65 [35]	7.79 [33]

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 civic freedom.

註4：2014年「人類自由指數」於2016年公布，為最新數字。

Note 4: The 2014 'Human Freedom Index' was published in 2016.



## 2 「個人自由指數」的構成

### The Composition of the 'Personal Freedom Index'

The 'Individual Freedom Index' is composed of 7 sub-items: they are respectively, rule of law, security, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of speech, and equality of marital rights – all key components of human rights and individual freedom. For the scores and ranking, see Table 5.

Hong Kong excels with respect to the rule of law and the freedom of association and assembly – respectively ranking 14th and 24th in the world with the scores of 7.8 and 9.8. In terms of rule of law, Hong Kong places slightly beneath Singapore, but is ahead of South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. In terms of freedom of association and assembly, Hong Kong ranks above Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and Singapore. Hong Kong is mediocre in terms of freedom of speech, ranking 51st with the score of 8.2 – behind Japan and Taiwan, but ahead of South Korea and Singapore. Aggregating all 7 individual items, Hong Kong tops the Personal Freedom Index.

「個人自由指數」由七個子項目組成，分別為法治、安全、遷徙自由、宗教自由、結社及集會自由、言論自由和婚姻及同性關係，都是人權和人身自由的重要元素，分數及排名見表五。

香港在法治與結社及集會自由表現出眾，分別以7.8分及9.8分在全球排名第14位及第24位。在法治方面，香港稍遜新加坡，卻領先南韓、日本和台灣。在結社及集會自由方面，香港領先台灣、南韓、日本和新加坡。香港在言論自由的得分不低，但未算突出，以8.2分排第51位，不及日本和台灣，卻領先南韓和新加坡。在綜合所有七個子元素的「個人自由指數」後，香港獨佔鰲頭。





表五：香港與周邊國家及地區的國際指數

Table 5: International Indices of Hong Kong and Neighbouring Countries and Territories

	個人自由指數 (2014) Personal Freedom Index						
	法治 Rule of Law	安全 Security	遷徙自由 Freedom of Movement	宗教自由 Freedom of Religion	結社及集會自由 Freedom of Association and Assembly	言論自由 Freedom of Speech	婚姻及同性關係 Equality of Marital Rights
香港 Hong Kong	7.8 (14)	9.3 (42)	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	9.8 (24)	8.2 (51)	10.0 (1)
中國內地 Mainland China	4.4 (91)	7.3 (116)	3.3 (140)	2.5 (127)	1.7 (132)	6.45 (114)	6.7 (97)
日本 Japan	7.5 (19)	9.7 (26)	10.0 (1)	6.3 (92)	8.5 (61)	7.42 (41)	10.0 (1)
韓國 South Korea	7.7 (16)	9.4 (37)	8.3 (72)	7.5 (63)	8.8 (55)	7.40 (42)	10.0 (1)
新加坡 Singapore	8.0 (10)	9.4 (39)	6.7 (94)	5.0 (105)	2.7 (129)	5.6 (135)	6.7 (97)
台灣 Taiwan	7.0 (27)	9.4 (40)	10.0 (1)	8.8 (37)	9.4 (36)	8.9 (35)	10.0 (1)



### 3 香港各指數近年的趨勢（表六）

#### Trends across All Indices for Hong Kong (Table 6)

Hong Kong's Economic Freedom Index score decreased from the 9.17 in 2008 to 9.03 in 2014, and yet remains 1st on the international ranking. It has made noticeable improvements in terms of the Personal Freedom Index, climbing from 8.87 in 2008 to 9.08 in 2014 (from 26th to 19th). The Human Development Index score has been on an upward trajectory, increasing slightly from 9.02 in 2008 to 9.06 in 2014 – enshrining its globally leading position.

Over the past decade, Hong Kong has made some progress in its democratization, with its Democracy Index score rising from 5.85 in 2008 to 6.42 in 2016, and position increasing from the 84th to the 68th overall.

Whilst the Mainland and Hong Kong belong to the same country, there exist substantial differences between the two systems across all indices pertaining to freedom and democracy, suggesting that 1C2S can indeed adequately defend Hong Kong's freedom and democracy. Additionally, the increase in Hong Kong's 'Individual Freedom Index Score' and 'Democracy Index Score' over recent years suggests that Hong Kong has not become 'mainlandized'.

香港的「經濟自由指數」由2008年的9.17分下跌至2014年9.03分，但排名維持世界第一。「個人自由指數」的分數近年有所改善，由2008年的8.87分上升至2014年的9.08分，排名由第26位上升至第19位。

「人類自由指數」整體向好，由2008年的9.02分微升至2014年的9.06分，仍然領先全球。

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2016年的6.42分，排名由第84位提升至第68位。

內地與香港雖然同屬一國，可是兩種制度下所有有關自由和民主的指數差距都極大，涇渭分明，說明「一國兩制」能夠維護香港的自由民主。此外，香港的「個人自由指數」及「民主指數」近年都有上升，說明香港沒有「大陸化」。





表六：香港近年在國際指數的分數及排名  
Table 6: Hong Kong's Scores and Positions in International Indices

	人類自由指數 (2014) Human Development Index			民主指數 (2014) Democracy Index
	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]
2010	8.96 [1]	8.90 [26]	8.93 [1]	5.92 [81]
2011	8.92 [1]	9.14 [18]	9.03 [1]	5.92 [80]
2012	8.98 [1]	9.09 [18]	9.04 [1]	6.42 [63]
2013	8.97 [1]	9.01 [20]	8.99 [1]	6.42 [65]
2014	9.03 [1]	9.08 [19]	9.06 [1]	6.46 [66]
2015	-	-	-	6.50 [67]
2016	-	-	-	6.42 [68]



## 4 國際指數與民調結果比較

### Comparisons between International Indices and Survey Results

Both our survey and the international indices have unique features; whilst their findings are certainly different, there nonetheless exist certain similarities across the two of them. Two commonalities are particularly striking: first, both the Hong Kong public and the international indices rate Hong Kong's rule of law and freedom of speech components relatively highly; secondly, both rate Hong Kong's the progress of democratization as relatively low.

As to differences, international indices tend to have higher holistic ratings for Hong Kong as a whole, as compared to the generally lower scores in the public survey. This may be explained by the aggregative and universal nature of international indices: their measurements encompass a large number of developing countries and territories, and given Hong Kong's highly developed status, its relative placing in comparison against these developing states is high. Furthermore, given the Hong Kong public's relatively high expectations of 1C2S, the public may be more demanding in their assessment in the public survey. Their starting point is a system with a sophisticated legal system that enshrines both rule of law and personal freedoms, and gradual democratization that

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。就相同的特徵而言，第一，在民調中，香港市民對法治及言論自由的評分較高，在國際指數的得分亦然。第二，在民調中，香港市民對民主發展的評分較低，與國際指數的得分亦相乎。

至於不同之處，國際指數對香港的整體評分較高，不過民調中各項題目的平均分卻普遍偏低。由於國際指數統計全球所有政體，當中包含大量發展中國家及地區，而香港已屬發達地區之列，社會經濟發展比其他國家及地區領先一定水平，所以得分會處於較高的區間。另外，因為市民心目中對「一國兩制」有較高標準，所以可能在民調上給予比較嚴格的評分。香港在回歸前已有成熟的法治基礎和人身自由，政制亦逐步民主化，所以市民對基本法承諾的高度自治和在人權及自由方面的保障有





had already been in progress prior to the handover. These in turn subsequently induced greater expectations amongst the public with respect to self-governance and human rights enshrined by the Basic Law. To sum up, assessing Hong Kong's freedoms and democratization require consideration of both the subjective assessments of the public, as well as relatively objective international indices.come 'Mainlandised'.

更高期望。所以，要評價香港的自由和民主發展，既要看市民的主觀評價，亦要參考相對客觀的國際指數。



#### IV. 「一國兩制」指數的編制 Constructing the 1C2S Index





Constructing the 1C2S Index requires the collection of a substantial volume of data and detailed analysis; this study is merely the first step in constructing the 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 1C2S 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 Index from Public Survey

The 1C2S Public Survey recorded the public's assessments of ten different items under 1C2S; based on the scores of these ten items, we adopted the following three methods in constructing the 1C2S Index [see Table 7 for the results]:

- Adopting the Simple Average
- Adopting Principal Component Analysis
- Adopting Factor Analysis

「一國兩制」概況民調就十個不同項目詢問市民對「一國兩制」的評價，基於這十個項目的評分，我們採用以下三種方式編制指數（結果見表七）：

- 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」（Principal Component Analysis）編制指數
- 以「因子分析」（Factor Analysis）編制指數

表七：從民調評分編制的「一國兩制」指數（有效樣本：897人）  
Table 7: 1C2S Index Constructed from Public Survey [ (Valid Sample Size: 897)]

	評分 Score [1-7]	評分 Converted Score [0-10]
以簡單平均數編制 Adopting Simple Average	3.91	4.84
以「主成分分析」編制 Adopting Principal Component Analysis	3.90	4.83
以「因子分析」編制 Adopting Factor Analysis	3.89	4.82

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

三種方式編制指數結果十分接近，原因是市民對十個項目的評價十分接近（十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。

### 以簡單平均數（十個項目分數的平均）編制指數

#### Adopting the simple Average (of the Ten 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

#### Adopting 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 identify 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十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

#### Adopting 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 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十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。

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 ten items – in constructing the 1C2S Index.

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（十個項目分數的平均）編制「一國兩制」指數。

## 2 從國際研究機構對香港的評價編制的香港「自由民主指數」

### Constructing Hong Kong's 'Freedom and Democracy Index' from International Indices

This index has three components:

i) 'Economic Freedom Index', ii) 'Personal Freedom Index', and iii) 'Democracy Index', with equal weight assigned to all three. As the 2017 index has yet to be published, we can only use the 2014 indices. Taking the average of the three indices, the score of Hong Kong's 'Freedom and Democracy Index' is 8.19 (Table 8).

此指數有三個構成部分：

i)「經濟自由指數」，ii)「個人自由指數」，及iii)「民主指數」，三個部分的權重相等。因為2017年的國際評分尚未發表，我們只能採用2014年的指數。以此方式編成的香港「自由民主指數」評分為8.19（見表八）。

表八：香港的「自由民主」指數

Table 8: Hong Kong's 'Freedom and Democracy Index'

子項目得分（權重相等） Sub-Item Scores (Equal Weighting Assigned)			平均分 Average
經濟自由 Economic Freedom	個人自由 Personal Freedom	民主指數 Democracy Index	
9.03 (2014)	9.08 (2014)	6.46 (2014)	8.19





### 3 綜合市民評價及國際機構評價的「一國兩制」指數

#### The 1C2S Index Based on Aggregating Citizen Assessments and International Assessments

Hong Kong's 'Freedom and Democracy Index' is compiled from 2014 data. We do not have 2017 data as international indices are only available with long time-lags. However, the relevant indices are relatively stable from 2008 to 2014, as can be seen from Table 6. In the absence of more updated data, we can only use 2014 data as a proxy for current data.

The 1C2S Index has two components: i) the Index constructed from public survey and ii) the Freedom and Democracy Index constructed from international assessments, with equal weighting assigned to both categories. Assigning equal weighting attaches equal importance to both local public opinion and objective data derived from cross-country comparisons. The average of the two scores is 6.51 (Table 9).

「自由民主指數」來自2014年的資料，因為國際機構籌集資料的時差，我們沒有2017年的資料。不過從表六可以看到，從2008年到2014年，國際智庫對香港的評分轉變不大。在沒有最近期資料的情況下，我們只可以用2014年的評分代表2017年的評分。

「一國兩制指數」有兩個組成部分：(i)從民調評價編制的指數（採用簡單平均法）及(ii)從國際機構評價編制的香港「自由民主指數」，兩部分的權重相等。按此方式編制的「一國兩制指數」的評分為6.52（見表九）。

表九：「一國兩制」指數  
Table 9: 1C2S Index

子項目得分（權重相等） Sub-Item Scores (Equal Weighting Assigned)		平均分 Average
民調得分 Score based on Public Survey	「自由民主」指數得分 Freedom and Democracy Index	
4.84	8.19	6.52

This study is an initial attempt to construct the 1C2S Index. We will seek to further refine our data collection and index construction, and carry out a public survey every 6 months in order to update the 1C2S Index for the reference of the public and relevant policy makers.

本研究為編制「一國兩制指數」的初步嘗試。我們將進一步完善資料蒐集及編制指數的方法，每半年進行一次民調來編制「一國兩制指數」供社會及決策者參考。

## 附錄

### 民主思路

# 市民對香港落實「一國兩制」概況評價調查 【2017年第一次調查】

二零一七年五月二十三日至六月三日

此調查由民主思路委託香港中文大學香港亞太研究所電話調查研究室進行

(版權屬民主思路，任何節錄或複印須經民主思路授權)

## 調查概況及抽樣方法

### 調查日期：

2017年5月23日至6月3日（晚上6時15分至10時15分）

### 執行機構：

香港中文大學香港亞太研究所電話調查研究室

### 調查對象：

18歲或以上、操粵語或普通話、家中裝有固網電話的香港居民

### 調查方法：

以電腦輔助電話訪問系統（Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing, CATI）進行資料蒐集工作，以隨機抽樣方式訪問了1,002名18歲以操粵語或普通話的市民（在95%置信水平下，抽樣誤差為 $\pm 3.1\%$ ），回應率為36.8%，符合科學性的調查標準。

### 數據加權：

為了調查數據更能反映香港人口分佈的真實情況，數據在進行分析時依香港政府統計處公布的2016年年中18歲或以上性別及年齡分佈（扣除外籍家庭傭工FDHs）作加權（weighting）處理。此外，由於經加權數據或會出現四捨五入，統計表內個別項目數字相加後可能與總數略有出入。



## 調查結果 (頻數及百分比分佈)

【註：以下所有數據均經加權處理】

「我哋想了解市民對『一國兩制』喺香港實踐嘅情況，如果1分代表『非常唔同意』，至7分代表『非常同意』，你有幾同意以下香港嘅回歸後嘅情況呢？」【Q1至Q7的次序會隨機顯示】

## Q1 「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？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	83	8.3	8.3	8.3
2. 2 分	116	11.6	11.6	19.9
3. 3 分	192	19.2	19.2	39.1
4. 4 分	220	22.0	22.0	61.0
5. 5 分	200	20.0	20.0	81.0
6. 6 分	97	9.7	9.7	90.6
7. 7 分（非常同意）	82	8.2	8.2	98.8
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	12	1.2	1.2	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 3.97 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.661

註：計算平均分時，「88. 唔知道/ 好難講」的樣本不包括在內，下同。

**Q2 「回歸之後，香港繼續保持到獨立嘅司法權。你有幾同意呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	62	6.2	6.2	6.2
2. 2 分	58	5.8	5.8	12.0
3. 3 分	155	15.4	15.4	27.4
4. 4 分	214	21.3	21.3	48.7
5. 5 分	217	21.7	21.7	70.4
6. 6 分	166	16.5	16.5	86.9
7. 7 分（非常同意）	112	11.2	11.2	98.1
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	19	1.9	1.9	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 4.44 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.642

**Q3 「回歸之後，香港繼續保持到獨立嘅立法權。你有幾同意呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	70	7.0	7.0	7.0
2. 2 分	79	7.9	7.9	14.9
3. 3 分	145	14.5	14.5	29.4
4. 4 分	222	22.2	22.2	51.6
5. 5 分	191	19.1	19.1	70.6
6. 6 分	168	16.8	16.8	87.4
7. 7 分（非常同意）	98	9.8	9.8	97.2
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	28	2.8	2.8	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 3.64 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.678

**Q4 「回歸之後，特區內部事務並無受到中央各部門同 地其他省市嘅干預。你有幾同意呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	167	16.6	16.6	16.6
2. 2 分	122	12.2	12.2	28.8
3. 3 分	186	18.5	18.5	47.3
4. 4 分	157	15.7	15.7	63.0
5. 5 分	163	16.3	16.3	79.3
6. 6 分	125	12.5	12.5	91.8
7. 7 分（非常同意）	56	5.6	5.6	97.5
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	25	2.5	2.5	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 4.44 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.642

**Q5 「回歸之後，香港人原有嘅生活方式並無受到 地嘅影響。你有幾同意呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	111	11.1	11.1	11.1
2. 2 分	111	11.1	11.1	22.1
3. 3 分	142	14.2	14.2	36.3
4. 4 分	145	14.5	14.5	50.8
5. 5 分	187	18.7	18.7	69.5
6. 6 分	199	19.9	19.9	89.3
7. 7 分（非常同意）	92	9.2	9.2	98.5
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	15	1.5	1.5	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 4.17 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.848



**Q6 「回歸之後，香港繼續享有言論自由。你有幾同意呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	53	5.3	5.3	5.3
2. 2 分	57	5.7	5.7	11.1
3. 3 分	118	11.6	11.6	22.8
4. 4 分	147	14.6	14.6	37.4
5. 5 分	219	21.8	21.8	59.3
6. 6 分	227	22.7	22.7	81.9
7. 7 分（非常同意）	178	17.8	17.8	99.7
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	3	0.3	0.3	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 4.82 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.703

**Q7 「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？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔同意）	131	13.1	13.1	13.0
2. 2 分	135	13.5	13.5	26.5
3. 3 分	204	20.4	20.4	46.8
4. 4 分	165	16.5	16.5	63.1
5. 5 分	151	15.1	15.1	78.1
6. 6 分	98	9.8	9.8	87.9
7. 7 分（非常同意）	68	6.8	6.8	94.7
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	53	5.3	5.3	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 4.44 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.642

**Q8 「你認為有無須要喺下屆政府任期內就基本法23條立法進行諮詢呢？如果1分代表『非常無須要』，至7分代表『非常有須要』，1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常無須要）	161	16.1	16.1	16.1
2. 2 分	130	13.0	13.0	29.1
3. 3 分	165	16.5	16.5	45.5
4. 4 分	131	13.1	13.1	58.6
5. 5 分	107	10.7	10.7	69.3
6. 6 分	93	9.3	9.3	78.6
7. 7 分（非常須要）	155	15.5	15.5	94.1
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	59	5.9	5.9	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0      平均分 (mean) : 3.84 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 2.058

**Q9 「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？如果1分代表『非常唔成功』，至7分代表『非常成功』，1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔成功）	118	11.8	11.8	11.8
2. 2 分	123	12.3	12.3	24.1
3. 3 分	187	18.6	18.7	42.8
4. 4 分	231	23.1	23.1	65.9
5. 5 分	178	17.7	17.7	83.6
6. 6 分	97	9.7	9.7	93.4
7. 7 分（非常成功）	54	5.4	5.4	98.8
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	12	1.2	1.2	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	1	0.1	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1001      缺值樣本 1      平均分 (mean) : 3.74 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.663

**Q10 「你有幾大信心香港喺未來（即2047年前）能全面落实『一國兩制』呢？如果1分代表『非常有信心』，至7分代表『非常有信心』，1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常有信心）	146	14.6	14.6	14.6
2. 2 分	136	13.6	13.6	28.2
3. 3 分	177	17.7	17.7	45.9
4. 4 分	196	19.5	19.6	65.6
5. 5 分	146	14.5	14.6	80.0
6. 6 分	92	9.2	9.2	89.2
7. 7 分（非常有信心）	77	7.7	7.7	96.9
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	31	3.1	3.1	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	2	0.2	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1000 缺值樣本 2 平均分 (mean) : 3.66 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.798

**Q11 「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？如果1分代表『非常有信心』，至7分代表『非常有信心』，1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常有信心）	141	14.1	14.1	14.1
2. 2 分	174	17.3	17.3	31.4
3. 3 分	238	23.7	23.7	55.2
4. 4 分	157	15.7	15.7	70.9
5. 5 分	124	12.4	12.4	83.3
6. 6 分	78	7.8	7.8	91.1
7. 7 分（非常有信心）	57	5.7	5.7	96.8
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	32	3.2	3.2	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	1	0.1	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1001 缺值樣本 1 平均分 (mean) : 3.43 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.711

**Q12 「如果1分代表『非常唔認識』，至7分代表『非常有認識』，你覺得自己對《香港特區基本法》有幾認識呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔認識）	78	7.7	7.8	7.8
2. 2 分	124	12.3	12.4	20.1
3. 3 分	275	27.4	27.5	47.6
4. 4 分	230	23.0	23.0	70.6
5. 5 分	187	18.7	18.7	89.3
6. 6 分	74	7.4	7.4	96.7
7. 7 分（非常認識）	30	3.0	3.0	99.6
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	4	0.4	0.4	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	1	0.1	0.1	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1001      缺值樣本 1      平均分 (mean) : 3.67 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.454

**Q13 「如果1分代表『非常唔認同』，7分代表『非常認同』，對於『我係香港人』呢個身份，你有幾認同呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔認同）	21	2.1	2.1	2.1
2. 2 分	10	1.0	1.0	3.1
3. 3 分	38	3.8	3.8	6.9
4. 4 分	90	9.0	9.0	15.9
5. 5 分	235	23.4	23.5	39.4
6. 6 分	2589	258.9	258.9	65.2
7. 7 分（非常認同）	330	33.0	33.1	98.3
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	17	1.7	1.7	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	3	0.3	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 999      缺值樣本 3      平均分 (mean) : 5.65 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.369



**Q14 「如果1分代表『非常唔認同』，7分代表『非常認同』，對於『我係中國人』呢個身份，你有幾認同呢？1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔認同）	59	5.9	5.9	7.8
2. 2 分	52	5.2	5.3	20.1
3. 3 分	102	10.2	10.3	47.6
4. 4 分	139	13.9	13.9	70.6
5. 5 分	208	20.7	20.8	89.3
6. 6 分	143	14.3	14.3	96.7
7. 7 分（非常認同）	285	28.5	28.6	99.6
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	9	0.9	0.9	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	4	0.4	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 997      缺值樣本 4      平均分 (mean) : 4.98 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.814

**Q15 「隨住越嚟越多內地人嚟香港，你有幾擔心香港會失去自己嘅核心價值呢？如果1分代表『非常唔擔心』，7分代表『非常擔心』，1至7分，你會俾幾多分呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（非常唔擔心）	104	10.4	10.4	10.4
2. 2 分	78	7.8	7.8	18.2
3. 3 分	120	12.0	12.0	30.2
4. 4 分	154	15.4	15.4	45.6
5. 5 分	181	18.0	18.0	63.6
6. 6 分	156	15.6	15.6	79.3
7. 7 分（非常擔心）	189	18.8	18.9	98.1
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	19	1.9	1.9	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	1	0.1	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1001      缺值樣本 1      平均分 (mean) : 4.48 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 1.929

**Q16 「回歸以來，係實踐『一國兩制』上香港同內地出現唔少矛盾，整體嚟講，你認為邊一方嘅責任大啲呢？係完全係內地、大部分係內地、一半半、大部分係香港，定係完全係香港呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 完全係內地	33	3.3	3.3	3.3
2. 大部分係內地	209	20.9	20.9	24.1
3. 一半半	545	54.4	54.5	78.6
4. 大部分係香港	113	11.3	11.3	89.9
5. 完全係香港	41	4.1	4.1	94.0
8. 唔知道/ 好難講	60	6.0	6.0	100.0
9. 拒絕回答	1	0.1	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1001      缺值樣本 1

**Q17 「你未來五年有無離開香港移民海外嘅打算呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 有打算【續問Q18】	136	13.5	13.5	13.6
2. 無打算【跳問Q19】	850	84.8	84.8	99.0
3. 唔知道/ 好難講【跳問Q19】	10	1.0	1.0	100.0
4. 拒絕回答【跳問Q19】	4	0.4	缺值	
5. 不適用（已移民）【跳問Q19】	2	0.2	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 996      缺值樣本 6

**Q18「如有打算移民海外，咁有幾大程度係因為對『一國兩制』冇信心呢？如果1分代表『絕對無關』，7分代表『絕對有關』，1至7分，你會俾幾多分？」【此題只問有移民海外打算的受訪者】**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 1 分（絕對無關）	14	1.4	10.4	10.4
2. 2 分	14	1.4	10.1	20.5
3. 3 分	7	0.7	5.1	25.7
4. 4 分	14	1.4	10.0	35.7
5. 5 分	22	2.2	16.1	51.8
6. 6 分	13	1.3	9.9	61.8
7. 7 分（絕對有關）	52	5.2	38.2	100.0
0. 不適用	866	86.5	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 136      缺值樣本 866      平均分 (mean) : 4.94 ; 標準差 (S.D.) : 2.131

**Q19「講到你嘅政治傾向時，你覺得自己傾向以下邊個陣營呢？」【讀出1-6】**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 建制派	100	10.0	10.1	10.1
2. 民主派	210	21.0	21.1	31.1
3. 本土派	35	3.5	3.5	34.6
4. 自決派	27	2.7	2.8	37.4
5. 中間派	157	15.7	15.7	53.1
6. 無任何政治傾向	426	42.5	42.6	95.7
11. 其他：非建制派	8	0.8	0.8	96.5
12. 其他：自決本土派	2	0.2	0.2	96.7
88. 唔知道/ 好難講	33	3.3	3.3	100.0
99. 拒絕回答	4	0.4	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 998      缺值樣本 4

**[GENDER] 受訪者性別**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 男	475	47.5	47.5	47.5
2. 女	526	52.5	52.5	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0

**[AGE] 「你屬於以下邊個年齡組別呢？」【讀出1-6】**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 18歲至29歲	176	17.6	17.6	17.6
2. 30歲至39歲	165	16.4	16.4	34.0
3. 40歲至50歲	177	17.7	17.7	51.7
4. 50歲至59歲	208	20.7	20.7	72.4
5. 60歲至69歲	148	14.8	14.8	87.2
6. 70歲或以上	128	12.8	12.8	100.0
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 1002      缺值樣本 0



**[EDU] 「您嘅教育程度去到邊呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 小學或以下	133	13.3	13.4	13.4
2. 初中（中一至中三）	119	11.8	11.9	25.3
3. 高中（中四至中七/ 預科）	296	29.6	29.7	55.1
4. 專上非學位 （包括文憑/ 副學士/ IVE等）	118	11.7	11.8	66.8
5. 大學學位	273	27.2	27.4	94.2
6. 研究院（包括碩士/ 博士等）	57	5.7	5.8	100.0
9. 拒絕回答	6	0.6	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 996

缺值樣本 6

**[BIRTH] 「您喺邊度出世呢？喺香港、中國內地，定係其他地方呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 香港	665	66.4	66.4	66.8
2. 中國內地	305	30.5	30.5	97.5
3. 其他地方（註明）	25	2.5	2.5	100.0
9. 拒絕回答	6	0.6	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 996

缺值樣本 6

**[BIRTH\_OTH] 「您喺邊度出世呢？係香港、中國內地，定係其他地方呢？」 【其他答案】**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
11. 其他：澳門	4	0.3	13.9	10.1
12. 其他：台灣	2	0.2	7.5	31.1
21. 其他：印尼	9	0.9	34.4	34.6
22. 其他：越南	3	0.3	11.9	37.4
23. 其他：新加坡	1	0.1	4.2	53.1
24. 其他：馬來西亞	3	0.3	11.4	95.7
31. 其他：加拿大	1	0.1	4.8	96.5
32. 其他：美國	1	0.1	3.6	96.7
99. 其他：拒絕透露	2	0.2	8.4	100.0
0. 不適用	977	97.5	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 25

缺值樣本 977

**[WORK] 「你目前係唔係在職人士呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 係【續問EMPLOY】	581	58.0	58.4	58.4
2. 唔係【跳問NONWORK】	414	41.3	41.6	100.0
9. 拒絕回答【跳問HOUSE】	7	0.7	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 995

缺值樣本 7

**[EMPLOY]「咁你係僱員、僱主，定係自僱人士呢？」【此題只問在職受訪者】**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 僱員/ 受僱	471	47.0	81.4	81.4
2. 僱主	39	3.9	6.8	88.2
3. 自僱人士	68	6.8	11.8	100.0
9. 拒絕回答	3	0.3	缺值	
0. 不適用	421	42.0	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 578

缺值樣本 424

**[NONWORK]「咁你係主理家務、退休、待業，定係學生呢？」【此題只問非在職受訪者】**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 主理家務	123	12.2	29.7	29.7
2. 退休	191	19.0	46.1	75.8
3. 待業/ 正找工作/ 失業	30	2.9	7.1	82.9
4. 學生	70	6.9	16.8	99.7
5. 其他	1	0.1	0.3	100.0
9. 拒絕回答	1	0.1	缺值	
0. 不適用	588	58.7	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 413

缺值樣本 589

**[HOUSE] 「你依家住緊嘅單位係買嘅定係租嘅呢？係公營嘅、定係私人房屋呢？」**

	頻數	百分比	有效百分比	累積百分比
1. 租住公營房屋	258	25.8	26.2	26.2
2. 租住私人房屋	127	12.6	12.9	39.1
3. 自置公營房屋	140	14.0	14.2	53.3
4. 自置私人房屋	458	45.7	46.5	99.8
5. 其他（例如員工宿舍）	2	0.2	0.2	100.0
9. 拒絕回答	17	1.7	缺值	
總計	1002	100.0	100.0	

有效樣本 985

缺值樣本 17

**補充資料：有關調查數據加權的說明**

為了調查數據更能反映香港人口分佈的真實情況，資料進行分析時都配以加權（weighting）處理。加權因子主要按香港政府統計處公布的2016年年中18歲或以上性別及年齡分佈（扣除外籍家庭傭工FDHs）為基礎，將調查中所得的有關分佈與人口統計的分佈作比例性調整，以便使調查的性別及年齡分佈接近2016年年中（扣除外籍家庭傭工）人口的分佈。有關資料表列如下：

年齡組	2016年年中人口分佈 (扣除外籍家傭) (%)		電話調查樣本 人口分佈 (%)		加權因子	
	男 (A)	女 (B)	男 (C)	女 (D)	男 (A÷C)	女 (B÷D)
1. 18歲至29歲	8.79	8.77	7.19	9.28	1.22253129	0.94504310
2. 30歲至39歲	7.67	8.77	5.49	7.78	1.39708561	1.12724936
3. 40歲至50歲	7.90	9.77	8.78	8.98	0.89977221	1.08797327
4. 50歲至59歲	9.98	10.74	10.98	11.28	0.90892532	0.95212766
5. 60歲至69歲	7.34	7.47	8.68	9.28	0.84562212	0.80495690
6. 70歲或以上	5.78	7.02	5.59	6.69	1.03398927	1.04932735



## **APPENDIX**

### **Path of Democracy Survey on the Implementation of “One Country, Two Systems” in Hong Kong (First Round in 2017)**

23 May - 3 June 2017

This survey is commissioned by Path of Democracy and conducted by the  
Telephone Survey Research Laboratory, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies,  
Chinese University of Hong Kong

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## SURVEY OVERVIEW AND SAMPLING METHOD

### **Date:**

23 May - 3 June, 2017 (6:15 pm - 10:15 pm)

### **Polling Agency:**

Telephone Survey Research Laboratory, Hong Kong Institute of  
Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong

### **Target Respondents:**

Hong Kong Citizens aged 18 or above speaking Cantonese or  
Mandarin with a landline telephone

### **Survey Method:**

Random sampling was adopted using CATI (Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview) system. 1,002 respondents aged 18 or above speaking Cantonese or Mandarin were interviewed. Sampling error is within  $\pm 3.1\%$  at 95% confidence level and the response rate is 36.8%.

### **Weighting:**

To better represent the distribution of the Hong Kong population, all data were weighted by the proportion of gender and age of people aged 18 or above (excluding foreign domestic helpers) according to the mid-year population for 2016 released by the Census and Statistics Department. The figures in this survey may not add up due to rounding errors and weighting.

### Survey Results (Frequency and Percentage Distribution)

(Note: All data were weighted for analysis)

"We would like to know how the public understands 'one country, two systems' in Hong Kong. On a scale where 1 indicates "strongly disagree" and 7 indicates "strongly agree", to what extent do you agree with the following descriptions of Hong Kong after the handover?" (The sequence of Q1 to Q7 will be randomly displayed)

**Q1 "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? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?"**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	83	8.3	8.3	8.3
2. 2	116	11.6	11.6	19.9
3. 3	192	19.2	19.2	39.1
4. 4	220	22.0	22.0	61.0
5. 5	200	20.0	20.0	81.0
6. 6	97	9.7	9.7	90.6
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	82	8.2	8.2	98.8
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	12	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid sample: 1002 Invalid Sample: 0 Mean : 3.97 : S.D. : 1.661

Note: When calculating the mean, samples responded "88. Don't know / Difficult to say" are excluded, the same below.

**Q2 “After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent judiciary powers.  
To what extent would you agree? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	62	6.2	6.2	6.2
2. 2	58	5.8	5.8	12.0
3. 3	155	15.4	15.4	27.4
4. 4	214	21.3	21.3	48.7
5. 5	217	21.7	21.7	70.4
6. 6	166	16.5	16.5	86.9
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	112	11.2	11.2	98.1
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	19	1.9	1.9	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 4.44 ; S.D. : 1.642

**Q3 “After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent legislative powers.  
To what extent would you agree? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	70	7.0	7.0	7.0
2. 2	79	7.9	7.9	14.9
3. 3	145	14.5	14.5	29.4
4. 4	222	22.2	22.2	51.6
5. 5	191	19.1	19.1	70.6
6. 6	168	16.8	16.8	87.4
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	98	9.8	9.8	97.2
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	28	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 4.32 ; S.D. : 1.678



**Q4 “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?  
From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	167	16.6	16.6	16.6
2. 2	122	12.2	12.2	28.8
3. 3	186	18.5	18.5	47.3
4. 4	157	15.7	15.7	63.0
5. 5	163	16.3	16.3	79.3
6. 6	125	12.5	12.5	91.8
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	56	5.6	5.6	97.5
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	25	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 3.64 ; S.D. : 1.817

**Q5 “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? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	111	11.1	11.1	11.1
2. 2	111	11.0	11.0	22.1
3. 3	142	14.2	14.2	36.3
4. 4	145	14.5	14.5	50.8
5. 5	187	18.7	18.7	69.5
6. 6	199	19.9	19.9	89.3
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	92	9.2	9.2	98.5
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	15	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 4.17 ; S.D. : 1.848

**Q6 “After the handover, Hong Kong continues to enjoy the freedom of speech.  
To what extent would you agree? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	53	5.3	5.3	5.3
2. 2	57	5.7	5.7	11.1
3. 3	118	11.7	11.7	22.8
4. 4	147	14.6	14.6	37.4
5. 5	219	21.8	21.8	59.3
6. 6	227	22.7	22.7	81.9
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	178	17.8	17.8	99.7
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	3	0.3	0.3	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 4.82 ; S.D. : 1.703

**Q7 “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? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Strongly disagree)	131	13.0	13.0	13.0
2. 2	135	13.5	13.5	26.5
3. 3	204	20.4	20.4	46.8
4. 4	163	16.3	16.3	63.1
5. 5	151	15.1	15.1	78.1
6. 6	98	9.8	9.8	87.9
7. 7 (Strongly agree)	68	6.8	6.8	94.7
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	53	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 3.67 ; S.D. : 1.770

**Q8 “Do you think the government should launch a public consultation for the enactment of Article 23 within the next term? If 1 indicates ‘very unnecessary’ and 7 indicates ‘very necessary’, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Very unnecessary)	161	16.1	16.1	16.1
2. 2	130	13.0	13.0	29.1
3. 3	165	16.5	16.5	45.5
4. 4	131	13.1	13.1	58.6
5. 5	107	10.7	10.7	69.3
6. 6	93	9.3	9.3	78.6
7. 7 (Very necessary)	155	15.5	15.5	94.1
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	59	5.9	5.9	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1002

Omitted Samples 0

Mean : 4.82 ; S.D. : 2.058

**Q9 “Twenty years after the handover, how successful has been the practice of ‘Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong with a high degree of autonomy’? If 1 indicates ‘very unsuccessful’ and 7 indicates ‘very successful’, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Very unsuccessful)	118	11.8	11.8	11.8
2. 2	123	12.3	12.3	24.1
3. 3	187	18.6	18.6	42.8
4. 4	231	23.1	23.1	65.9
5. 5	178	17.7	17.7	83.6
6. 6	97	9.7	9.7	93.4
7. 7 (Very successful)	54	5.4	5.4	98.8
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	12	1.2	1.2	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	1	0.1	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1001

Omitted Samples 1

Mean : 3.74 ; S.D. : 1.663

**Q10 “How confident are you in the full implementation of ‘one country, two systems’ in Hong Kong in the future (before 2047)? If 1 indicates ‘very unconfident’ and 7 indicates ‘very confident’, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Very unconfident)	146	14.6	14.6	14.6
2. 2	136	13.6	13.6	28.2
3. 3	177	17.7	17.7	45.9
4. 4	196	19.5	19.6	65.5
5. 5	146	14.5	14.6	80.0
6. 6	92	9.2	9.2	89.2
7. 7 (Very confident)	77	7.7	7.7	96.9
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	31	3.1	3.1	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	2	0.2	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1000

Omitted Samples 2

Mean : 3.66 ; S.D. : 1.798

**Q11 “When conflicts between mainland China and Hong Kong arise, how confident are you that the conflicts can be resolved through consultation and dialogue? If 1 indicates ‘very unconfident’ and 7 indicates ‘very confident’, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Very unconfident)	141	14.1	14.1	14.1
2. 2	174	17.3	17.3	31.4
3. 3	238	23.7	23.7	55.2
4. 4	157	15.7	15.7	70.9
5. 5	124	12.4	12.4	83.3
6. 6	78	7.8	7.8	91.1
7. 7 (Very confident)	57	5.7	5.7	96.8
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	32	3.2	3.2	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	1	0.1	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1001

Omitted Samples 1

Mean : 3.43 ; S.D. : 1.711

**Q12 “If 1 indicates ‘very unfamiliar’ and 7 indicates ‘very familiar’, how familiar are you with the Basic Law? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Very unfamiliar)	78	7.7	7.8	7.8
2. 2	124	12.3	12.4	20.1
3. 3	275	27.4	27.5	47.6
4. 4	230	23.0	23.0	70.6
5. 5	187	18.7	18.7	89.3
6. 6	74	7.4	7.4	96.7
7. 7 (Very familiar)	30	3.0	3.0	99.6
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	4	0.4	0.4	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	1	0.1	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1001

Omitted Samples 1

Mean : 3.67 ; S.D. : 1.454

**Q13 “If 1 indicates ‘extremely weak’ and 7 indicates ‘extremely strong’, how strongly do you identify yourself as a Hong Konger? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Extremely weak)	21	2.1	2.1	2.1
2. 2	10	1.0	1.0	3.1
3. 3	38	3.8	3.8	6.9
4. 4	90	9.0	9.0	15.9
5. 5	235	23.4	23.5	39.4
6. 6	258	25.8	25.8	65.2
7. 7 (Extremely strong)	330	33.0	33.1	98.3
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	17	1.7	1.7	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	3	0.3	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 999

Omitted Samples 3

Mean : 5.65 ; S.D. : 1.369



**Q14 “If 1 indicates ‘extremely weak’ and 7 indicates ‘extremely strong’, how strongly do you identify yourself as a Chinese? From 1 to 7, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Extremely weak)	59	5.9	5.9	5.9
2. 2	52	5.2	5.3	11.2
3. 3	102	10.2	10.3	21.4
4. 4	139	13.9	13.9	35.4
5. 5	208	20.7	20.8	56.2
6. 6	143	14.3	14.3	70.6
7. 7 (Extremely strong)	285	28.5	28.6	99.1
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	9	0.9	0.9	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	4	0.4	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 997

Omitted Samples 4

Mean : 4.98 ; S.D. : 1.814

**Q15 “There are more and more mainlanders in Hong Kong, to what extent would you worry about the loss of Hong Kong’s core values? If 1 indicates ‘very unworried’ and 7 indicates ‘very worried’, what score will you give?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Very unworried)	104	10.4	10.4	10.4
2. 2	78	7.8	7.8	18.2
3. 3	120	12.0	12.0	30.2
4. 4	154	15.4	15.4	45.6
5. 5	181	18.0	18.0	63.6
6. 6	156	15.6	15.6	79.3
7. 7 (Very worried)	189	18.8	18.8	98.1
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	19	1.9	1.9	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	1	0.1	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1001

Omitted Samples 1

Mean : 4.48 ; S.D. : 1.929

**Q16 “After the handover, the implementation of ‘one country, two systems’ has led to conflicts between Hong Kong and mainland China. Generally speaking, which side bears the greater responsibility? Is it totally mainland China’s, mostly mainland China’s, mostly Hong Kong’s or totally Hong Kong’s?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Totally mainland China’s	33	3.3	3.3	3.3
2. Mostly mainland China’s	209	20.9	20.9	24.1
3. Half-half	545	54.4	54.4	78.6
4. Mostly Hong Kong’s	113	11.3	11.3	89.9
5. Totally Hong Kong’s	41	4.1	4.1	94.0
8. Don’t know / Difficult to say	60	6.0	6.0	100.0
9. Refuse to answer	1	0.1	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 1001

Omitted Samples 1

Mean : 4.48 ; S.D. : 1.929

**Q17 “Do you have any plans to emigrate from Hong Kong in the next five years?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Yes (continue to Q18)	136	13.5	13.6	13.6
2. No (Skip to Q19)	850	84.8	85.3	99.0
8. Don’t know / Difficult to say (Skip to Q19)	10	1.0	1.0	100.0
9. Refuse to answer (Skip to Q19)	4	0.4	Omitted	
0. Not applicable (already emigrated, skip to Q19)	2	0.2	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 996

Omitted Samples 6

**Q18 “If you have emigration plans, to what degree are they related to your lack of confidence in ‘one country, two systems’? If 1 indicates ‘absolutely unrelated’ and 7 indicates ‘absolutely related’, what score will you give?” (Only respondents who have emigration plans are asked)**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 1 (Absolutely unrelated)	14	1.4	10.4	10.4
2. 2	14	1.4	10.1	20.5
3. 3	7	0.7	5.1	25.7
4. 4	14	1.4	10.0	35.7
5. 5	22	2.2	16.1	51.8
6. 6	13	1.3	9.9	61.8
7. 7 (Absolutely related)	52	5.2	38.2	100.0
0. Not applicable	866	86.5	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 136

Omitted Samples 866

Mean : 4.94 ; S.D. : 2.131

**Q19 “When asked about your political inclination, which political camp do you incline to identify yourself with?” (read options 1-6)**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Pro-establishment	100	10.0	10.1	10.1
2. Pro-democracy	210	21.0	21.1	31.1
3. Localist	35	3.5	3.5	34.6
4. Self-determination	27	2.7	2.8	37.4
5. Centrist	157	15.7	15.7	53.1
6. No political inclination	426	42.5	42.6	95.7
11. Others: Non-establishment	8	0.8	0.8	96.5
12. Others: Localist, self/determination	2	0.2	0.2	96.7
88. Don't know / Difficult to say	33	3.3	3.3	100.0
99. Refuse to answer	4	0.4	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 998

Omitted Samples 4

**[GENDER] Gender of respondents**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Male	475	47.5	47.5	47.5
2. Female	526	52.5	52.5	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	
Valid Samples 1002		Omitted Samples 0		

**[AGE] “Which age group does you belong to?” (read options 1-6)**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. 18-29	176	17.6	17.6	17.6
2. 30-39	165	16.4	16.4	34.0
3. 40-49	177	17.7	17.7	51.7
4. 50-59	208	20.7	20.7	72.4
5. 60-69	148	14.8	14.8	87.2
6. 70 or above	128	12.8	12.8	100.0
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	
Valid Samples 1002		Omitted Samples 0		

**[EDU] “What is your educational attainment?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Primary or below	133	13.3	13.4	13.4
2. Secondary (F.1 - F.3)	119	11.8	11.9	25.3
3. Secondary (F.4 - F.7)	296	29.6	29.7	55.1
4. Non-degree tertiary (including diplomas, associate degrees, IVE, etc)	118	11.7	11.8	66.8
5. Bachelor's degree	273	27.2	27.4	94.2
6. Postgraduate degree (including master's and doctoral degree)	57	5.7	5.8	100.0
9. Refuse to answer	6	0.6	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 996

Omitted Samples 6

**[BIRTH] “Where is your place of birth? Is it Hong Kong, mainland China or other places?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Hong Kong	665	66.4	66.8	66.8
2. Mainland China	305	30.5	30.7	97.5
3. Other places (please state)	25	2.5	2.5	100.0
9. Refuse to answer	6	0.6	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 996

Omitted Samples 6



**[ BIRTH\_OTH] “Where is your place of birth? Is it Hong Kong, mainland China or other places?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
11. Others: Macau	4	0.3	13.9	13.9
12. Others: Taiwan	2	0.2	7.5	21.3
21. Others: Indonesia	9	0.9	34.4	55.7
22. Others: Vietnam	3	0.3	11.9	67.6
23. Others: Singapore	1	0.1	4.2	71.8
24. Others: Malaysia	3	0.3	11.4	83.2
31. Others: Canada	1	0.1	4.8	88.0
32. Others: USA	1	0.1	3.6	91.6
99. Others: Refuse to answer	2	0.2	8.4	100.0
0. Not applicable	997	97.5	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 25

Omitted Samples 977

**[WORK] “Are you currently employed?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Yes (continue to EMPLOY)	581	58.0	58.4	58.4
2. No (skip to NONWORK)	414	41.3	41.6	100.0
9. Refuse to answer (skip to HOUSE)	7	0.7	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 995

Omitted Samples 7

**[EMPLOY] “Are you an employee, employer or self-employed person?”**  
**(Only respondents who are employed are asked)**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Employee	471	47.0	81.4	81.4
2. Employer	39	3.9	6.8	88.2
3. Self-employed person	68	6.8	11.8	100.0
9. Refuse to answer	3	3	Omitted	
0. Not applicable	421	42.0	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 578

Omitted Samples 424

**[NONWORK] “Are you a homemaker, retired person, job seeker or student?”**  
**(Only respondents who are unemployed are asked)**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Homemaker	123	12.2	29.7	29.7
2. Retired person	191	19.0	46.1	75.8
3. Job seeker	30	2.9	7.1	82.9
4. Student	70	6.9	16.8	99.7
5. Others	1	0.1	0.3	100.0
9. Refuse to answer	1	0.1	Omitted	
0. Not applicable	588	58.7	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 413

Omitted Samples 589

**[HOUSE] “Do you rent or own your residence? Is it a public or private housing unit?”**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1. Rent a flat in public housing	258	25.8	26.2	26.2
2. Rent a private flat	127	12.6	12.9	39.1
3. Own a flat in public housing	140	14.0	14.2	53.3
4. Own a private flat	458	45.7	46.5	99.8
5. Others (e.g. staff quarters)	2	0.2	0.2	100.0
9. Refuse to answer	17	1.7	Omitted	
Total	1002	100.0	100.0	

Valid Samples 985

Omitted Samples 6

**Explanatory Notes on Weighting**

All data were weighted to better represent the distribution of the Hong Kong population. The weighting factors were adjusted by the proportion of gender and age of people aged 18 or above (excluding foreign domestic helpers) according to the mid-year population for 2016 statistics released by the Census and Statistics Department. The weight factors are as below.

Age Group	Mid-year Population Distribution for 2016 (excluding foreign domestic helpers) [%]		Population Distribution of Survey [%]		Weighting Factors	
	Male (A)	Female (B)	Male (C)	Female (D)	Male (A÷C)	Female (B÷D)
1. 18-29	8.79	8.77	7.19	9.28	1.22253129	0.94504310
2. 30-39	7.67	8.77	5.49	7.78	1.39708561	1.12724936
3. 40-50	7.90	9.77	8.78	8.98	0.89977221	1.08797327
4. 50-59	9.98	10.74	10.98	11.28	0.90892532	0.95212766
5. 60-69	7.34	7.47	8.68	9.28	0.84562212	0.80495690
6. 70 or above	5.78	7.02	5.59	6.69	1.03398927	1.04932735

# “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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