



‘ONE COUNTRY
TWO SYSTEMS’
INDEX
「一國兩制」
指數

2025 上半年 (第十六版)
2025 H1 (Sixteenth Edition)**目錄 CONTENTS**

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前言 Preface

The implementation of "One Country, Two Systems" (1C2S) represents a complex and multifaceted endeavour that necessitates rigorous inquiry and sustained engagement from a diverse array of stakeholders. Since its establishment in 1997, progress has been realized in the operationalization of 1C2S; however, a range of challenges has concurrently emerged, necessitating ongoing assessment. In this context, POD Research Institute (formerly known as: "Path of Democracy") inaugurated the 1C2S Index in July 2017, presenting its first report aimed at systematically evaluating the implementation of 1C2S by delineating both its achievements and deficiencies.

The 1C2S Index is informed by both local sentiment and international perspectives regarding the current state of 1C2S. Periodic public surveys are employed to capture local attitudes, complemented by assessments from global think tanks to provide a comprehensive view of the perceptions surrounding 1C2S. These independent evaluations yield insights into how the framework is viewed by both the local populace and the international community. To refine our analysis, we have developed the 1C2S Mass Media Index (MMI), utilizing big data analytics to assess media sentiment concerning 1C2S across both Hong Kong and international outlets. Furthermore, our report incorporates public opinions on salient social issues related to 1C2S, including emigration trends, national security concerns, and economic integration.

In 2022, a thorough review was conducted to ensure that our methodologies remained aligned with contemporary societal and global developments following five years of objective measurement. The main Index will now employ a more timely, objective, and nuanced methodology. We are also advancing our examination of media sentiment by expanding the scope of the 1C2S MMI to reflect the evolving media landscape and readership dynamics. An online data portal has been established to enhance transparency and accessibility, providing policymakers, researchers, media, and the public with data visualizations and tailored analyses.

We extend our appreciation to the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong for their role in conducting telephone surveys, and to sentiment.ai for their assistance in measuring media sentiment. Looking ahead, we remain committed to conducting public surveys and updating international indices biannually, while continuously monitoring media sentiment to gauge the evolving perceptions of the public, the international community, and the media regarding 1C2S.

Ray Poon
Research Director

September 2025

「一國兩制」是前無古人的創舉，自1997年實踐以來，既取得了一定成果，也面臨諸多挑戰，其過程需要社會各界持續參與及深入探索。為此，民思政策研究所（前稱：民主思路）於2017年7月首次發布關於「一國兩制」實施情況的客觀評價，旨在為全面及準確貫徹此方針略盡綿力。

「一國兩制」指數的編制基於本地民意以及國際社會對其現狀的看法。我們通過定期的民意調查捕捉本地市民的態度，並結合全球智庫的評估，全面反映香港與國際社會對「一國兩制」的觀感。為了進一步提升分析深度，我們開發了「一國兩制」輿情指數，運用大數據技術評估香港及國際媒體對「一國兩制」的輿論傾向。此外，報告還納入了與「一國兩制」相關的社會熱點議題的公眾意見，包括移民趨勢、國家安全問題以及經濟融合等多個層面。

經過五年的客觀評估，我們於2022年進行了全面檢討，確保指數編制方式與香港社會及全球發展趨勢保持一致。調整後的編製方法使「一國兩制」指數的更新更及時、數據來源更客觀、指標更清晰、涵蓋層面更廣泛。同時，因應傳媒生態和讀者閱讀習慣的變化，我們擴大了輿情指數的數據範圍，為輿情研究帶來新的突破。此外，我們推出網上數據平台，秉持公開透明的原則，為政策制定者、研究人員、媒體和公眾提供數據可視化及定制分析。

最後，我們謹此感謝香港中文大學香港亞太研究所協助進行電話調查，並感謝 sentiment.ai 在測量媒體輿論方面提供的技術支持。展望未來，我們將繼續定期進行公眾調查，每半年更新國際指數，並持續監測媒體輿論，以了解公眾、國際社會和媒體對「一國兩制」觀感的變化趨勢。

潘學智
研究總監

2025年9月

行政摘要 Executive Summary



- Global evaluations of Hong Kong remain optimistic: The overall international ratings score has risen to 6.96, achieving a new high since mid-2022. All sub-indicators have shown improvement, with "Democratic Development" increasing by 1.4%, "Civil Rights" by 1.1%, and "Economic Openness" by 0.9%. Notably, the score for "Economic Openness" has reached 9.47, marking the highest level since the inception of this index.
- Declining intentions for overseas immigration: The proportion of respondents planning to immigrate overseas has continued to decrease, currently standing at 12.4%, the lowest level in a year and a half. Conversely, the percentage of individuals with no immigration plans has risen to 86.0%, marking a two-year high. This trend reflects a growing caution among citizens regarding immigration in light of shifting policy environments.
- Diverging confidence in the education system: There are signs of declining confidence in Hong Kong's education system. The percentage of respondents expressing "no confidence" has reached 41.7%, nearing the "confidence" level of 42.5%. This indicates a polarization in public perceptions of educational quality, increasing the pressure on education policies to meet public expectations and scrutiny.
- Slight decline in satisfaction with the HKSAR Government: Only 40.3% of respondents expressed satisfaction with the current performance of the HKSAR government, reflecting a slight decrease of 2 percentage points since the last survey. Meanwhile, dissatisfaction has risen to 45.1%. This change may be linked to the upcoming Policy Address by the Chief Executive, as citizens are generally harbouring higher expectations for future policies and scrutinizing the government's current performance more rigorously.
- Negative evaluation of Legislative Council performance: While the satisfaction rate with the Legislative Council's performance has remained stable, dissatisfaction has noticeably increased by 2.5 percentage points to 50.6%. This trend indicates public concerns regarding the Council's efficiency, quality of deliberation, and oversight capabilities, particularly with the impending elections at year-end, where the public expects a more responsive legislative body to social demands.
- Polarized confidence in English speaking skills: In the inaugural survey of confidence in English speaking abilities, approximately 40.5% of respondents reported feeling "confident," while an equal 40.1% expressed "no confidence." The average confidence score was only 4.79 (on a scale of 1 to 10), slightly below the midpoint. As an international city, Hong Kong must enhance public English communication skills to strengthen its competitive position on the global stage.

- 國際對港評價呈現全面積極態勢：最新資料顯示，綜合國際評級得分升至6.96分，創自2022年中期以來的新高。各子支柱指標均有所上升，其中「民主發展」增長1.4%，「公民權利」提升1.1%，「經濟開放」亦增長0.9%。特別值得注意的是，「經濟開放」得分達到9.47分，為該指數設立以來的最高水平。
- 海外移民意向持續降溫：計劃移民海外的受訪者比例持續下降，目前僅佔12.4%，為近一年半以來最低；相反，無移民打算的比例升至86.0%，創兩年新高。這一趨勢反映在週邊政策環境變動的背景下，市民對移民的態度日趨審慎。
- 教育制度信心漸趨分化：市民對香港教育制度的信心呈現下滑跡象，表示「無信心」者佔41.7%，逐漸逼近「有信心」的比例（42.5%），反映公眾對教育品質的評級日趨兩極，教育政策面臨更大公眾期待與監督壓力。
- 特區政府滿意度輕微下降：僅有40.3%受訪者滿意現屆特區政府表現，較上輪略降2個百分點，而不滿意比例則上升至45.1%。這一變化或與行政長官即將發表新一份《施政報告》有關，市民普遍對未來政策懷有更高期望，因而以更嚴格標準審視當前政府表現。
- 立法會表現評價偏負面，不滿意度上升：雖滿意立法會表現的比例保持穩定，但不滿意率顯著上升2.5個百分點，達至50.6%，顯示市民對其議事效率、審議品質及監督功能存有疑慮，尤其年底換屆在即，公眾期望立法機關更能回應社會訴求。
- 英語口語信心呈兩極分佈，整體水準有待提升：在首次開展的英語口語信心調查中，約四成（40.5%）受訪者自認「有信心」，另四成（40.1%）表示「無信心」，平均信心得分僅4.79（1-10分制），略低於中間值。作為國際都市，香港需進一步加強公眾英語溝通能力，以鞏固其全球競爭地位。

1C2S Index 「一國兩制」指數	1C2S Mass Media Index 「一國兩制」輿情指數	Moderates 溫和派	Dual Identity 雙重身份認同
6.15 (↑ 0.16%)	148.0 (↓ 9.7%)	77.6% (↓ 1.1%)	67.2% (↑ 0.2%)
2025 H1	2025 Q4	2025.7	2025.7



Public Opinion 民意調查	High Degree of Autonomy 高度自治	Human Rights and Freedom 人權自由	Hong Kong-Mainland Relations 內港關係
	5.22 (↑ 0.2%)	5.24 (↓ 1.9%)	5.55 (↓ 0.9%)
International Perception 國際評價	Economic Openness 經濟開放	Civil Liberty 公民權利	Democratic Development 民主發展
	9.39 (↑ 0.4%)	6.29 (↑ 1.1%)	5.12 (↑ 1.4%)

In the first half of 2025, the HKSAR government implemented a series of policy measures to actively promote economic recovery and structural transformation. With the release of the latest budget, the government has focused on developing emerging sectors such as innovation technology, the green economy, and the low-altitude economy. Additionally, strategies like "tourism is everywhere" and event-driven economic initiatives have successfully attracted tourists, contributing to an overall economic rebound.

To enhance developmental momentum, Hong Kong has continued to roll out various talent and enterprise attraction programs. The establishment of new key enterprises not only brings investment and job opportunities but also introduces innovative technologies and solutions, significantly boosting local economic vitality and competitiveness.

To further solidify Hong Kong's international standing, high-profile events, including the Asian Financial Forum and numerous international gatherings in sports and cultural arts, have been held. These events showcase Hong Kong's unique role and institutional advantages as a "super connector" to the global community.

However, Hong Kong continues to face complex and shifting international circumstances, notably influenced by geopolitical factors, including uncertainties surrounding U.S. trade policies. Ongoing legal controversies and the recent U.S. announcement of sanctions against certain Hong Kong and Beijing officials have sparked widespread international media attention and scrutiny of the rule of law.

In response to these challenges, Hong Kong is actively deepening cooperation with ASEAN and other emerging markets to mitigate potential risks arising from volatility in Western markets.

Economic Openness Drives International Ratings

Despite a slight decline in local public opinion scores, the latest "One Country, Two Systems" index for the first half of 2025 has increased marginally from 6.14 to 6.15, a rise of 0.16%. This improvement is primarily attributed to the ongoing enhancement of Hong Kong's overall evaluation by the international community.

Among the sub-indicators, "Economic Openness" saw a notable increase of 0.9%. Large overseas promotion campaigns led by the Special Administrative Region government and various initiatives to attract key enterprises have successfully strengthened international investors' confidence in Hong Kong's business environment.

2025年上半年，特區政府通過一系列政策措施積極推動經濟復蘇與產業結構轉型。隨著新一份財政預算案的發布，政府聚焦發展創新科技、綠色經濟及低空經濟等新興領域，同時透過「無處不旅遊」策略和盛事經濟吸引旅客，有效促進整體經濟回暖。

在增強發展動能方面，香港持續推行多項人才和企業引進計劃，新一批重點企業的落戶不僅帶來投資與就業機會，更引進創新科技與解決方案，顯著提升本地經濟活力與競爭力。

為進一步鞏固香港的國際地位，期內舉辦了包括亞洲金融論壇及多項國際盛事在內的高規格會議，涵蓋體育、文化藝術等多元範疇，向全球展示其作為「超級聯繫人」的獨特角色與制度優勢。

面對複雜多變的國際形勢，香港持續受到地緣政治因素的影響，包括美國貿易政策的不確定性。部分具爭議性的案件仍在審理中，而美國宣佈對新一批香港和北京官員實施制裁，引發國際媒體的廣泛討論與其對法治狀況的密切關注。

在應對這些挑戰，香港積極深化與東盟及其他新興市場的合作，試圖緩解西方市場波動帶來的潛在風險。

經濟開放驅動國際評分

儘管本地民意評分出現輕微下滑，2025年上半年最新「一國兩制」指數仍由6.14分微升至6.15分，增幅達0.16%。這一項升幅主要得益於國際社會對香港整體評價的持續改善。

在各項子指標中，「經濟開放度」顯著上升0.9%。特區政府牽頭的大型海外推廣活動及多項引入重點企業措施，成功強化了國際投資者對香港營商環境的信心。

On the other hand, the "Civil Liberties" indicator rose by 1.1%, while "Democratic Development" recorded a 1.4% increase. This suggests that while the international community acknowledges Hong Kong's economic resilience and open policies, it continues to monitor the territory's actual progress in civil rights and democratic governance. This reflects a complex image of Hong Kong, characterized by both opportunities and challenges in the global context.

Trends in political moderation amid apathy

In the context of a gradually depoliticized social atmosphere, widespread public apathy has fostered a notable trend toward the moderation of political attitudes. Currently, moderates remain the largest political group, comprising 77.6% of the population, reflecting a slight decrease of 1.6 percentage points since the last survey. In contrast, the proportion of non-establishment supporters increased by 0.8 percentage points to 8%, while establishment supporters have seen a minor decline, now at 11.3%.

This trend toward moderation is particularly pronounced among the youth aged 18 to 29. Within this age group, the percentage of moderates has risen significantly by 5.9 percentage points to 82%. Concurrently, the number of young supporters within the non-establishment camp has decreased by 4.8 percentage points to 15.5%, while young establishment supporters have increased slightly by 0.5 percentage points to 2.4%. This strengthening of moderate positions among the younger demographic is a noteworthy positive development.

Dual identity awareness among citizens

Public identification as either "Hong Konger" or "Chinese" has shown a year-on-year decline. The latest data indicates that the score for "Hong Konger" identity stands at 8.82, a decrease of 1.9% from the previous survey, while the score for "Chinese" identity has dropped by 0.4% to 7.28.

Notably, a significant portion of Hong Kong residents now identify with both "Hong Konger" and "Chinese" identities. The latest survey reveals that 67.2% of respondents acknowledge this dual identity, reflecting a slight increase of 0.2%. This figure has fluctuated since 2019, having reached a low point in mid-2020 before gradually recovering. Meanwhile, the percentage of individuals identifying solely as "Hong Konger" has slightly decreased to 24.7%, while those identifying exclusively as "Chinese" have increased marginally to 4.5%.

Overall, the findings suggest a significant strengthening of awareness regarding dual identity among Hong Kong residents, indicating a shift toward a more complex and diverse understanding of identity.

另一方面，「公民自由」指標上升1.1%，「民主發展」也錄得1.4%的增幅。這說明國際社會肯定香港經濟韌性和開放政策的同時，仍持續關注本港在公民權利與民主治理方面的實際進展，反映出香港在國際社會的視野中展示機遇與挑戰的複雜形象。

去政治化社會中的溫和化浪潮

在社會氛圍逐漸呈現去政治化的背景下，普遍的公眾冷漠催生了顯著的政治態度溫和化的趨勢。目前，溫和派仍在人口中佔比最大的政治群體，達到77.6%，較上一輪調查微跌1.6個百分點。相比之下，非建制派支持者比例微升0.8個百分點，達到8%；而建制派支持者則略有下降，佔11.3%。

這股溫和化趨勢在18至29歲的青年群體中尤其突出。該年齡段中，與此同時，非建制派陣營中的青年支持者減少了4.8個百分點，降至15.5%；建制派青年支持者則微升0.5個百分點，至2.4%。由此可見，年輕群體中溫和立場的增強是一項值得關注的積極發展。

市民的雙重身份認可

市民對「香港人」或「中國人」的身份認同均呈現同比下降趨勢。最新資料顯示，「香港人」身份認同得分為8.82分，較上一輪下降1.9%；「中國人」身份認同得分為7.28分，也下跌了0.4%。

值得關注的是，目前有相當比例的香港市民認同自己兼具「香港人」與「中國人」的雙重身份。最新調查顯示，67.2%的受訪者表示認同雙重身份，較之前微升0.2%。這一比例自2019年以來出現若干波動，曾在2020年年中處於低位，但之後逐步回升。與此同時，僅認同「香港人」單一身份的比例輕微下跌至24.7%，而僅認同「中國人」身份的比例則略升至4.5%。

總體來看，調查結果反映出香港市民對雙重身份認同的意識正顯著增強，身份認知格局趨於複合與多元。

Implications and recommendations

International perception of Hong Kong has shown signs of recovery after repeated declines while domestic opinion has improved a bit. The disparity between local and international perceptions on 1C2S has been narrowing. While different social groups may hold varying expectations, there remains a shared desire for long-term prosperity and stability. Ultimately, this common ground can serve as a unifying force to bridge perspectives and to foster understanding.

Many indicators have returned to early 2019 levels. Public discontent sparked by the 2019 crisis has somewhat dissipated. The number of people with emigration plans continues to decline. The proportion of moderates has continued to grow, while non-establishment supporters have steadily declined. Additionally, the percentage of the population identifying as 'Chinese' has also seen a modest increase.

Two opposing camps have expressed extreme views over recent political events, with moderates serving the only counterbalance to this polarization. A rational voice appears to exist in society at large, but it is vulnerable to populist narratives. Policymakers must ensure that moderate opinions continue to thrive in a nurturing and safe environment, despite the prevailing divisions.

The HKSAR government must capitalize on this growing confidence by spearheading a concerted effort involving all sectors of Hong Kong, including the business community, academia, professional bodies, and like-minded think tanks and NGOs, to promote Hong Kong's image under 1C2S. Such efforts may include:

- Establishing an Office for 1C2S to sustain outreach efforts both locally and across the APEC region to mobilize support and enhance Hong Kong's presence. This dedicated office should actively participate in foreign think tank forums, either directly or through the business community to promote the Hong Kong narrative in the international arena.
- Holding daily press briefings with local and international media to address current policy issues in a timely, comprehensive, and appropriate manner, alleviating the fears and anxieties of the foreign community in Hong Kong.
- Providing advanced training for senior officials on effectively countering negative narratives in Western media by highlighting positive stories from Hong Kong.
- Educating young people on the fundamentals of 1C2S, including the importance of constitutional order, an understanding of the rule of law, human rights, freedoms, corresponding obligations, and broadening their awareness of social, national, and global issues.

啟示及建議

「國際評價」在經歷一段反覆下跌後逐步回穩；與此同時，本地民意也呈現正向發展的趨勢，可見本地居民與國際社會對「一國兩制」的看法差距正在逐漸縮小。雖然社會上不同團體對未來發展的期望有異，但對於香港實現長期繁榮穩定發展的信念是高度一致。這份共識有望成為凝聚社會的力量基礎，促進不同觀點之間的理解與交流。

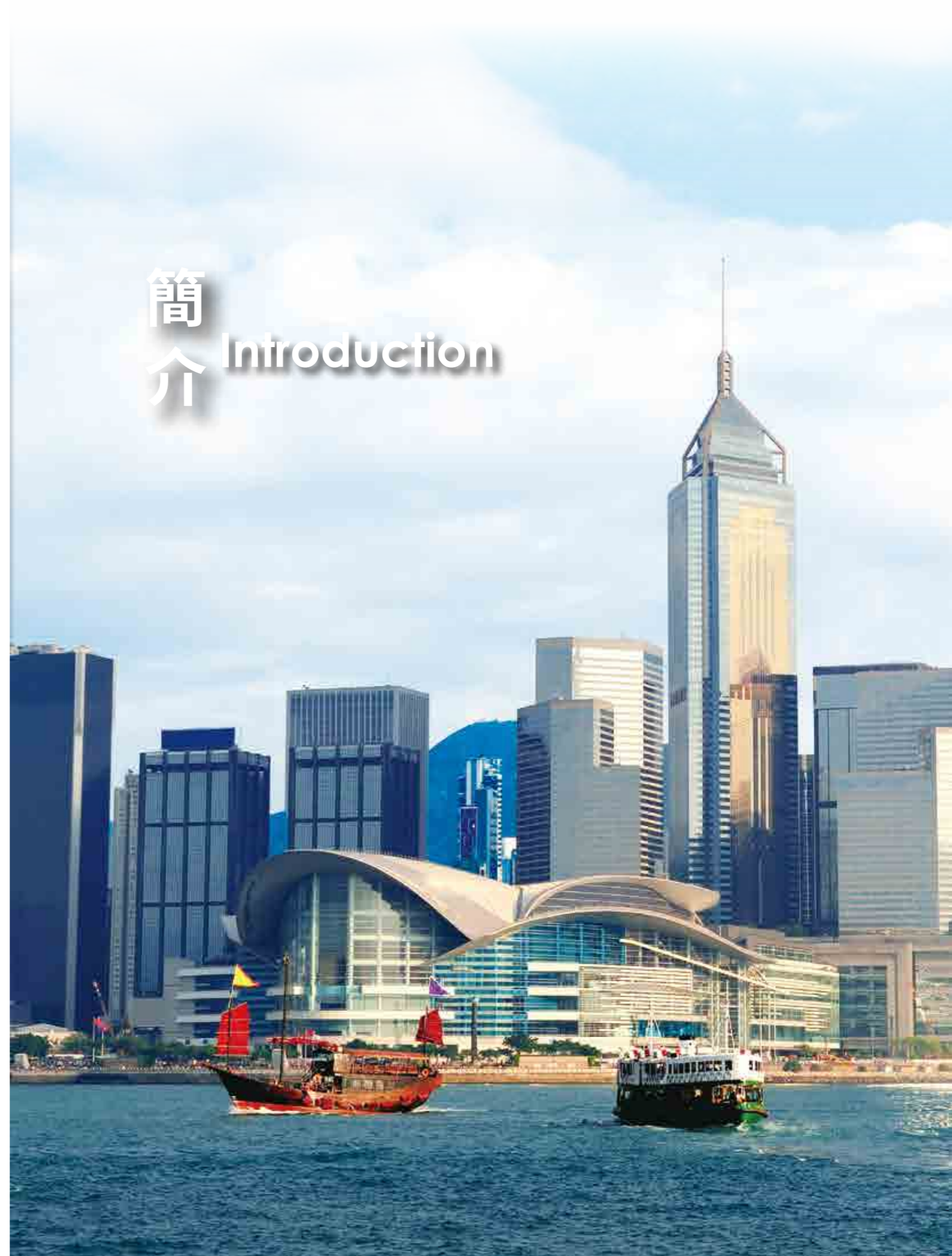
隨著多項指標逐步回升至修例風波前的水平，顯示這場管治危機所引發的民怨已大幅緩解。有意移民的市民數量持續下降，而溫和派依然是全港人口中佔比最大的群體。當「一國兩制」在實踐上出現矛盾時，更多市民認為內地和香港承擔著共同的責任。同時，對中國人身份的認同感也呈現穩健上升的趨勢。

近期政治事件中，兩大政治陣營的反應極為對立，而溫和派則相對不受政治立場的束縛。儘管社會中仍有理性聲音存在，但這些聲音極易被民粹情緒所摧毀。決策者應讓溫和意見能夠在撕裂的社會上有一隅之地。

政府應乘勢領導香港各界，如商界、學術界、專業團體、理念相近的智庫和民間組織，共同努力闡釋「一國兩制」的實況，提升香港形象。措施包括：

- 設立「一國兩制」辦公室，專門進行本地及亞太區的推廣及聯絡工作，動員社會各界支持及強化香港的影響力。此專責辦公室將會直接或通過商界積極參與外國智庫論壇，就香港事務在國際舞台發聲；
- 政府每天舉行例行記者會，面向本地及國際傳媒，適時、充分及恰當地解釋及回應政策議題，包括外國社群的疑慮；
- 提供進階培訓予高級官員，運用正面的香港故事，以回應西方媒體的負面論述；及
- 著重青年教育，擴闊他們對「一國兩制」的基本認識，豐富對我們的憲制秩序、法治、人權和自由、相應義務的理解，增強社會觸覺、國際視野及國情認識。

簡介 Introduction



1. 簡介 Introduction

This report marks the 16th edition of the "One Country, Two Systems" (1C2S) Index. The primary objective of the 1C2S Index is to provide an objective assessment of the implementation of the 1C2S framework. The inaugural report was published in mid-2017, coinciding with the 20th anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China. The 1C2S Index is updated biannually, with assessments released in the middle and at the end of each year.

The index is refreshed every six months through the administration of a public opinion survey, alongside the integration of the latest data from international indices. To enhance our analysis, we have introduced the 1C2S Mass Media Index (MMI), which employs advanced big data techniques to evaluate sentiment across printed, electronic, and online media in both Hong Kong and abroad.

For the current edition, we commissioned the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong to conduct a telephone poll between 6 June and 23 June 2025, generating public opinion scores. Additionally, we updated international perception scores for the first half of 2025 by evaluating 148 countries and territories using nine comprehensive data sources and 127 indicators provided by leading international think tanks. The MMI was assessed and updated by sentiment.ai through the end of June 2025.

本報告是「一國兩制」指數的第16期發佈。該指數旨在對「一國兩制」框架的實施情況提供客觀評估。首份報告於2017年中發佈，正值香港回顧中國20周年之際。「一國兩制」指數每半年更新一次，評估結果分別於每年年中和年底發佈。

指數每半年通過進行電話民意調查並整合最新國際指數數據進行更新。為進一步完善分析，我們引入了「一國兩制」輿情指數，運用先進的大數據技術評估香港及國際媒體在印刷、電子及網絡平台上對「一國兩制」的輿論傾向。

在本期報告中，我們委托了香港中文大學香港亞太研究所於在2025年6月6日至6月23日進行電話調查，以獲取民意評分。此外，我們通過評估148個國家和地區，並結合九個綜合數據來源及127項指標（由國際領先智庫提供），更新了2025年上半年的國際觀感評分。輿情指數則由 sentiment.ai 評估並更新至2025年6月底。

Our latest survey continues to address pertinent issues related to 1C2S, including prospects for the continuation of the framework beyond 2047, citizens' identities, attitudes towards emigration. To accurately reflect the evolving socio-political landscape of the city, we have introduced new questions aimed at gauging the impact of recent developments. This includes public satisfaction with the Legislative Council of the Special Administrative Region (SAR) government and an inquiry regarding respondents' outlook on Hong Kong's prospects over the next decade.

It is important to emphasize that public opinion, international perception, and MMI are influenced by subjective perceptions and may not necessarily reflect objective reality. Nonetheless, shifts in perceptions of 1C2S among the Hong Kong public, international think tanks, and both local and foreign media are significant. This report will analyse the underlying reasons for these shifts, as they are critical to the ongoing implementation of 1C2S.

In this report, all scores are presented on a scale from 0 to 10. An asterisk (*) denotes statistically significant changes in scores compared to the previous assessment, while scores without an asterisk indicate statistically insignificant changes. Furthermore, certain scores will be analysed by demographic factors such as age group, educational attainment, and political inclination. Previously, the non-establishment camp was categorized into 'democrats' and 'others'; however, this division has been eliminated in the current report due to the small size of the 'others' group, which hindered meaningful analysis. Nonetheless, this data remains accessible for reference in our online data portal.

Readers can access our data portal for historical data on the 1C2S Index series by visiting the POD Research Institute webpage (podresearch.hk). An extensive report on the survey results is also available.

我們的最新調查繼續探討與「一國兩制」相關的重要議題，包括2047年後「一國兩制」的前景、市民的身份認同、移民態度。為準確反映香港社會政治環境的變化，我們新增了一些問題，旨在評估近期發展的影響。這包括公眾對香港特別行政區政府立法會的滿意度，以及受訪者對香港未來十年前景的看法。

需要強調的是，公眾意見、國際觀感及輿情指數均受主觀認知影響，未必完全反映客觀現實。然而，香港公眾、國際智庫以及本地與國際媒體對「一國兩制」觀感的變化仍然具有重要意義。本報告將分析這些變化背後的原因，因為它們對「一國兩制」的持續實施至關重要。

在本報告中，所有評分均以0至10分表示。帶有星號(*)的評分表示與上一期評估相比有統計學上的顯著變化，而不帶星號的評分則表示變化不顯著。此外，部分評分將按年齡組別、教育程度及政治傾向等人口統計因素進行分析。以往，非建制陣營被分為「民主派」和「其他」，但由於「其他」群體規模過小，難以進行有意義的分析，因此本期報告取消了這一分類。不過，相關數據仍可在我們的網上數據平台中查閱。

「一國兩制」指數的歷年數據已上載至我們的數據平台，電話調查的詳細報告亦已刊於「調查結果：頻數及百分比分佈」，歡迎讀者參閱民思政策研究所網頁(podresearch.hk)。



2. 「一國兩制」指數 1C2S Index

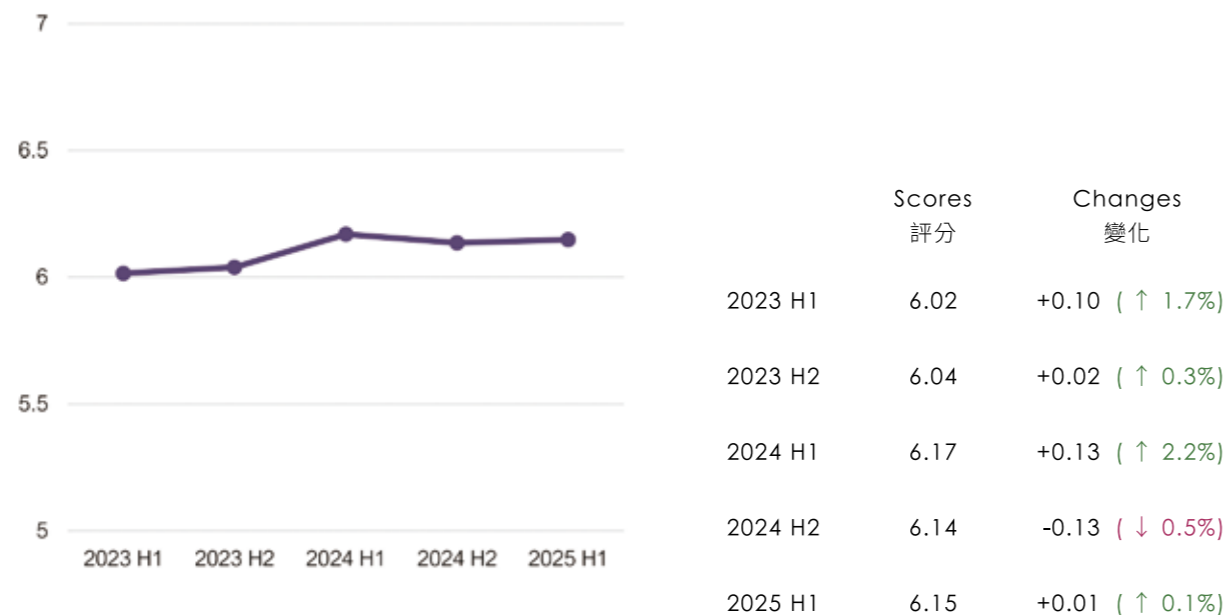
The 1C2S Index represents the average score of three pillars on public opinion and three pillars on international perception. The three pillars on public opinion, namely 'high degree of autonomy', 'human rights and freedom' and 'Hong Kong-Mainland relationship' reflect Hong Kong residents' evaluations on different aspects of 1C2S. The three pillars on international perception, namely 'economic openness', 'civil liberty' and 'democratic development', are based on the evaluation by international think tanks regarding various aspects of freedom and democracy in Hong Kong. The methodology is explained in Appendix I.

Figure 1 illustrates the trend of the "One Country, Two Systems" index since the first half of 2023. The latest index for the first half of 2025 is 6.15, reflecting a slight increase of 0.16% from the previous period. This growth is primarily driven by the overall improvement in the international community's evaluation of Hong Kong.

「一國兩制」指數為民意調查3項支柱及國際評價3項支柱的平均值。民意調查的3項支柱為「高度自治」、「人權自由」及「內港關係」，用以量度公眾對「一國兩制」的評價；國際評價的3項支柱為「經濟開放」、「公民權利」及「民主發展」，是國際智庫對香港自由和民主程度的評估。指數的編製方法詳見附件I。

圖1呈現了「一國兩制」指數自2023年上半年以來的變化趨勢。2025年上半年最新公布指數為6.15分，較上一期微幅上升0.16%，此一增長主要源自國際社會對香港評價的整體提升。

Figure 1: 1C2S Index
圖1：「一國兩制」指數



2.1. 民意調查 Public opinion

Table 1 presents the scoring results of various pillars and sub-pillars from the public opinion survey conducted in the first half of 2025. Compared to the previous half-year, the scores for the three core pillars exhibit differentiated trends. The "high degree of autonomy" pillar showed a slight increase of 0.2% from the second half of 2024, reaching a score of 5.22. In contrast, the "human rights and freedom" pillar declined by 1.9 percentage points to 5.24, while the "Hong Kong-mainland relations" pillar also experienced a modest drop of 0.9 percentage points, settling at 5.55.

In this round of the survey, all 12 sub-pillars experienced some fluctuations in scores. The sub-pillar "original ways of life" recorded the largest decline at -4.1%, followed by "equal protection of the law" at -2.6%, "Hong Kong people administrating Hong Kong" at -1.7%, and "maintaining long-term prosperity and stability" also at -1.7%.

The leading sub-pillars include "safeguarding national sovereignty, security & development interests" (6.56), "equal protection of the law" (5.98), and "original ways of life" (5.81). Conversely, the three lowest-scoring sub-pillars remain "freedom of speech, association and assembly" (4.37), "Hong Kong People administrating Hong Kong" (4.65), and "democratic development" (4.79), consistent with the previous survey results.

表1展示了2025年上半年民意調查中各支柱及子支柱的評分結果。與前半年相比，三大核心支柱的評分呈現差異化變動趨勢。其中，「高度自治」支柱的評分較2024年下半年微升0.2%，至5.22分；「人權自由」支柱則出現下滑，降幅達1.9個百分點至5.24分；「內港關係」支柱亦小幅下跌0.9個百分點至5.55分。

在本輪調查中，全部12個子支柱的評分均發生波動。其中，「維持原有生活方式」(-4.1%)的跌幅居首，「法律平等保護」(-2.6%)、「港人治港」(-1.7%)及「維持長期繁榮穩定」(-1.7%)緊隨其後。

「維護國家主權、安全和發展利益」(6.56)、「法律平等保護」(5.98)以及「原有生活方式」(5.81)繼續保持領先優勢。相反，評分最低的三個子支柱分別是「言論、結社及集會自由」(4.37)、「港人治港」(4.65)及「民主政制發展」(4.79)，與上一輪調查一樣。



Table 1: Pillar and sub-pillar scores on public opinion
表 1：民意調查的支柱及子支柱分數

	2023 H1	2023 H2	2024 H1	2024 H2	2025 H1	
Overall 總分	5.22	5.21	5.45	5.38	5.33	
A. High Degree of Autonomy 高度自治	5.06	5.02	5.29	5.21	5.22	
A1. Self-conduct of administrative affairs 自行處理行政事務	5.48	5.22	5.59	5.43	5.48	
A2. Independent judiciary 獨立司法權	5.25	5.29	5.40	5.38	5.42	
A3. Independent legislature 獨立立法權	5.13	5.09	5.36	5.28	5.32	
A4. 'Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong' 「港人治港」	4.38	4.49	4.78	4.73	4.65	
B. Human Rights and Freedom 人權自由	5.11	5.26	5.46	5.34	5.24	
B1. Original ways of life 原有生活方式	5.77	5.77	6.08	6.06	5.81	
B2. Freedom of speech, association and assembly 言論、結社及集會自由	4.27	4.51	4.60	4.36	4.37	
B3. Democratic development 民主政制發展	4.42	4.78	4.99	4.82	4.79	
B4. Equal protection of the Law 法律平等保護	6.00	5.96	6.17	6.14	5.98	
C. Hong Kong-Mainland Relations 內港關係	5.47	5.34	5.61	5.60	5.55	
C1. Resolving via dialogue and negotiation 對話協商解決矛盾	4.75	4.89	5.38	5.25	5.27	
C2. Safeguarding national sovereignty, security & development interests 維護國家主權、安全和發展利益	6.39	6.31	6.43	6.62	6.56	
C3. Maintaining long-term prosperity and stability 維持長期繁榮穩定	5.94	5.29	5.49	5.44	5.35	
C4. Full implementation of 1C2S in the future 未來全面落實「一國兩制」	4.81	4.88	5.15	5.09	5.01	

2.1.1. 代溝及政治鴻溝 Comparison with selected regions

Figure 2 illustrates the average scores from the public opinion survey segmented by age groups. In this round of the survey, the scores across different age groups exhibited a differentiated trend, with the 50-59 age group experiencing the most significant decline of 14.1%. Overall, the average score among respondents decreased by 0.9%.

圖 2 顯示了按年齡組別劃分的民意調查平均分數。在本輪調查中，各年齡組別的評分呈現分化趨勢，其中，50-59 歲年齡組的降幅最為顯著，達 14.1%。整體而言，受訪者的平均分數下降了 0.9%。

Figure 3 presents changes in average scores categorized by political orientation. Scores across all groups have declined, with establishment supporters reporting a decrease of 3.0%, reaching a score of 8.03; moderates saw a decline of 1.8% to 5.46; and non-establishment supporters experienced a substantial drop of 6.1%, falling to 2.48.

圖 3 則按政治傾向劃分展示了民意平均得分的變化。所有派別的評分均有所下滑，其中：建制派支持者的分數下降了 3.0%，達到 8.03 分；溫和派下降 1.8% 至 5.46 分；非建制派支持者的分數大幅下降了 6.1%，跌至 2.48 分。

Statistical tests reveal significant and consistent divergences in scores among respondents of different political orientations. Compared to moderates, establishment supporters provided notably more positive evaluations, while non-establishment supporters expressed significantly more negative assessments.

統計測試顯示，不同政治傾向的受訪者在評分上存在顯著且穩定的分歧。相較於中間派，建制派支持者的評價明顯更為正面；而非建制派支持者的評價則顯著更負面。

Figure 2: Public opinion (by age group)

圖 2：民意調查（按年齡組別劃分）

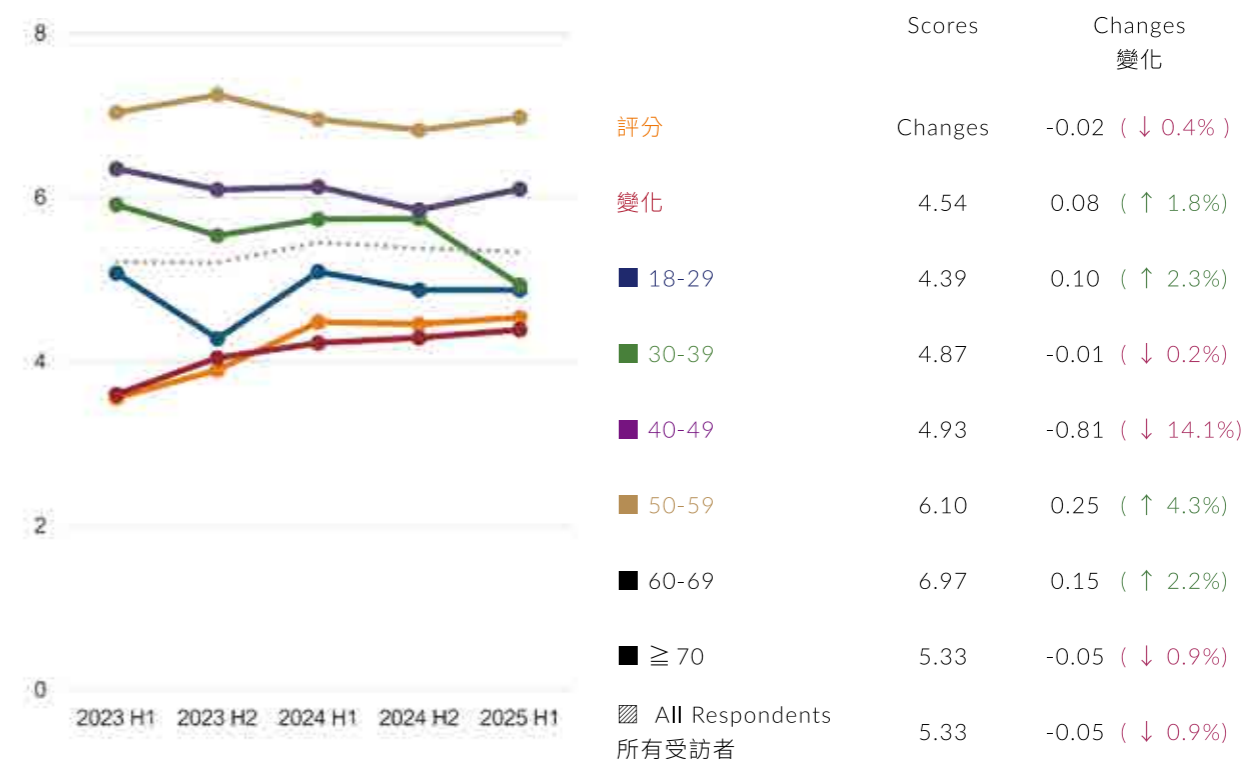
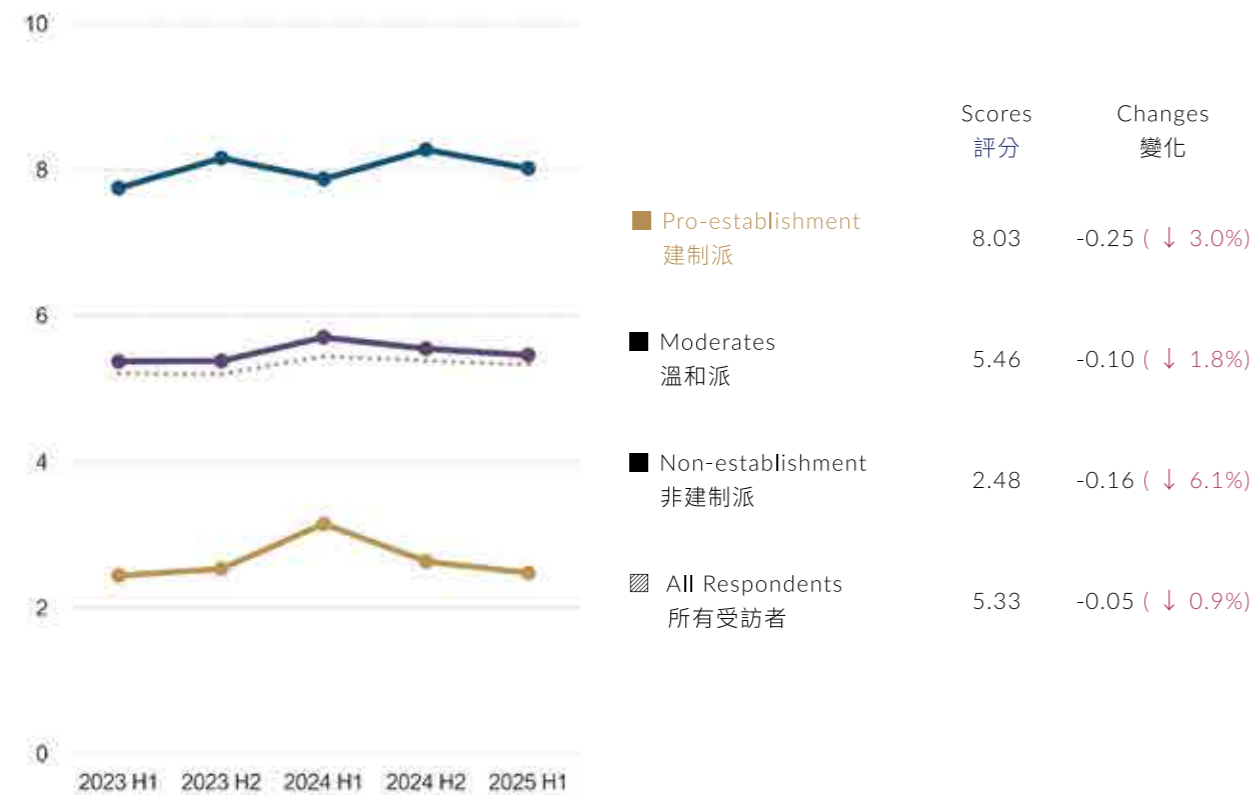


Figure 3: Public opinion (by political inclination)
圖 3：民意調查 (按政治傾向劃分)



2.2 國際評價 International perception

Table 2 presents data for Hong Kong, showing scores for each pillar and sub-pillar based on international evaluations. Compared to the previous round, the score for the "Economic Openness" pillar increased by 0.9%, reaching 9.47 points, while the "Civil Liberty" pillar rose by 1.1% to 6.29 points. The score for "Democratic Development" increased by 1.4% to 5.12 points. All sub-pillar scores showed an upward trend except for "Expression, Association, and Assembly." Among them, the sub-pillar with the largest increase was "Political Pluralism" (+3.1%).

The top three scoring sub-pillars are "Market access" (9.87), "Financial Stability" (9.73), and "Regulatory Quality" (9.26). The lowest three scoring sub-pillars are "Civic Participation" (5.16), "Political Pluralism" (3.34), and "Expression, Association, and Assembly" (2.99).

表 2 彙整了國際評價中各支柱與子支柱對香港的評分結果。與上一輪相比，「經濟開放」支柱的評分上升 0.9%，達到 9.47 分，「公民權利」支柱上升 1.1%，至 6.29 分。「民主發展」的評分上升 1.4% 至 5.12 分。各子支柱的評分除「表達、結社與集會」外，皆呈上升趨勢。其中，升幅度最大的子支柱是「政治多元」(+3.1%)。

評分最高的三個子支柱為「市場門檻」(9.87)、「金融穩定」(9.73)和「監管質素」(9.26)。評分最低的三個子支柱則為「公民參與」(5.16)、「政治多元」(3.34)以及「表達、結社和集會」(2.99)。

Table 2: Pillar and sub-pillar scores on international perception
表 2：國際評價的支柱和子支柱分數

	2023 H1	2023 H2	2024 H1	2024 H2	2025 H1
Overall 總分	6.82 (42)	6.87 (39)	6.89 (40)	6.89 (39)	6.96(38)
D. Economic Openness 經濟開放	9.17 (2)	9.31 (2)	9.35 (2)	9.39 (2)	9.47 (2)
D1. Business environment 營商環境	8.66 (2)	8.98 (2)	8.99 (2)	8.99 (2)	9.02 (2)
D2. Market access 市場門檻	9.70 (1)	9.71 (1)	9.76 (1)	9.75 (1)	9.87 (1)
D3. Regulatory quality 監管質素	8.95 (2)	9.17 (2)	9.12 (2)	9.12 (2)	9.26 (2)
D4. Financial stability 金融穩定	9.37 (4)	9.36 (4)	9.52 (3)	9.72 (1)	9.73 (1)
E. Civil Liberty 公民權利	6.23 (73)	6.24 (73)	6.26 (72)	6.22 (72)	6.29 (71)
E1. Rule of law 法治	6.40 (43)	6.42 (43)	6.40 (43)	6.38 (42)	6.55 (40)
E2. Security and safety 安全	8.11 (36)	8.20 (35)	8.23 (34)	8.15 (37)	8.18 (35)
E3. Expression, association and assembly 表達、結社與集會	3.08 (126)	2.95 (126)	2.99 (126)	2.99 (126)	2.99 (125)
E4. Individual rights 個人權利	7.34 (55)	7.41 (51)	7.40 (53)	7.36 (54)	7.46 (51)
F. Democratic Development 民主發展	5.04 (91)	5.06 (90)	5.06 (90)	5.05 (90)	5.12 (86)
F1. Constraints on powers 權力制約	5.39 (64)	5.43 (63)	5.40 (64)	5.44 (64)	5.51 (60)
F2. Political pluralism 政治多元	3.23 (125)	3.23 (125)	3.24 (122)	3.24 (122)	3.34 (121)
F3. Civic participation 公民參與	5.74 (55)	5.77 (55)	5.16 (76)	5.15 (76)	5.16 (74)
F4. Democratic culture 民主文化	5.81 (75)	5.81 (73)	6.42 (54)	6.37 (53)	6.47 (52)

Note: The number in parentheses indicate the world ranking.

註：括號內的數字為世界排名。

2.2.1. 選定地區比較 Comparison with selected regions

In general, developed regions score higher in freedom and democracy than developing regions. As a developed area, Hong Kong's performance will be compared with that of neighbouring developed countries and regions, including Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan. Additionally, we will compare Hong Kong with mainland China and the United States to better understand its development under the "One Country, Two Systems" framework.

Table 3 compares the scores of Hong Kong and selected neighbouring regions across various pillars in international evaluations. Hong Kong stands out particularly in "Economic Openness," scoring 9.39 points and ranking second globally, surpassing Taiwan (7.89), Japan (7.56), and South Korea (6.92).

In terms of "Civil Liberty," Hong Kong scored 6.29 points, showing a slight increase from the previous round, ranking 71st globally. This score remains lower than those of neighbouring regions such as Singapore (6.97), Taiwan (8.31), South Korea (8.21), and Japan (9.05).

Regarding "Democratic Development," Hong Kong's score rose to 5.12 points but still lags behind nearby developed regions, such as Singapore (6.85), South Korea (7.62), Taiwan (8.21), and Japan (8.65).

Overall, in the past six months, the average international evaluation scores of selected regions, except for mainland China, South Korea, and Singapore, have shown an upward trend.

一般而言，發達地區在自由和民主方面的評分高於發展中地區。作為一個發達地區，香港的表現將與鄰近的發達國家和地區進行比較，包括日本、韓國、新加坡和台灣。此外，我們也將香港與中國內地及美國進行對比，以更好地理解香港在「一國兩制」框架下的發展情況。

表 3 比較了香港和選定鄰近地區在國際評價中各項支柱的評分。香港在「經濟開放」表現尤為突出，得分為 9.39 分，全球排名第二，超越台灣（7.89）、日本（7.56）和南韓（6.92）。

在「公民權利」方面，香港的得分為 6.29 分，較上一輪略有上升，全球排名第 71 名。這一分數仍低於鄰近的新加坡（6.97）、台灣（8.31）、韓國（8.21）及日本（9.05）。

至於「民主發展」方面，香港的得分上升為 5.12 分，但仍低於周邊發達地區，如新加坡（6.85）、南韓（7.62）、台灣（8.21）和日本（8.65）。

整體而言，在過去半年，除中國內地、南韓和新加坡外，其他選定地區的平均國際評價得分均呈上升趨勢。

Table 3: Pillar scores on international perception of selected regions

表 3：選定地區之國際評價支柱分數

	D. Economic Openness 經濟開放		E. Civil Liberty 公民權利		F. Democratic Development 民主發展		Overall 總分	
	Score 分數	Rank 排名	Score 分數	Rank 排名	Score 分數	Rank 排名	Score 分數	Rank 排名
Hong Kong 香港	9.47	↑ (2)	6.29	↑ (71)	5.12	↑ (86)	6.96	↑ (38)
Mainland China 中國內地	6.80	↓ (36)	3.04	↑ (139)	2.35	↓ (139)	4.06	↓ (123)
Japan 日本	7.56	↑ (21)	9.05	- (13)	8.65	↑ (12)	8.42	↑ (14)
South Korea 南韓	6.92	↓ (32)	8.21	↓ (31)	7.62	↓ (33)	7.58	↓ (31)
Singapore 新加坡	9.50	↓ (1)	6.97	↑ (54)	6.85	↑ (44)	7.77	↓ (24)
Taiwan 台灣	7.89	↑ (13)	8.31	↑ (29)	8.21	↓ (21)	8.14	↑ (19)
United States 美國	8.15	↑ (8)	8.12	↓ (34)	7.82	↑ (31)	8.03	↑ (20)

Note: The number in parentheses indicate the world ranking.
註：括號內的數字為世界排名。

2.2.2. 全球趨勢 Global trend

Figure 4 presents the global trend of international evaluations for the first half of 2025. The global economy is slowly adjusting amid inflationary pressures and fluctuating interest rates. The new U.S. administration's shift in foreign policy has further exacerbated geopolitical tensions with countries such as China and Russia, introducing uncertainty into the global economic recovery.

Nevertheless, driven by the expansion of the digital economy and investments in green industries, the global average score for the "Economic Openness" pillar has increased slightly by 0.02 points (+0.4%), reaching 5.71. Open economies like Singapore (9.50) and Hong Kong (9.47) continue to lead in this area.

On the political and social front, the "Civil Liberty" score has risen modestly to 6.13 (+0.3%), reflecting limited improvements in rights protection in certain regions. However, political polarization remains persistent in many countries, with deepening domestic divides in the United States attracting significant international attention. In Europe, the rise of far-right forces has led to stricter immigration policies, exacerbating social division and political instability. At the same time, restrictions on freedom of speech and press persist in some areas, as governments use legislative measures to tighten control over media narratives and dissenting voices.

Additionally, the global average score for "Democratic Development" stands at 5.59, a decrease of 0.03 points (-0.5%), indicating increasing pressure on the quality of democracy. Countries in Eastern Europe have implemented stricter restrictions on non-governmental organizations, constraining their operational space and suppressing opposition voices. Reports of electoral fraud in multiple global elections further undermine public trust in the legitimacy of democratic processes.

圖 4 展示了 2025 年上半年國際評價的全球趨勢。全球經濟在通脹壓力與利率波動中緩慢調整，美國新政府上任後的外交政策轉向進一步加劇了與中國、俄羅斯等國的地緣政治緊張關係，為全球經濟復蘇帶來不確定性。

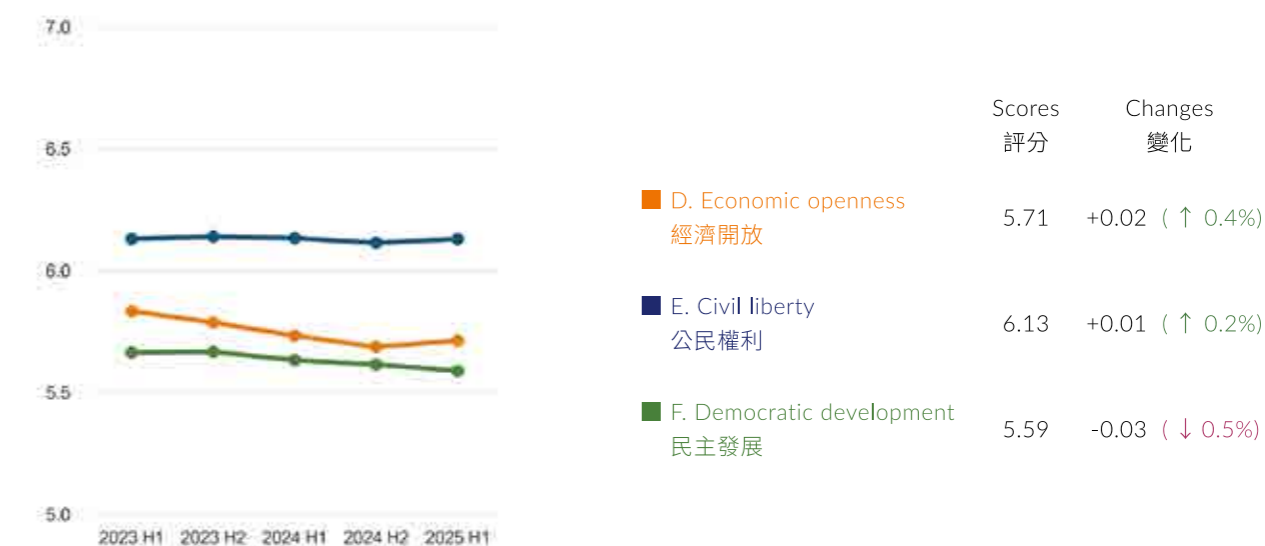
儘管如此，在數字經濟和綠色產業投資擴張的帶動下，「經濟開放」支柱的全球平均分數較上一期微升 0.02 分（+ 0.4%），達到 5.71 分。新加坡（9.50 分）和香港（9.47 分）等開放型經濟體繼續保持領先地位。

在政治與社會層面，「公民權利」評分小幅上升至 6.13 分（+ 0.3%），反映部分地區在權利保障方面出現有限改善。然而，多國政治極化現象持續，美國國內政治分歧深化，其政策動向引發國際社會廣泛關注。歐洲極右勢力影響力上升，移民政策趨於嚴格，社會分裂與政治不穩定狀況有所加劇。與此同時，部分地區對言論自由及新聞自由的限制依然存在，政府通過立法手段加強對媒體敘事和異見聲音的控制。

此外，「民主發展」全球平均分數為 5.59 分，較前期下降 0.03 分（- 0.5%），顯示民主品質面臨的壓力仍在增大。東歐等國家對非政府組織實施更嚴格限制，壓縮其運作空間並打壓反對聲音。全球多場選舉中報告的舞弊爭議，進一步削弱了公眾對民主程序合法性的信任。

Figure 4: Global trend of pillar scores on international perception

圖 4：國際評價支柱分數的全球趨勢



2.3. 重大事件 Significant events

This round of index surveys has been marked by significant political controversies and major events, both locally and internationally, which may be closely linked to the fluctuations in the 1C2S Index. The following section outlines key events that occurred between January and June 2025, providing a comprehensive understanding of the evolving trends within the Index.

本輪指數調查期間，本地和國際上發生了多宗政治爭議和事件，可能對「一國兩制」指數的波動產生影響。以下內容概述了2025年1月至2025年6月期間發生的關鍵事件，有助更全面理解指數變化趨勢。

Table 4: Significant events

表 4：重大事件一覽

1.13	Robert Chung, President and Chief Executive Officer, Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute was taken by the Police's National Security Department to assist in the investigation of former Vice Chief Executive Chung Kim-wah, wanted for inciting secession.	香港民研主席鍾庭耀被警方國安處帶走，協助調查前副行政總裁鍾劍華涉煽動分裂國家被通緝案。
2.1	U.S. President Donald Trump announced a 10% tariff on Chinese products. The U.S. Postal Service has suspended the acceptance of packages from Hong Kong and Mainland China, while also ending the tax exemption for items valued under \$800.	美國總統特朗普宣佈對中國產品加徵10%關稅。美國郵政即停收中港包裹，同時取消800美元以下中國商品的免稅待遇。
2.19	The Labour and Welfare Bureau proposed significant amendments to the Trade Unions Ordinance, citing national security concerns, to enhance the regulation of trade unions.	勞工及福利局以維護國家安全為由，提出大幅修訂《職工會條例》，完善職工會規管制度。
2.20	The Hong Kong Democratic Party announced its dissolution.	香港民主黨宣布解散。
2.27	Ex-lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting and six others were convicted in connection with the "rioting" at Yuen Long MTR station on July 21, 2019.	時任立法會議員林卓廷等七人，因涉2019年7月21日在港鐵元朗站內「暴動案」被裁定罪成。
3.6	The Court of Final Appeal unanimously ruled in favor of the "Hong Kong Alliance's refusal to provide information case," overturning the convictions of Chow Hang-tung and two others.	終審法院一致裁定「支聯會拒交資料案」終極上訴得直，鄒幸同等三人獲撤銷定罪及刑罰。
3.11	In the Wan Chai conflict case on August 31, 2019, social worker Chen Hung-sau was found guilty of "rioting" after a retrial following an appeal by the Department of Justice.	2019年8月31日灣仔衝突案，經律政司上訴重審後，社工陳紅秀原「暴動罪」改判罪成。
3.31	The U.S. Department of State announced sanctions against six officials from Hong Kong and mainland China, including Secretary for Justice Paul Lam, then-Commissioner of Police Raymond Siu, and Head of Office for Safeguarding National Security of CPG, Dong Jingwei.	美國國務院宣佈制裁六名中港官員，包括律政司司長林定國、警務處處長蕭澤頤及駐港國安公署署長董經緯。
4.1	The Court of Final Appeal ruled in favor of the Department of Justice's appeal, reinstating the conviction and sentence of former lawmaker Lam Cheuk-ting in the "disclosing probe case".	終審法院裁定律政司上訴得直，恢復時任立法會議員林卓廷在「披露收查人士案」中的定罪及判刑。
4.2	U.S. President Trump implemented "reciprocal tariffs" globally, leading to ongoing tariff increases between the U.S. and China. In response, the Hong Kong SAR Government rolled out measures to enhance cooperation with ASEAN, the Middle East, and countries involved in the Belt and Road Initiative. These efforts aim to bolster economic resilience and diversify trade partnerships amid escalating tensions. In the same month, Trump once again revoked the tariff exemption for small packages from Hong Kong and mainland China. As a result, Hongkong Post implemented a phased suspension of mail services to the United States.	美國總統特朗普對全球實施「對等關稅」，中美則持續互相加徵關稅，香港特區政府推出應對措施，包括加與東盟、中東、一帶一路國家合作。同月，特朗普再度取消中港小額包裹關稅豁免。香港郵政遂分階段停收赴美郵件。
4.30	Police's National Security Department made its first arrests under the National Security Law for "handling of fugitives' funds," detaining two individuals involved in the case.	香港國安處首次依《維護國家安全條例》，以「企圖處理潛逃者財產罪」拘捕兩名涉案人士。
5.30	The signing ceremony for the Convention on the Establishment of the International Organisation for Mediation was held in Hong Kong, where representatives from 33 countries signed the agreement, officially becoming founding member states.	國際調解院公約簽署儀式在香港舉行，33國代表現場簽署，正式成為創始成員國。
6.3	National Security Department of the Police Force arrested several individuals for allegedly claiming to have placed bombs at central government institutions in Hong Kong and at the Kai Tak Sports Park.	警方國安處拘捕數人，涉宣稱在中央駐港機構及啟德體育園放置炸彈。
6.12	The Office for Safeguarding National Security, together with the National Security Department of the Police, arrested six individuals for violating Article 29 of the Hong Kong National Security Law, which pertains to "collusion with a foreign country or with external elements to endanger national security."	中央駐港國安公署聯同警方國安處拘捕6人，涉違反《香港國安法》第29條「勾結外國勢力危害國家安全」。

3. 「一國兩制」輿情指數 1C2S Mass Media Index

Media sentiment plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion. We employ big data techniques to assess media sentiment regarding 1C2S and to monitor its coverage in the mass media. This approach serves as a timely barometer of public sentiment. The 1C2S MMI calculates the daily net sentiment of media reports, with a quarterly average presented in this section to align with and complement our main index, which is compiled biannually. The methodology is detailed in Appendix I.

媒體傳遞的情緒是塑造民意的重要因素。因此，我們嘗試運用大數據技術來衡量媒體情緒，從而分析大眾傳媒對「一國兩制」的態度與看法，並編製反映輿論情緒的「一國兩制」晴雨表。「一國兩制」輿情指數基於每日媒體文章的情緒淨值計算，本章節展示其季度平均值，以配合並補充我們每半年發布的主指數。詳細的編製方法請參見附錄 I。

3.1. 近期趨勢 Recent trend

The previous fall sustained in the second half of 2023 until President Xi's reply letter to Hong Kong students expressed his care to the younger generation and the Chief Executive's overseas visit to ASEAN expanded business opportunities. Despite foreign concerns regarding the city's political landscape and human rights development, MMI continued to soar as a new development plan for synergistic growth of Shenzhen and Hong Kong's innovative and technology sector and the completed election and appointment of new District Council members gathered hopeful news. Consequently, MMI recovered to 155.3 in 2023 Q4.

2023 年中，習近平主席回信本港學生，表達對年輕一代的殷切期望；同時，特首到東盟外訪以拓展商機，成功扭轉輿情指數早前的跌勢。儘管外國仍持續關注香港的政治發展及人權問題，但隨著深港河套創新發展規劃的出台，以及新一屆區議會選舉和委任工作的圓滿完成，輿情指數持續攀升，並在 2023 年第 4 季度達到 155.3 點。

In the first half of 2024, positive media coverage and public sentiment regarding Hong Kong significantly declined. The Asian Financial Forum 2024, held at the beginning of the year, and the visit by Xia Baolong, the Director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, garnered some positive media attention. However, the subsequent reintroduction of Article 23 to the legislative agenda attracted considerable international scrutiny and criticism, raising concerns about further erosion of Hong Kong's autonomy and civil liberties. By the end of Q2 2024, MMI had dropped to 133.7.

2024 年上半年，有關香港的正面媒體報導和輿論顯著下跌。年初舉行的 2024 年亞洲金融論壇，以及國務院港澳事務辦公室主任夏寶龍訪港調研，曾引發媒體的正面關注。然而，隨著第 23 條立法重新提上議程，國際社會對此表達了廣泛關注與批評，並引發對香港自治及公民自由進一步受侵蝕的擔憂。至 2024 年第 2 季度末，輿情指數下降至 133.7 點。

Overall, the number of official news reports increased in the latter half of 2024, emphasizing national development strategies released by the central government, including the resolution on further comprehensively deepening reform to advance Chinese modernization. This resolution underscored the significance of the 1C2S framework. Additionally, President Xi's reply to Hong Kong entrepreneurs with Ningbo roots became a focal point of discussion in the business community, further promoting Hong Kong's integration into the national development framework. Coinciding with the 25th anniversary of Macau's return, President Xi reiterated in his speech that the practice of 1C2S has entered a new stage and the cause of 1C2S is to enhance development in both SARs, allowing the regions to contribute more significantly to China's progress. In this context, the MMI reached 164.0 points in the second half of 2024.

2024 年下半年，官方新聞報道數量顯著增加，重點關注中央政府發布的國家發展戰略，包括推進中國現代化的全面深化改革決議。該決議強調了「一國兩制」框架的重要性。此外，習主席回信祖籍為寧波的香港企業家，成為商界熱議的焦點，進一步推動香港融入國家發展框架的進程。適逢澳門回歸 25 週年，習主席在講話中重申「一國兩制」實踐已進入新階段，並指出實現兩個特別行政區的蓬勃發展是新時代「一國兩制」實踐的重要使命。在此背景下，2024 年下半年的 MMI 指數飆升至 164.0 點。

In the first half of 2025, the International Monetary Fund delegation completed its fourth consultation on the HKSAR, acknowledging a gradual economic recovery and affirming Hong Kong's role as an international financial center. At the year's start, the Hong Kong Generative AI Research and Development Center launched HKGAI V1, the city's first large model utilizing DeepSeek's full parameter fine-tuning, marking a significant breakthrough in AI and attracting positive media attention. However, this momentum shifted when the U.S. imposed sanctions on six officials from the central and Hong Kong governments, leading to negative media coverage and a decline in public sentiment. During National Security Education Day and the fifth anniversary of the Hong Kong National Security Law, statements from central officials helped stabilize the MMI index at 148.0 points by mid-year.

2025 年上半年，國際貨幣基金組織代表團完成對香港特別行政區的第四條磋商討論後，認同本港經濟逐步復蘇，並肯定香港作為國際金融中心的地位與功能。年初，香港生成式人工智慧研發中心發佈全港首個基於 DeepSeek 全參數微調並持續訓練的大模型 HKGAI V1，標誌著本地人工智能領域的重大突破，引發媒體高度正面關注。隨後，因美國政府宣佈對 6 名中央和香港政府官員實施制裁，媒體關注轉向負面，輿情指數持續下跌。適逢全民國家安全教育日及香港國安法公佈實施五周年論壇，中央駐港官員的發言凝聚民心，推動 MMI 指數於半年末回穩，至 148.0 點。

Figure 5: 1C2S MMI (quarterly average)

圖 5：「一國兩制」輿情指數（季度結）



3.2. 傳播媒介變化 Channel variations

Figure 6 presents the MMI indices across various media channels, including television and radio, newspapers, and online-only media. The latest data indicates that television and radio scored 155.0, a decrease of 12.0% from the previous period; newspapers scored 146.5, a slight increase of 1.9%; while online media scored 138.3, reflecting a decline of 10.6%. Overall, the MMI index for the "One Country, Two Systems" framework stands at 148.0, down 9.8%.

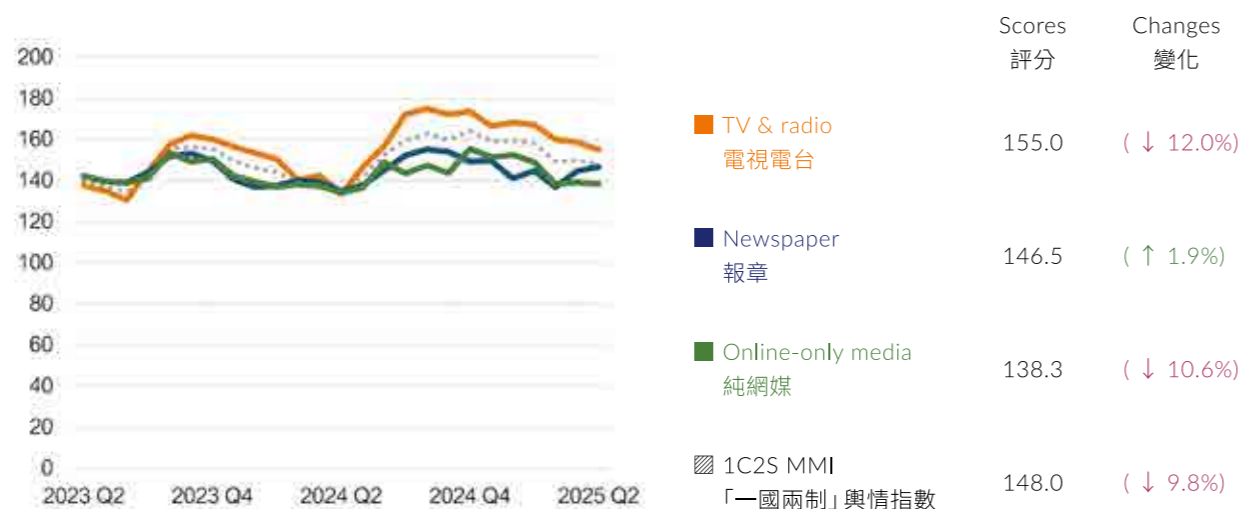
Analysis reveals that television and radio reports tend to be more positive, whereas online media displays a more critical tone. This discrepancy may be attributed to traditional media placing greater emphasis on policy promotion, while online platforms offer a broader range of expressions. Between the second quarter of 2019 and the second quarter of 2020, television and radio, along with newspapers, exhibited a shift toward criticism, resulting in more negative sentiment indices compared to online media. Subsequently, traditional media returned to their usual reporting style, leading to a rebound in sentimental indices. The emotional divergence between newspapers and online media has gradually widened, reflecting structural differences in audience targeting and editorial positions.

圖 6 顯示了各類媒體渠道的 MMI 指數，包括電視及電台、報紙和純網上媒體。最新數據顯示：電視及電台的得分為 155.0，較上一期下跌 12.0%；報紙得分為 146.5，微升 1.9%；而純網上媒體得分為 138.3，下跌 10.6%。整體而言，「一國兩制」框架的 MMI 指數為 148.0，下跌 9.8%。

觀察發現，電視及電台報道傾向較為正面，純網媒則較多批判，可能因傳統媒體更注重政策宣傳，而網絡媒體多元表達空間較大。2019 年第二季度至 2020 年第二季度期間，電視及電台與報紙一度趨向批評，情緒指數較純網媒更負面。其後傳統媒體恢復一貫風格，情緒指數回升。報紙與純網媒的情緒差異隨後逐漸擴大，反映兩者在受眾定位和編輯立場上存在結構性分歧。

Figure 6: 1C2S MMI (by media channels)

圖 6：「一國兩制」輿情指數（按傳播媒介劃分）



4. 政治傾向 Political Orientation

Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of political orientations among Hong Kong residents. The latest survey results indicate that moderates, including "centrists" and those with "no political inclination," have slightly decreased by 1.1 percentage points, yet they maintain their status as the largest group at 77.6%. Non-establishment supporters account for 11.3%, reflecting a minor decline of 0.3 percentage points since six months ago, while establishment supporters have increased slightly to 8.0%, up by 0.8 percentage points.

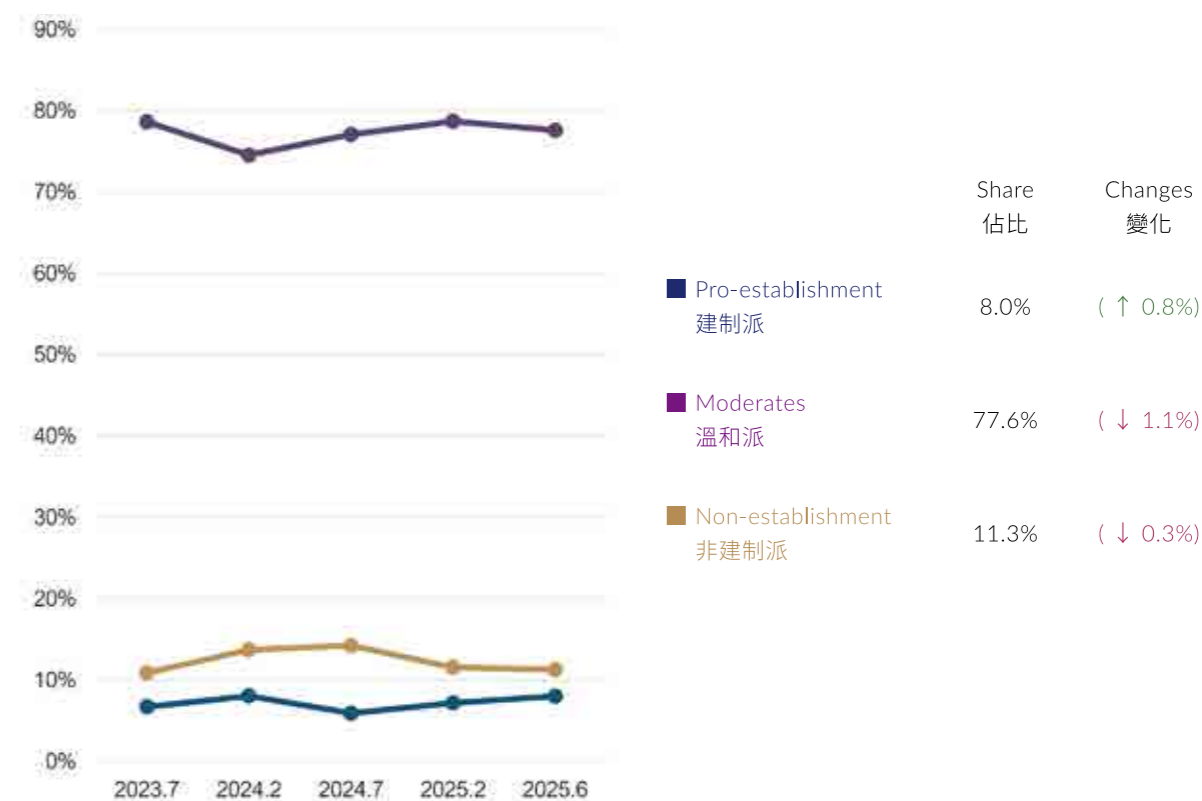
The survey data also reveal a clear trend of demobilization and moderation within Hong Kong society. The sustained proportion of centrists suggests a shift in mainstream public opinion towards more moderate views. The dynamics between establishment and non-establishment support reflect a mutually exclusive relationship, with supporters from both camps increasingly identifying with centrist positions. This indicates a gradual movement towards a more moderate political environment in Hong Kong.

圖 7 顯示香港市民的政治傾向分佈情況。本輪調查結果顯示，溫和派，包括「中間派」和「沒有政治傾向」雖較上輪調查微降 1.1 個百分點，仍以 77.6% 的佔比保持最大群體地位；非建制派支持者佔 11.3%，較半年前小幅下降 0.3 個百分點；建制派支持者佔 8.0%，較前期微升 0.8 個百分點。

調查數據亦揭示，香港社會呈現明顯的去激進化和溫和化趨勢。中間派的比例持續佔多，反映主流民意趨向溫和；建制派與非建制派支持度呈現此消彼長態勢；兩大陣營均有支持者轉向認同中間立場，表明香港政治環境正逐步向溫和化方向發展。

Figure 7: Political inclination of population

圖 7：香港市民政治傾向



4.1. 香港青年的去激進化 De-radicalisation of youths

Figure 8 illustrates the evolving political orientations among the youth aged 18 to 29. The latest survey results indicate a continued rise in the proportion of moderates, increasing by 5.6 percentage points to a historic high of 82.0%. In contrast, the overall share of non-establishment supporters has decreased to 18.6%. Within this group, support for the "Democratic" faction has declined by 4.8 percentage points to 15.5%, while "Other Non-Establishment" supporters, primarily from the "Localist" camp, have sharply decreased by 5.6 percentage points to 3.1%. Establishment supporter levels have seen a slight increase of 0.5 percentage points, remaining low at 2.4%.

From mid-2017 to early 2019, there were positive indications of a demobilization trend among the youth. However, this trend later reversed, with a surge in non-establishment supporters temporarily surpassing moderates, including periods when Localist supporters occasionally outnumbered Democratic supporters. Since mid-2020, the radicalization has significantly eased, leading to a decline in Localist support and a resurgence of moderates, who now surpass the total of non-establishment supporters. The latest data reflect a sustained trend toward moderation among the youth, indicating a broader transformation in the political landscape.

Figure 8: Political inclination of youths
圖 8：青年的政治傾向

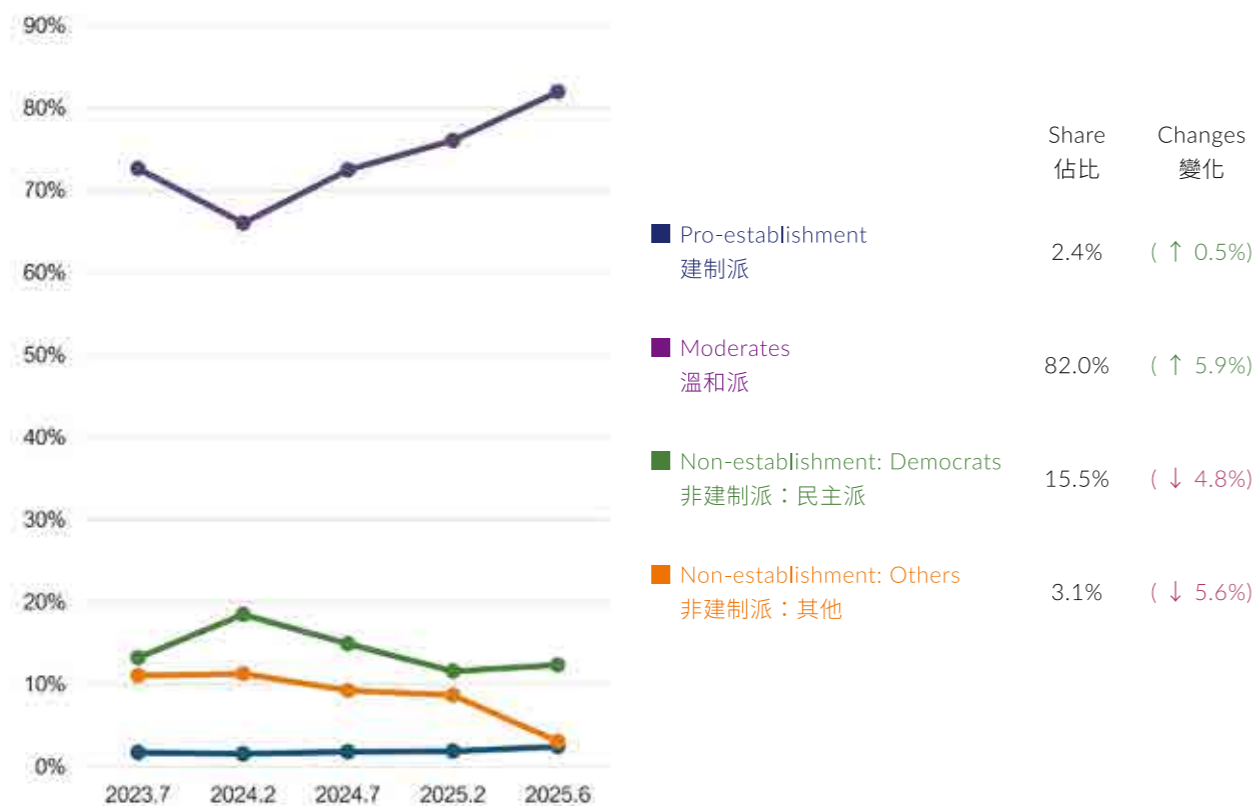


圖 8 顯示了 18 至 29 歲青年群體的政治傾向演變趨勢。本輪調查結果顯示，「溫和派」比例持續攀升，較上輪調查上升 5.6 個百分點，達到 82.0% 的歷史高位；「非建制派」整體佔比降至 18.6%，其中：「民主派」：下降 4.8 個百分點至 15.5%，「其他非建制派」（主要為「本土派」）銳減 5.6 個百分點至 3.1%；「建制派」支持度微增 0.5 個百分點，維持在 2.4% 的低位。

從 2017 年中到 2019 年初，青年群體的去激進化趨勢曾出現積極跡象。然而，這一趨勢隨後逆轉，非建制派支持者激增，一度暫時超越「溫和派」，其中「本土派」的支持者甚至偶爾超過「民主派」。自 2020 年年中以來，激進化情況顯著緩解，「本土派」支持率下降，「溫和派」重新崛起並超越非建制派總和。最新數據顯示，青年群體的溫和化趨勢持續，反映出政治環境的廣泛轉變。

5. 延續「一國兩制」 Continuation of 1C2S

A critical issue for Hong Kong's future is the sustainability of the 1C2S framework. In previous surveys, respondents were asked regarding their views on whether this constitutional arrangement should extend beyond 2047. Those who supported its continuation were subsequently asked to specify the conditions they deemed favourable for achieving this objective. However, the relevance of these inquiries diminished following the Central Government's assurance that 1C2S would be preserved in the long term. Nonetheless, understanding the public's aspirations for a preferred future remains valuable for enhancing and sustaining the 1C2S framework. Consequently, respondents were invited to identify which conditions they believe would support the continuation of 1C2S from a provided list, with the option to select multiple items:

- Maintaining a high degree of autonomy;
- Maintaining economic prosperity and stability;
- Political system democratises further;
- Safeguarding national security; and
- Others (please specify).

Figure 9 displays the proportions of respondents selecting five conditions favorable to the ongoing development of "One Country, Two Systems." Consistent with the previous survey, "maintaining economic prosperity and stability" remains the most valued condition, chosen by 62.3% of respondents, followed by "maintaining a high degree of autonomy" at 41.8%. "Safeguarding national security" ranks third at 31.9%, surpassing "political system democratizes further" at 27.6%. Notably, the proportions for these four conditions have all declined compared to the last survey, indicating a general decrease in respondents' endorsement of traditional key conditions, suggesting that societal considerations for the future development of "One Country, Two Systems" may be becoming more complex and diverse.

Figure 10 further illustrates the choice patterns among respondents with different political inclinations. In this round of the survey, non-establishment respondents showed a significant increase of 11.6% in their preference for "maintaining economic prosperity and stability," reaching 55.4%. This condition has become their top priority, surpassing "political system democratizes further" (45.2%) and "maintaining a high degree of autonomy" (43.3%). In contrast, their endorsement of "safeguarding national security" is relatively low at 13.1%.

Establishment respondents also prioritize "maintaining economic prosperity and stability" (60.6%), followed by "safeguarding national security" (55.6%) and "maintaining a high degree of autonomy" (43.2%). Their support for "political system democratizes further" is only 16.2%, indicating that this group focuses more on economic and national security issues, with democratic demands not being a primary concern.

Moderate respondents similarly emphasize "maintaining economic prosperity and stability" (64.2%). Their support for "maintaining a high degree of autonomy" has decreased compared to the previous round, currently at 41.8%, while their preference for "safeguarding national security" hovers around 31.7%. Additionally, their support for "political system democratizes further" remains relatively low at 26.6%, suggesting some alignment with establishment views on certain issues.

香港的未來發展關鍵在於「一國兩制」框架的可持續性。在以往的調查中，受訪者曾被詢問是否支持該憲制安排於 2047 年後延續，支持者則進一步被邀請提出實現延續的有利條件。隨著中央政府明確表示「一國兩制」必須長期堅持，該問題的現實迫切性雖有所下降，但公眾對「理想未來」的期望仍對完善與鞏固該制度具重要參考價值。因此，本研究邀請受訪者從以下多項條件中選擇其認為有利於「一國兩制」延續的因素（可多選）：

- 維持高度自治；
- 經濟維持繁榮穩定；
- 政制進一步民主化；
- 維持國家安全；及
- 其他（請註明）。

圖 9 顯示了受訪者對五項有利於「一國兩制」持續發展條件的選擇比例。與上一輪調查一致，「維持經濟繁榮穩定」仍然最受重視，獲 62.3% 的受訪者選擇；其次為「維持高度自治」（41.8%）。「維護國家安全」位列第三（31.9%），比例超越「政制進一步民主化」（27.6%）。值得關注的是，該四項條件的佔比均較前次調查下跌，反映受訪者對傳統關鍵延續條件的認同度普遍下降，社會對「一國兩制」未來發展可能存在更複雜多元的考量。

圖 10 進一步呈現了不同政治傾向受訪者的選擇模式。在本輪調查中，非建制派受訪者對「維持經濟繁榮穩定」的偏好大幅增加 11.6%，達到 55.4%，一躍成為其最重視的條件，超越「政制進一步民主化」（45.2%）和「維持高度自治」（43.3%）。相比之下，他們對「維護國家安全」的認同度較低（13.1%）。

建制派受訪者同樣最關注「維持經濟繁榮穩定」（60.6%），其次為「維護國家安全」（55.6%）和「維持高度自治」（43.2%）。他們對「政制進一步民主化」的支持率僅 16.2%，顯示該群體更側重經濟與國家安全議題，民主訴求並非其主要考量。

溫和派受訪者亦最重視「維持經濟繁榮穩定」（64.2%）。其對「維持高度自治」的支持率較上一輪有所下降，目前為 41.8%，而對「維護國家安全」的偏好徘徊在 31.7%。另外，該群體對「政制進一步民主化」的支持率仍相對較低（26.6%），顯示其在某些議題上與建制派觀點具有一定程度的一致性。

Figure 9: Favourable conditions for the continuation of 1C2S beyond 2047

圖 9：2047 年後繼續實行「一國兩制」的有利條件

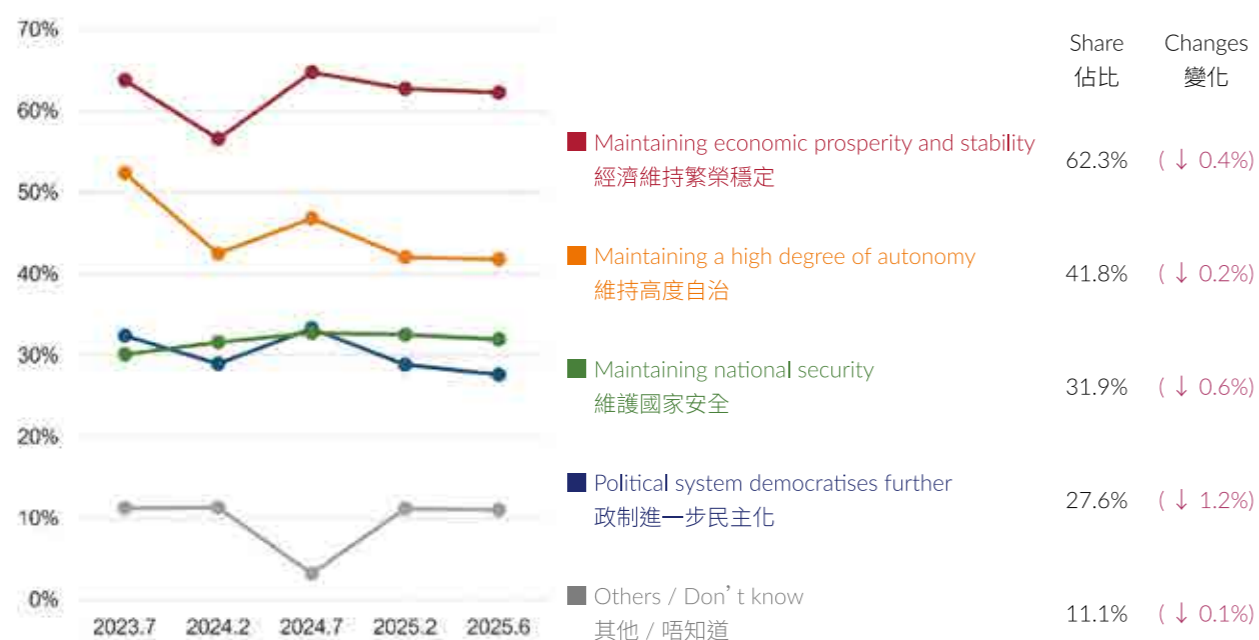
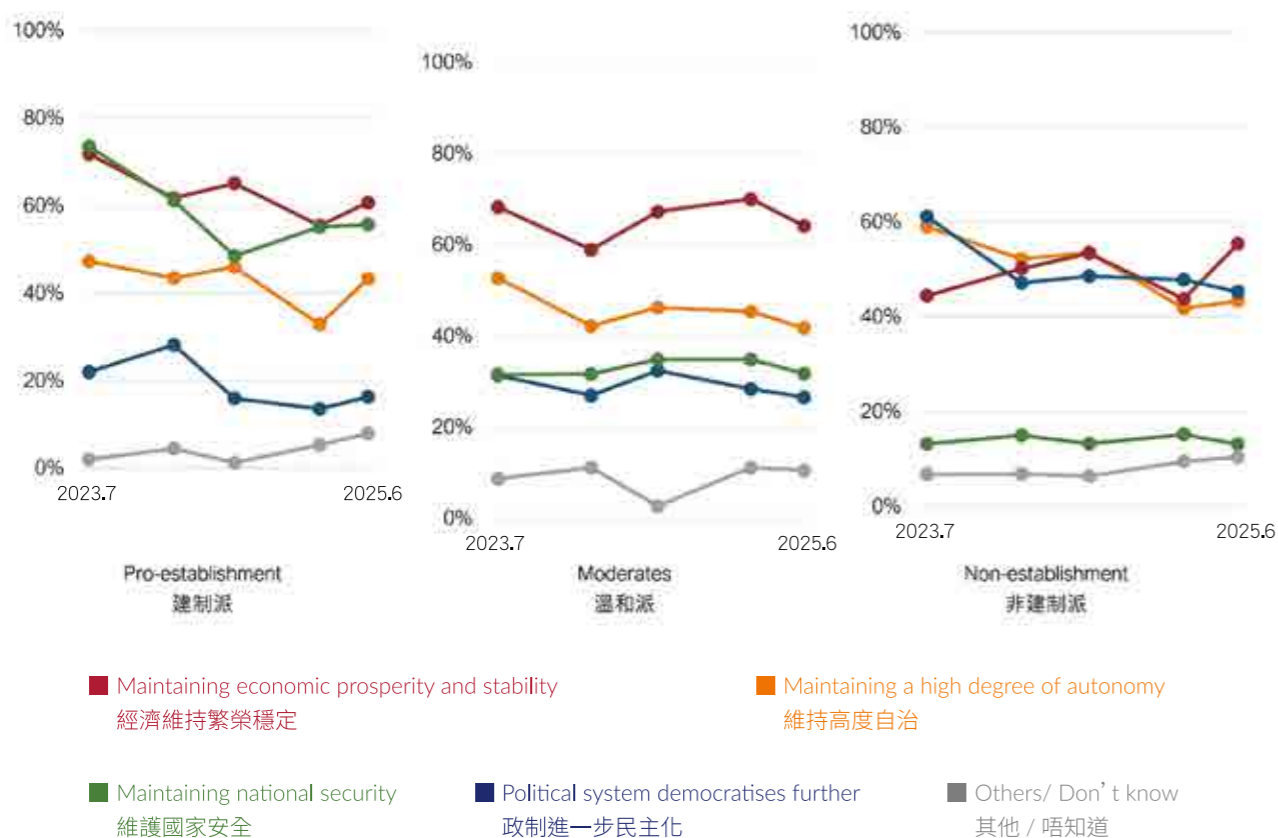


Figure 10: Favourable conditions for the continuation of 1C2S beyond 2047 (by political inclination)

圖 10：有利於 2047 年後繼續實行「一國兩制」的條件 (按政治傾向劃分)



6. 市民的身份認同 Citizens' Identity

Regarding citizens' identity, the latest findings from the survey (figure 11) indicates that respondents have a significantly higher identification with the "Hong Konger" identity compared to the "Chinese" identity. The score for "Hong Konger" identity stands at 8.82, while the score for "Chinese" identity is 7.28. Notably, although there was a convergence in scores for both identities in the second half of 2022, the gap has widened again in recent times. Nevertheless, the overall score for dual identity recognition remains high, reflecting a strong sense of identity among the populace.

Further analysis of the distribution of identity recognition combinations (Figure 12) shows that on a 0-10 evaluation scale, 67.2% of respondents express strong recognition of their dual identity, which is a slight increase of 0.2% from the previous survey. Meanwhile, the proportion identifying solely as "Hong Konger" has decreased by 1% to 24.7%, while the percentage identifying exclusively as "Chinese" has increased by 1% to 4.5%.

The data indicate that since 2022, dual identity recognition has again become mainstream, surpassing the single recognition of "Hong Konger." This shift reflects a resurgence in the recognition of the dual cultural background among Hong Kong residents, potentially suggesting a gradual easing of social tensions. It is important to note that identifying as "Chinese" does not automatically equate to patriotism; however, embracing both "Hong Konger" and "Chinese" identities is significant for fostering a sense of belonging to both China and Hong Kong. Additionally, the ongoing international criticism of China may impact the identity recognition of Hong Kong residents, with this influence expected to become more pronounced over time.

本輪有關身份認同調查結果(圖 11)顯示,受訪市民對「香港人」身份認同程度顯著高於「中國人」身份。其中,「香港人」認同得分為 8.82 分,「中國人」身份的得分為 7.28 分。值得注意的是,雖然兩種身份認同得分在 2022 年下半年曾出現趨近現象,但近期差距再次擴大。不過,雙重身份認同的得分整體仍維持在較高水準,反映出市民普遍具有強烈的身份意識。

進一步分析市民分身份認同組合分佈(圖 12),結果顯示在 0-10 分的評估量表中,67.2% 的受訪者表現出對雙重身份的強烈認同,比例較上輪微升 0.2%。與此同時,「僅香港人」的認同比例下降了 1% 至 24.7%;而「僅中國人」身份認同的比例則相應上升了 1% 至 4.5%。

數據顯示,自 2022 年以來,雙重身份認同再次成為主流,其比例已超越「僅香港人」的單一認同。這種轉變反映香港市民對自身雙重文化背景的認同感正在回升,可能意味著社會緊張局勢正逐步緩和。需要指出的是,認同「中國人」身份並不同於愛國主義,但同時認同「香港人」與「中國人」的雙重身份,對於培養對中國與香港的歸屬感具有重要意義。值得注意的是,國際社會對中國的持續批評可能會影響香港市民的身份認同,這種影響預計將隨時間推移而更加顯著。



Figure 11: Citizens' identity scores
圖 11：市民的身分認同評分

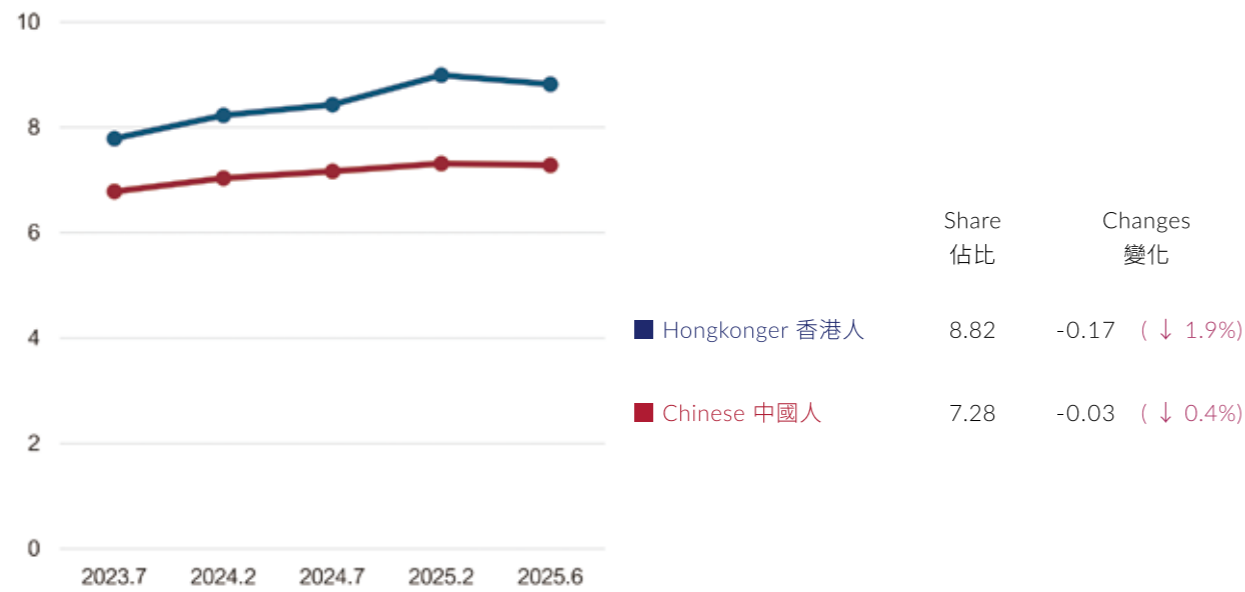
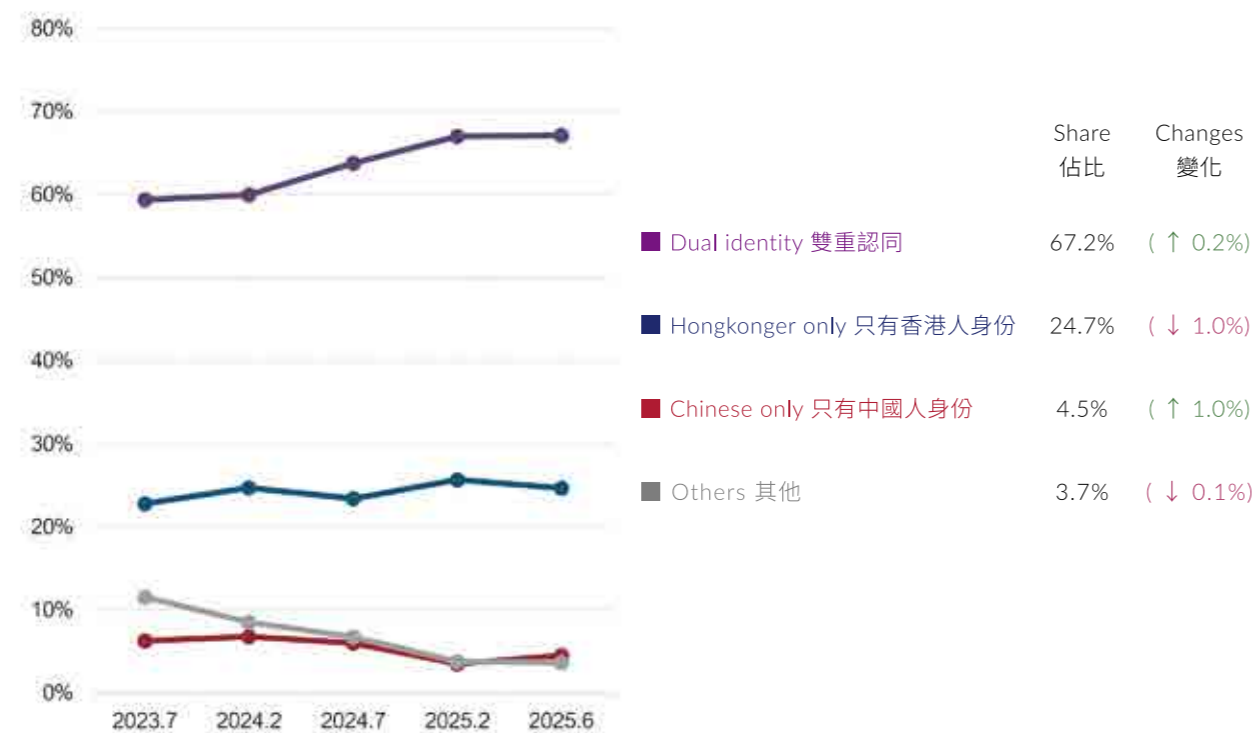


Figure 12: Citizens' identity mix
圖 12：市民的混合身分認同



6.1. 等級相關係數 Rank correlation

Statistical analysis reveals a positive correlation between identification as a 'Hongkonger' and as a 'Chinese'. The converse also held true, as the rank correlation coefficient is 0.243, which is statistically significant. The finding that the two identities of 'Hongkongers' and 'Chinese' are mutually reinforcing each other provides a strong support for the implementation of 1C2S.

統計分析結果表明，「香港人」身份認同與「中國人」身份認同之間具有正相關關係，反之亦然。其等級相關係數為 0.243，且在統計學上具有高度顯著性。這進一步顯示，「香港人」與「中國人」兩種身份認同相互增強，為「一國兩制」的實施提供了穩固的基礎。

Table 5: Rank correlation of citizens' identity
表 5：市民的身分認同等級相關係數

	2023.7	2024.2	2024.7	2025.2	2025.6
Correlation 相關係數	0.374	0.242	0.239	0.269	0.243
t-statistic t 檢定統計	12.21	7.77	7.68	8.69	7.77



7. 熱門議題 Topical Issues

7.1. 移民海外 Emigration

Table 6 presents the findings regarding residents' plans for overseas immigration. The latest survey results indicate that while a significant majority of Hong Kong residents (86.0%) report having "no plans" to emigrate—far surpassing the 12.4% who express "having plans" to immigrate—this proportion of those with "no plans" has been declining steadily for a year and a half. This trend suggests a gradual shift in public attitudes toward immigration, warranting ongoing attention to the underlying social, economic, and political factors.

Figure 13 and Figure 14 further illustrate the net changes in immigration intentions categorized by age group and political orientation. Overall, the proportion of respondents indicating "have plans" to immigrate decreases significantly with age. Among all age groups, the strongest desire to emigrate is found in the 18 to 29 and 30 to 39 age cohorts, both at 19.4%.

In terms of political orientation, as expected, the percentage of non-establishment supporters with immigration plans (31.0%) is significantly higher than that of moderates (11.1%) and establishment supporters (3.6%), indicating a clear relationship between political stance and willingness to emigrate.

It is important to note that past research suggests such surveys often overestimate actual immigration numbers, as only a small fraction of those expressing intentions ultimately follow through with their plans. Therefore, caution is warranted when interpreting these results; however, the data still provides valuable insights into shifts in public sentiment.

Additionally, recent developments, including several countries and their opposition parties considering or announcing the suspension of immigration visa programs for Hong Kong residents, may further influence citizens' immigration intentions and decision-making timelines. When assessing overall public sentiment and related polling data, it is crucial to consider that some individuals may adopt a wait-and-see approach, potentially leading to discrepancies between short-term expressed intentions and actual long-term actions.

Table 6: Public's emigration plans
表 6：市民移民海外的計劃

	2023.7	2024.2	2024.7	2025.2	2025.6
Have Plans 有打算	14.9%	17.9%	14.0%	13.2%	12.4%
No Plans 無打算	75.6%	80.8%	84.1%	83.9%	86.0%
Don't Know 唔知道	9.5%	1.3%	1.9%	2.9%	1.6%
Net Value 淨值	-60.8%	-62.9%	-70.2%	-70.7%	-73.5%

Net Value: Percent "Have Plans" minus percent "No Plans"
淨值：認為「有打算」的百分比減去認為「無打算」的百分比

表 6 顯示了市民的移民海外計劃。本輪調查結果表明，儘管大多數香港市民 (86.0%) 表示「無打算」移民，且該比例遠高於表示「打算」移民的受訪者 (12.4%)，然而「無打算」移民的佔比已連續一年半持續下降，反映市民對移民的態度正逐漸轉變，其背後涉及的社會、經濟或政治因素值得持續關注。

圖 13 和圖 14 進一步展示了按年齡組別及政治傾向劃分的移民計劃淨值變化。整體而言，表示「有打算」移民的受訪者比例隨年齡增長大幅遞減。在所有年齡組別中，以 18 至 29 歲及 30 至 39 歲群組的移民意願最為強烈，佔比均為 19.4%。

政治傾向方面，正如預期，非建制派支持者中有移民打算的比例 (31.0%) 遠高於溫和派 (11.1%) 和建制派 (3.6%)，顯示政治立場與移民意願存在明顯關聯。

值得注意的是，縱觀過往研究，這類調查往往高估實際移民人數，因僅少數表達意向者會最終落實計劃。因此，解讀時需保持謹慎，惟相關數據仍為觀測公眾情緒變動提供了重要參考。

此外，近期多個國家及其在野黨派考慮或宣布暫停針對香港居民的移民簽證計劃，此一政策環境的變化，可能進一步影響市民的移民意向與決策週期。在評估整體民意情緒及相關民調數據時，需考慮到部分公眾或因此轉為採取觀望態度，從而使得短期內的意向表達與中長期實際行動之間可能存在差異。

Figure 13: Public's emigration plans (by age group)

圖 13：市民移民海外的計劃 (按年齡組別劃分)

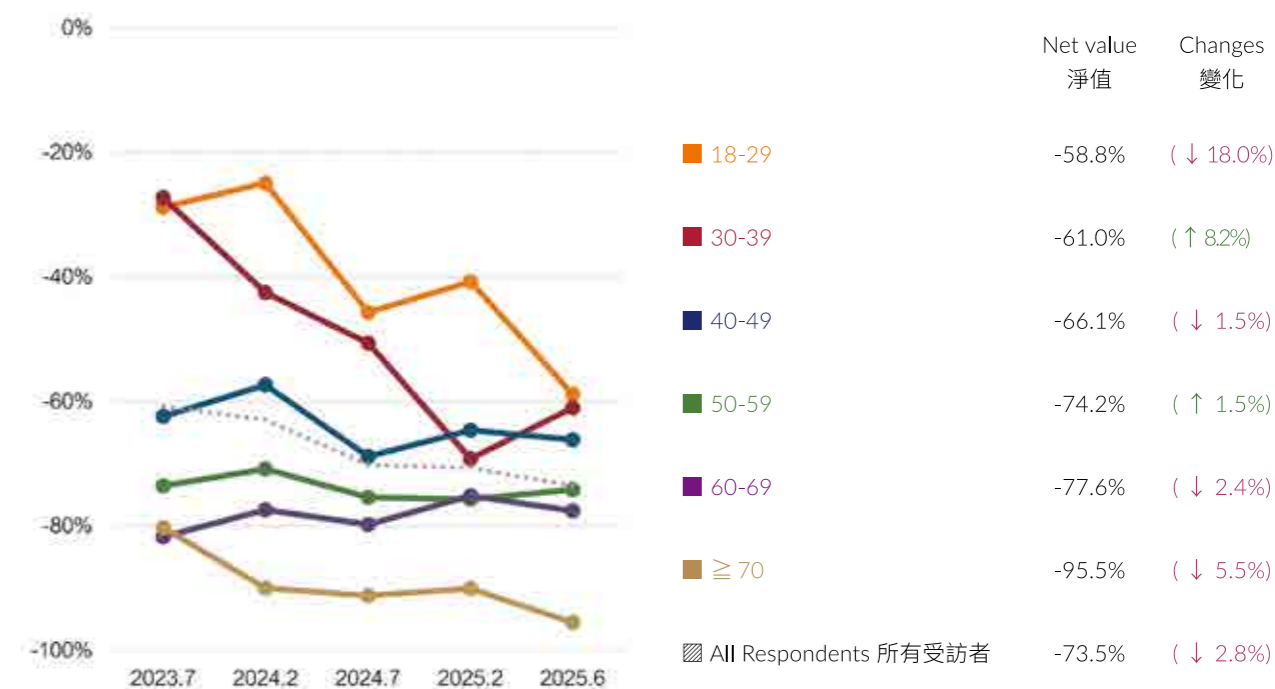
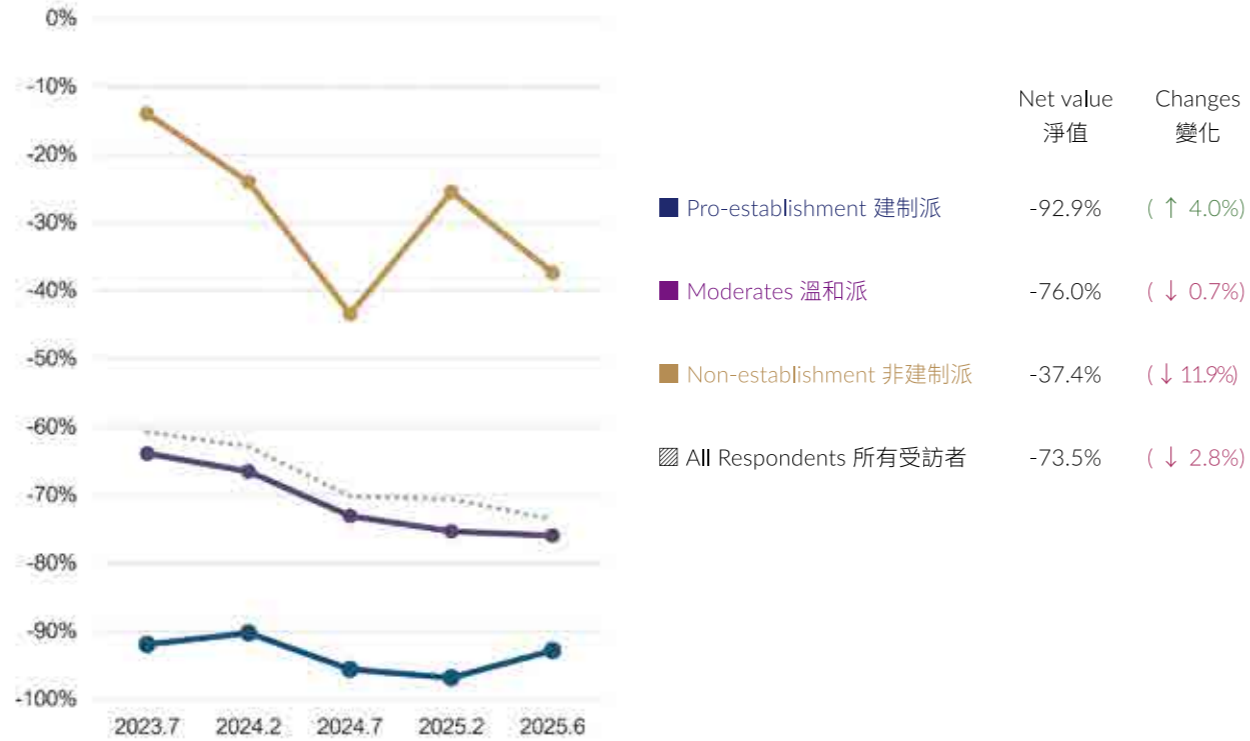


Figure 14: Public's emigration plans (by political inclination)

圖 14：市民移民海外的計劃（按政治傾向劃分）



7.2. 對香港教育制度的信心 Confidence in the Hong Kong education system

Table 7 displays the public's confidence levels in Hong Kong's education system. The latest survey results indicate a decline in overall confidence among respondents, with 41.7% expressing "no confidence," nearing the 42.5% who report feeling "confident." Consequently, the net confidence score has dropped from 3.5% to 0.8%, reflecting a shift toward a more neutral perception of the education system.

表 7 展示了公眾對香港教育制度的信心水平。本次調查結果顯示，受訪市民對本港教育制度的整體信心有所下滑：表示「無信心」的比例為 41.7%，逐步逼近表示「有信心」的比例（42.5%）。信心淨值因而從以往的 3.5% 下降至 0.8%，反映市民對教育制度的觀感趨向中性。

Examining the age distribution (Figure 15), respondents aged 70 and above exhibit the highest confidence in the education system, with a score of 63.2%. In contrast, the 30 to 39 age group represents the least confident cohort across all age ranges.

從年齡分佈（圖 15）來看，70 歲或以上的受訪者對教育制度最具信心，比例達 63.2%；相反，30-39 歲群組則為所有年齡段中最缺乏信心的群體。

Political orientation analysis (Figure 16) reveals significant disparities among respondents of different political affiliations. Establishment supporters maintain a high level of confidence in the education system, with a net score of 72.8%. Moderates show a nearly neutral confidence score of -0.1%, while non-establishment supporters exhibit a markedly low confidence score of -59.9%.

按政治傾向分析（圖 16），不同立場的受訪者呈現明顯差異：建制派支持者對教育制度保持高度信心，淨值達 72.8%；溫和派受訪者的信心淨值則接近中性，為 -0.1%；而非建制派支持者的信心淨值大幅偏低，為 -59.9%。

Table 7: Confidence in the Hong Kong education system

表 7：對香港教育制度的信心

	2023.7	2024.2	2024.7	2025.2	2025.6
Confident 有信心	41.6%	39.1%	45.6%	43.2%	42.5%
Not Confident 無信心	37.4%	43.6%	39.3%	39.7%	41.7%
Half-half 一半半	18.7%	14.8%	13.7%	14.2%	13.5%
Don't know / Difficult to say 唔知道 / 好難講	2.3%	2.6%	1.4%	2.9%	2.3%
Net Value 淨值	4.2%	-4.5%	6.3%	3.5%	0.8%

Net Value: Percent "Confident" minus percent "Not Confident"
淨值：「有信心」的百分比減去「無信心」的百分比



Figure 15: Confidence in the Hong Kong education system (by age group)
圖 15：對香港教育制度的信心（按年齡組別劃分）

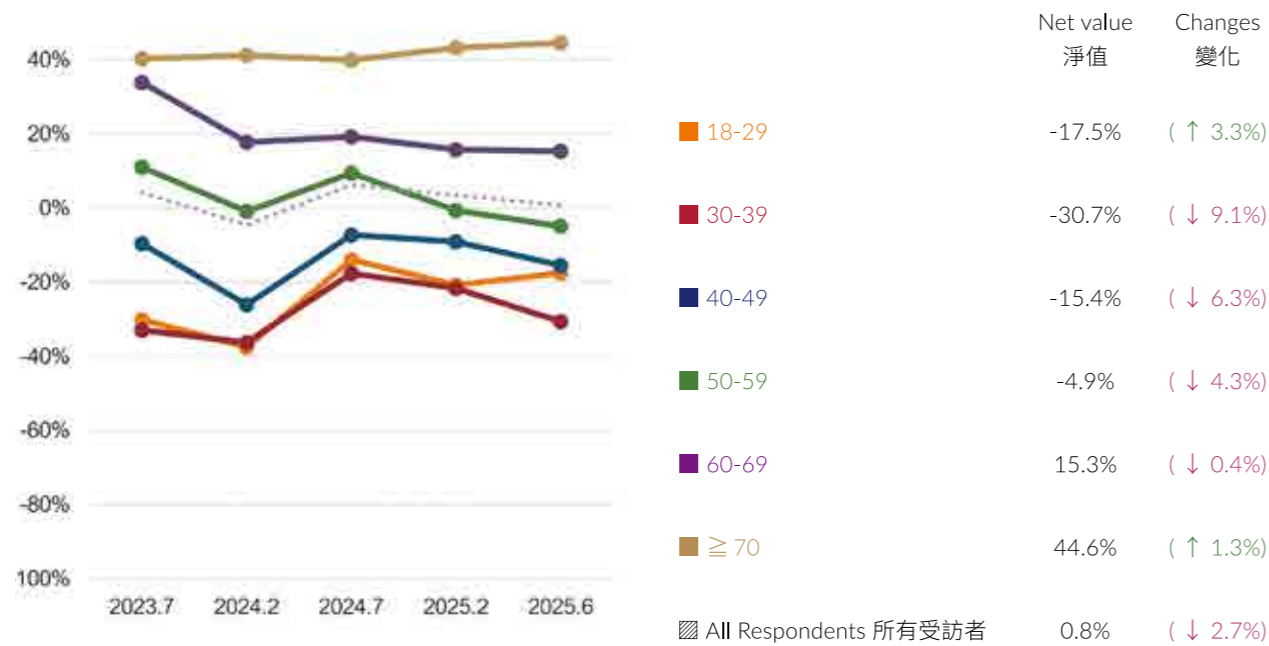
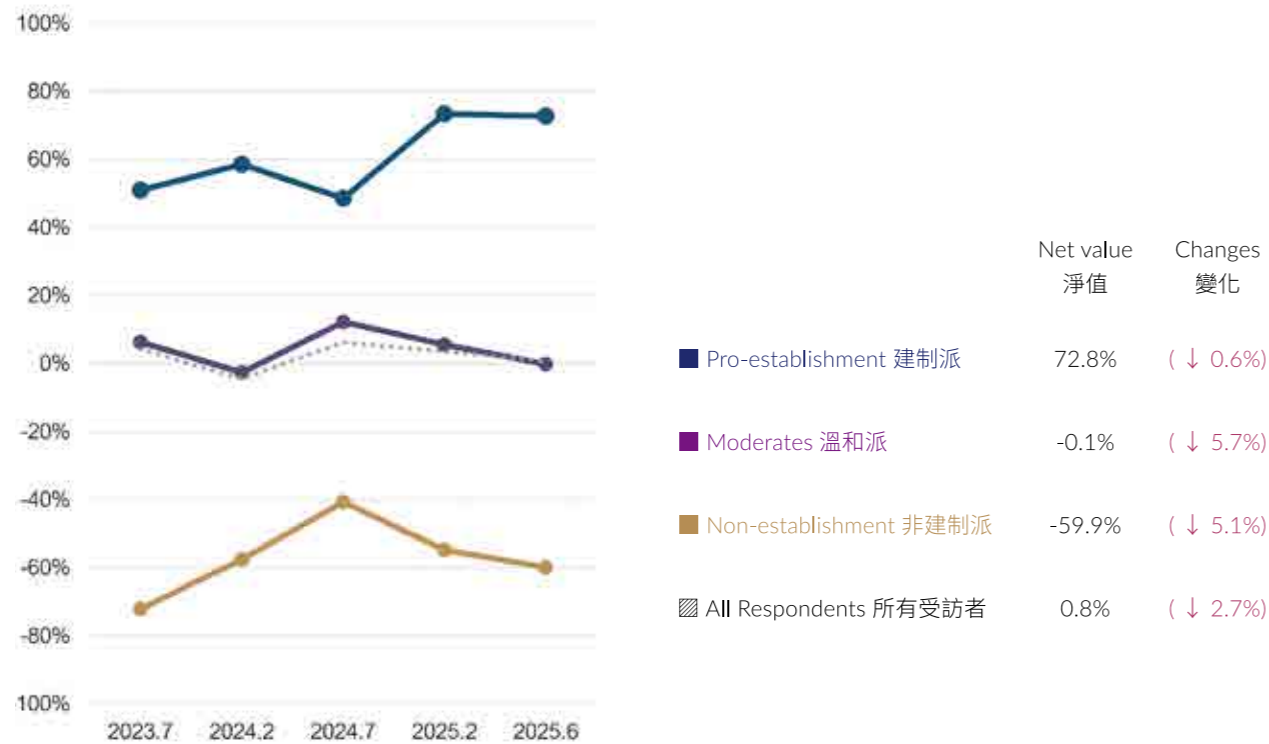


Figure 16: Confidence in the Hong Kong education system (by political inclination)
圖 16：對香港教育制度的信心（按政治傾向劃分）



7.3. 對公務員表現的滿意度 Satisfaction with the performance of civil service

Table 8 presents respondents' satisfaction levels with the performance of civil servants. The latest survey results indicate that 42.4% of respondents express "satisfaction," while 35.0% report "dissatisfaction," resulting in an average score of 5.04. Overall, these data show no significant fluctuations compared to the previous survey, suggesting that public evaluations are stabilizing.

表 8 展示了受訪者對公務員表現的滿意度。本次調查結果顯示，表示「滿意」的受訪者比例為 42.4%，表示「不滿意」的比例為 35.0%，平均分為 5.04 分。整體數據與上一輪調查相比未出現明顯波動，顯示公眾評價趨於穩定。

An analysis by age group (Figure 17) reveals a differentiated trend in satisfaction levels. Specifically, the net satisfaction among respondents aged 30-39, 40-49, and 50-59 has declined compared to the previous period, indicating a more cautious assessment of civil service performance among the middle-aged demographic.

按年齡組別分析（圖 17），不同年齡組的滿意度呈現分化趨勢。其中，30-39 歲、40-49 歲及 50-59 歲年齡組的淨滿意度均較上期有所下降，顯示中年群體對公務員表現的評價轉趨審慎。

In terms of political orientation (Figure 18), notable differences in satisfaction changes are observed across various political groups. The net satisfaction among non-establishment supporters has increased by 11.7% from the previous survey. In contrast, net satisfaction among establishment and moderate supporters has declined, reflecting rising expectations for civil service performance even within core support groups. This shift may suggest that the civil service is facing increasing pressure for accountability across the political spectrum.

從政治取向來看（圖 18），不同政治傾向群體之間的滿意度變化呈現明顯差異。非建制派支持者的淨滿意度較上期上升 11.7%；相比之下，建制派與中間派支持者的淨滿意度則出現下滑，顯示核心支持群體亦對公務員表現提出更高要求。這一變化可能預示公務員隊伍正面臨跨越政治光譜的期望壓力。

Table 8: Level of satisfaction with civil service performance
表 8：對公務員服務水平的滿意度

	2023.7	2024.2	2024.7	2025.2	2025.6
Satisfied 滿意	49.4%	40.7%	45.5%	43.0%	42.4%
Dissatisfied 不滿意	27.6%	35.9%	32.3%	35.1%	35.0%
Half-half 一半半	19.7%	21.5%	20.3%	20.3%	21.4%
Don't know / Difficult to say 唔知道 / 好難講	3.3%	1.9%	2.0%	1.5%	1.1%
Net Value 淨值	21.8%	4.8%	13.3%	7.9%	7.4%

Net value: Percent 'Satisfied' minus percent 'Dissatisfied'
淨值：「滿意」的百分比減去「不滿意」的百分比

Figure 17: Confidence in the Hong Kong Education System (by age group)
圖 17：對香港教育制度的信心 (按年齡組別劃分)

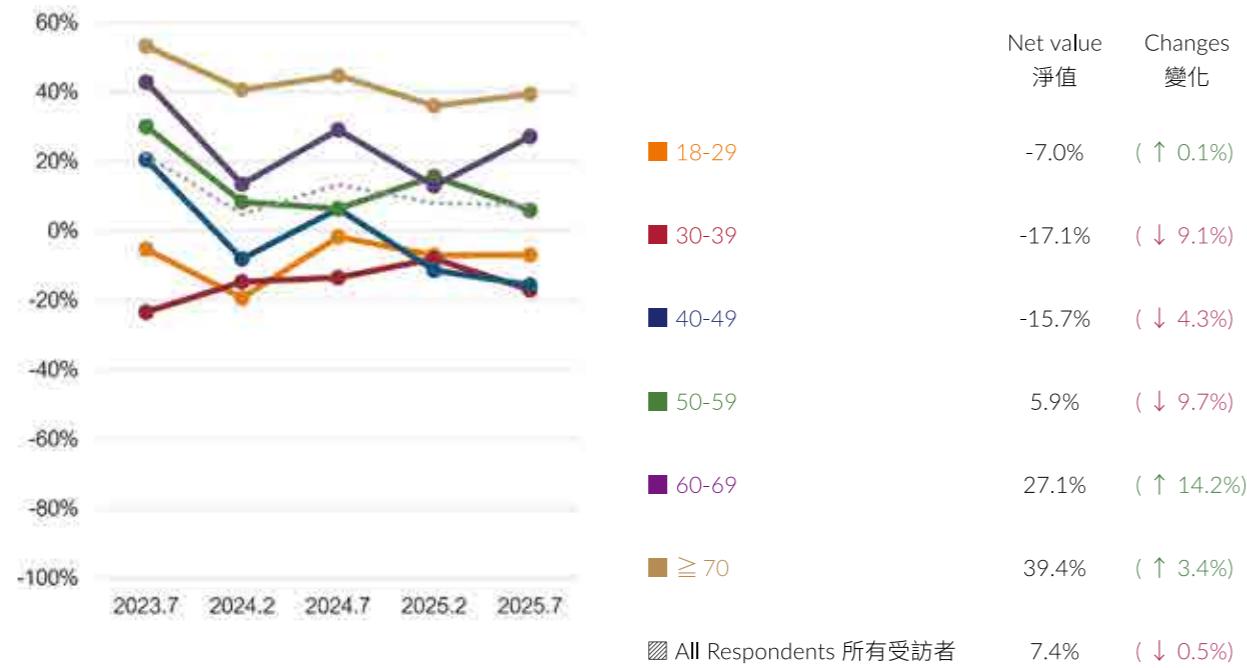
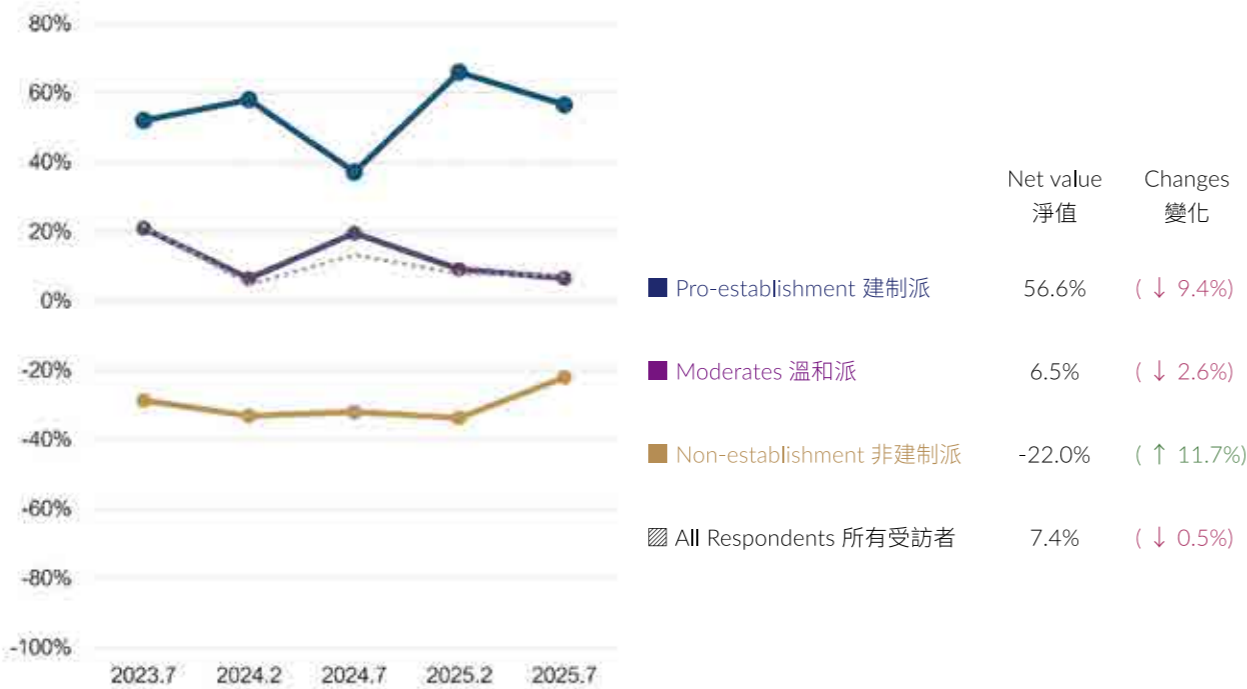


Figure 18: Confidence in the Hong Kong Education System (by political inclination)
圖 18：對香港教育制度的信心 (按政治傾向劃分)



8. 其他熱門議題 Other Hot Topics

8.1. 對特區政府表現的滿意度 Satisfaction with HKSAR Government

Table 9 displays public satisfaction ratings for the current HKSAR government. The latest survey results reveal that only 40.3% of respondents express "satisfaction" with the government's performance, a decrease of 2 percentage points from the previous survey. Conversely, the proportion of those indicating "dissatisfaction" has risen to 45.1%, while the percentage of respondents maintaining a neutral stance has also slightly declined. The net satisfaction score stands at -4.8%, reflecting an expanded negative trend compared to six months ago, indicating a slight deterioration in public evaluations of government performance.

表 9 顯示市民對現屆特區政府的滿意度評分。本輪調查結果顯示，僅 40.3% 的受訪者對政府工作表示「滿意」，較上一輪下降 2 個百分點；而表示「不滿意」的比例則升至 45.1%，持中立態度的比例也略有下滑。滿意度淨值為 -4.8%，較半年前進一步擴大負值幅度，顯示市民對政府表現的整體評價呈現輕微惡化趨勢。

This shift may be related to the upcoming Policy Address from the Chief Executive. The public appears to have high expectations for the government's forthcoming policy initiatives, prompting more cautious evaluations of current policies and overall performance. As a result, citizens may be raising their standards for criticism, aiming to communicate clear demands regarding the future direction of government policy.

這一變化或許與行政長官即將發表任內下一份《施政報告》有關。市民對政府即將推出的政策舉措抱有較高期待，因而在評價現行政策與整體表現時採取更審慎態度，甚至提高批評標準，以期向政府傳達對未來施政方向的明確訴求。

Table 9: Level of satisfaction with the current HKSAR government
表 9：對現屆政府表現的滿意度

	2025.2	2025.6
Satisfied 滿意	42.3%	40.3%
Dissatisfied 不滿意	40.9%	45.1%
Half-half 一半半	15.5%	13.3%
Don't know 唔知道	1.3%	1.3%
Net Value 淨值	1.4%	-4.8%

Net value: Percent 'Satisfied' minus percent 'Dissatisfied'
淨值：「滿意」的百分比減去「不滿意」的百分比

8.2. 對立法會表現的滿意度 Satisfaction with Legislative Council

Table 10 illustrates the changes in public satisfaction ratings regarding the performance of the Legislative Council. A comparison of survey data from February 2025 to July 2025 reveals that the proportion of respondents expressing "satisfaction" has remained stable, with a slight increase of 0.2 percentage points to 29.6%. In contrast, the percentage of those indicating "dissatisfaction" has significantly risen by 2.5 percentage points to 50.6%. The proportion of respondents holding a neutral stance has decreased by 2.9 percentage points to 15.0%. Consequently, the net satisfaction score has further declined from -18.7% to -21.0%, indicating a deepening negative assessment of the Legislative Council's overall performance, with dissatisfaction noticeably worsening over the past six months.

This trend may reflect public concerns regarding the operational effectiveness and quality of debate within the Legislative Council. While the council has become more stable in recent years, criticisms regarding the quality of discussions, legislative efficiency, and oversight capabilities persist. As the 2025 Legislative Council election approaches, citizens are harboring higher expectations for representatives, hoping that the legislative body can more effectively reflect public opinion, provide meaningful oversight of government actions, and propose constructive solutions to pressing social and economic issues. The current decline in the net satisfaction score can be viewed as a warning signal for voters regarding the performance of incumbent legislators, indicating that the upcoming election may face intensified accountability pressures.

Table 10: Level of satisfaction with the Legislative Council
表 10：對立法會表現的滿意度

	2025.2	2025.6
Satisfied 滿意	29.4%	29.6%
Dissatisfied 不滿意	48.1%	50.6%
Half-half 一半半	17.9%	15.0%
Don't know 唔知道	4.5%	4.7%
Net Value 淨值	-18.7%	-21.0%

Net value: Percent 'Should' minus percent 'Should not'
淨值：「滿意」的百分比減去「不滿意」的百分比

表 10 展示了市民對立法會表現的滿意度評分變化。從 2025 年 2 月至 2025 年 7 月的調查比較可見，表示「滿意」的受訪者比例維持穩定，輕微上升 0.2 個百分點至 29.6%；而表示「不滿意」的比例則顯著增加 2.5 個百分點至 50.6%。持「一半半」中立態度的比例下降 2.9 個百分點至 15.0%，滿意度淨值從 -18.7% 進一步下降至 -21.0%，顯示市民對立法會整體表現的負面評價持續加深，不滿情緒於半年內呈明顯惡化趨勢。

這一現象或反映公眾對立法會運作效能及議政質素存在較大憂慮。近年立法會雖較以往更趨穩定，但議會內外對其討論質素、議事效率及監督力度的批評持續不斷。尤其臨近 2025 年立法會換屆選舉，市民對代議士的表現抱有更高期望，希望立法機關能夠更有效反映民意、切實監督政府施政，並在民生及經濟議題上提出具建設性的解決方案。當前滿意度淨值進一步下滑，可視為選民對現任議員展示預警，預示換屆選舉可能面臨更強的問責壓力。

8.3. 對香港前景的看法 Perspectives on Hong Kong's Future

The latest survey also analyzes public perceptions regarding Hong Kong's future (Table 11). The results indicate that 41.0% of respondents express "optimism" about Hong Kong's prospects, while 40.7% report feeling "pessimistic," with both proportions being closely comparable. Compared to the previous survey, the percentage of optimists has slightly decreased, while the proportion of pessimists has seen a slight increase.

This coexistence of optimism and pessimism, along with their nearly equal proportions, reflects the complex and challenging period currently faced by Hong Kong society. On one hand, some residents still harbor expectations for social normalization and positive change; on the other hand, a significant number express concerns about deep-rooted issues and uncertainties. Recent widespread public attention to topics such as the government's fiscal deficit and the sustainability of public finances may further impact citizens' confidence in the economic outlook, reinforcing this dual sentiment of caution and apprehension.

Table 11: Perspectives on Hong Kong's Future
表 11：對香港前景的看法

	2025.2	2025.6
Optimistic 樂觀	43.7%	41.0%
Pessimistic 悲觀	40.2%	40.7%
Half-half 一半半	14.4%	16.4%
Don't know / Difficult to say 唔知道 / 好難講	1.7%	2.0%
Net Value 淨值	3.5%	0.4%

Net value: Percent 'Optimistic' minus percent 'Pessimistic'
淨值：「樂觀」的百分比減去「悲觀」的百分比

本輪調查還分析了公眾對香港未來的看法（表 11）。結果顯示，有 41.0% 的受訪者對香港前景表示「樂觀」，而表示「悲觀」的受訪者比例為 40.7%，兩者比例相當接近。與上一輪調查相比，樂觀者比例略有下降，悲觀者比例則輕微上升。

這種樂觀與悲觀並存、比例高度接近的現象，反映出香港社會當前正處於複雜而充滿挑戰的時期。一方面，部分市民對社會復常和積極變革仍抱有期待；另一方面，也有不少市民對深層次矛盾及不明朗因素感到憂慮。近期社會廣泛關注政府財政赤字及公共財政可持續性等議題，可能進一步影響部分市民對經濟前景的信心，加深了這種觀望與憂慮並存的情緒結構。



8.4. 對港人英文口語能力的評價

Evaluation of Hong Kong Residents' English-Speaking Proficiency

The latest survey introduced questions regarding respondents' confidence in their English-speaking abilities for the first time. Results indicate that 40.5% of participants express "confidence" in their spoken English, while 40.1% report feeling "not confident," with these figures being closely aligned. Additionally, 18.2% describe their confidence as half-half." The average confidence score is 4.79, slightly below the midpoint.

These results indicate a polarized and generally low level of confidence in English speaking abilities within Hong Kong society. As an international financial hub, it is crucial for Hong Kong to enhance its English communication skills to remain competitive globally. Strengthening practical English application and promoting targeted language improvement initiatives may boost residents' international competitiveness, reinforcing Hong Kong's status as a global center.

本輪調查首次加入對英語口語自信程度的提問(表12)。結果顯示，表示對自身英語口語「有信心」的受訪者佔40.5%，表示「無信心」的則佔40.1%，兩者比例非常接近；另有18.2%表示「一半半」。平均信心分數為4.79分(以1-10分計)，略低於中間值。

這一結果反映香港社會對英語口語能力的信心呈現兩極分化且整體偏弱的態勢。作為國際金融與商業中心，香港要在全球競爭環境中保持優勢，社會整體的英語溝通能力，尤其是口語表達信心，仍需進一步提升。強化英語實際應用環境、推動針對不同年齡與職業群體的語言運用提升措施，或將有助於增強市民的國際競爭力，從而鞏固香港作為國際樞紐的地位。

Table 12: Confidence in English Oral Proficiency

表 12：對英文口語的信心評價

	2025.6
Confident 有信心	40.5%
Not Confident 無信心	40.1%
Half-half 一半半	18.2%
Don't know / Difficult to say 唔知道 / 好難講	1.2%
Net Value 淨值	0.4%

Net value: Percent 'Confident' minus percent 'Not Confident'
淨值：「有信心」的百分比減去「無信心」的百分比



8.5. 代溝與政治鴻溝 Generation gap and political divide

Tables 13 and 14 present the net responses regarding selected political issues in June 2025, categorized by age group and political inclination. The survey results indicate significant differences in attitudes among respondents of various ages and political positions. Overall, the net response tends to increase with age, while it significantly declines as political alignment shifts from pro-establishment to non-establishment.

Within the political spectrum, the views of moderate citizens hold substantial reference value. The data show that this group has a net satisfaction score of -2.6% regarding the government, indicating a neutral stance that neither leans toward the establishment nor the non-establishment camp. This phenomenon reflects that, despite political divisions within society, a pragmatic and rational attitude still holds a place in public opinion in Hong Kong. The moderate perspective may serve as an important foundation for seeking consensus in policy-making.

表 13 和表 14 分別按年齡組別和政治傾向，呈現了 2025 年 6 月針對選定政治議題的回應淨值。調查結果顯示，不同年齡和政治立場的受訪者對相關議題的態度存在明顯差異。總體而言，回應淨值隨年齡上升而提高，但隨著政治立場由親建制轉向非建制則顯著下降。

在政治光譜中，溫和派市民的觀點具有重要參考價值。資料顯示，該群體對政府滿意度的淨值為 -2.6%，並未明顯偏向建制或非建制陣營，顯示其在評價政府表現時相對中立和務實。這一現象反映，儘管社會存在政治分歧，務實理性的態度仍在香港民意中佔有一席之地，溫和意見有望成為政策制定中尋求共識的重要基礎。

Table 13: Generation gap over selected political events (by age group)

表 13：對選定政治事件之代溝(按年齡劃分)

	Satisfaction with HKSAR government 政府表現滿意度 (2025.6)	Democratic political reform 民主政制發展 (2025.6)	Satisfaction with HKSAR government 政府表現滿意度 (2025.6)	Perspectives on Hong Kong's future 對香港前景的看法 (2025.6)
18-29	-28.8%	-35.5%	-30.1%	19.0%
30-39	-35.0%	-47.4%	-26.0%	18.3%
40-49	-23.9%	-38.0%	-17.4%	11.5%
50-59	-7.8%	-26.1%	-10.0%	8.4%
60-69	12.6%	-8.7%	20.8%	-9.3%
≥ 70	37.1%	17.2%	46.3%	-34.1%
All respondents 所有受訪者	-4.8%	-21.0%	0.4%	0.4%

Table 14: Political divide over selected political controversies (by political inclination)

表 14：對選定政治爭議之政治鴻溝(按政治傾向劃分)

	Satisfaction with HKSAR government 政府表現滿意度 (2025.6)	Democratic political reform 民主政制發展 (2025.6)	Satisfaction with HKSAR government 政府表現滿意度 (2025.6)	Perspectives on Hong Kong's future 對香港前景的看法 (2025.6)
Pro-establishment 建制派	66.1%	47.3%	69.2%	63.7%
Moderates 溫和派	-2.6%	-21.4%	1.4%	11.1%
Non-establishment 非建制派	-78.2%	-79.3%	-65.8%	-0.7%
All respondents 所有受訪者	-4.8%	-21.0%	0.4%	0.4%



附錄 Appendices

I. 編製方法 Methodology

1. 編製「一國兩制」指數 Construction of 1C2S Index

We construct a conceptual framework to capture the current situation of 1C2S through six pillars, three based on public opinion and three based on international perception. The three pillars on public opinion are derived from telephone polls conducted among Hong Kong residents, evaluating the implementation of 1C2S. The three pillars on international perception are compiled from relevant indices produced by international think tanks on the state of freedom and democracy worldwide. Each pillar is further divided into four sub-pillars. Consequently, we create a measurement system comprising six pillars and 24 sub-pillars. Each sub-pillar is assigned equal weight to generate a pillar score. The 1C2S Index is calculated as the simple average of all six pillar scores. Table 15 below outlines the six pillars and 24 sub-pillars used in our index.

我們建構一個觀念框架以量度香港實踐「一國兩制」的情況，基於民意調查的3項支柱及國際評價的3項支柱。民意調查的3項支柱是取自香港市民在電話調查中對落實「一國兩制」的評分。國際評價的3項支柱取自國際智庫就全球自由和民主狀況而製作的相關指數。每項支柱各設4項子支柱，使此指標體系共6項支柱和24項子支柱。每項子支柱賦予均等權重，以計算支柱的分數。「一國兩制」指數是6項支柱的簡單平均分數。表 列出指數所使用的6項支柱和24項子支柱。

Table 15: Pillars and sub-pillars of 1C2S Index
表 15：「一國兩制」指數的支柱和子支柱

Pillar 支柱	Sub-pillar 子支柱
Public Opinion 民意調查	A. High Degree of Autonomy 高度自治 A1. Self-conduct of administrative affairs 自行處理行政事務 A2. Independent judiciary 獨立司法權 A3. Independent legislature 獨立立法權 A4. 'Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong' 「港人治港」
	B. Human Rights and Freedom 人權自由 B1. Original ways of life 原有生活方式 B2. Freedom of speech, association and assembly 言論、結社和集會自由 B3. Democratic development 民主發展 B4. Equal protection of the Law 法律平等保護
	C. Hong Kong-Mainland Relations 內港關係 C1. Resolving differences via dialogue and negotiation 對話協商解決矛盾 C2. Safeguarding national sovereignty, security & development interests 維護國家主權、安全和發展利益 C3. Maintaining long-term prosperity and stability 維持長期繁榮穩定 C4. Full implementation of 1C2S in the future 未來全面落實「一國兩制」
International Perception 國際評價	D. Economic Openness 經濟開放 D1. Business environment 營商環境 D2. Market access 市場門檻 D3. Regulatory quality 監管質素 D4. Financial stability 金融穩定
	E. Civil Liberty 公民權利 E1. Rule of law 法治 E2. Security and safety 安全 E3. Expression, association and assembly 表達、結社與集會 E4. Individual rights 個人權利
	F. Democratic Development 民主發展 F1. Constraints on power 權力制約 F2. Political pluralism 政治多元 F3. Civic participation 公民參與 F4. Democratic culture 民主文化

1.1. 民意調查 Public Opinion

We obtain three pillar and twelve sub-pillar scores on the implementation of 1C2S from telephone polls conducted by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Each sub-pillar is represented by a single survey question, with the questions listed in Table .

Approximately 1,000 individuals are randomly sampled in each round using the CATI (computer-assisted telephone interviewing) system. All the respondents are aged 18 or above and spoke either Cantonese or Mandarin. To ensure representativeness of the Hong Kong population, all data are weighted by the proportion of gender and age of individuals aged 18 or above (excluding foreign domestic helpers) according to the Census and Statistics Department.

Table provides details on the statistical and scientific standards of each survey. Since the first half of 2021, the telephone surveys have employed a dual-frame sampling design, randomly selecting phone numbers from a combined sample of residential landline and mobile phone numbers. To address potential double-counting or other unknown factors arising from individuals owning both landline and mobile numbers, additional steps are taken in the weighting method. The specific calculations are detailed in a subsequent sub-section.

In the telephone polls, many questions employ a 1 to 7 rating scale, with 4 as the median. This scale, known as the Likert scale, is commonly used in psychological assessments. It is preferred over a 0 to 10 scale, as the latter is considered too finely graduated and cumbersome for respondents. However, to better align with existing indices that typically employ a 0 to 10 scale (with 5 as the median), we mathematically converted the results into this scale.

我們委託香港中文大學香港亞太研究所進行電話調查，以整合市民對落實「一國兩制」的3項支柱和12項子支柱評分。每一條問卷問題代表一項子支柱。表顯示每項子支柱相應的問卷問題。

每輪的電話調查會以電腦輔助電話訪問系統，隨機抽樣，訪問大約1,000人，全部皆屬18歲或以上，能操廣東話或普通話。進行分析時，數據依照香港政府統計處的18歲或以上性別及年齡分佈（扣除外籍家庭傭工）作加權處理，以更符合香港人口分佈的真實情況。

表 每輪電話調查的統計和科學標準。電話調查部分於2021上半年起採用雙框抽樣設計，從家居固網電話號碼及流動電話號碼的結合樣本群中隨機抽取號碼。由於大部分人同時擁有家居固網電話號碼及流動電話號碼，為免重複計算或其他不明原因帶來的估算偏差，加權的計算方法將於下一個章節詳細解釋。

電話調查中，多數題目採用1至7分的評分尺度，以4分為中位數。這是心理學常用的科學尺度，稱為李克特量尺。現時編製指數常採用0至10分的尺度，其實分類過於細緻，令市民難以選擇。不過為了與現行指數匹配，是以我們利用數學方法將調查結果轉換成為常見的0至10分尺度（以5分為中位數）。

Table 16: Questions on public opinion

表 16：民意調查問題

Sub-pillar 子支柱	Survey Question 民調問題
A1	'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?' 「回歸之後，香港實行到高度自治，自行處理特區內嘅行政事務。你有幾同意呢？」
A2	'After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent judiciary powers. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港繼續保持到獨立嘅司法權。你有幾同意呢？」
A3	'After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain independent legislative powers. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港繼續保持到獨立嘅立法權。你有幾同意呢？」
A4	'How successful has the practice of 'Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong' been?' 「整體嚟講，你認為落實『港人治港』有幾成功呢？」
B1	'After the handover, the original ways of life of the Hong Kong people have maintained. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港人繼續維持原有嘅生活方式。你有幾同意呢？」
B2	'After the handover, Hong Kong continues to enjoy the freedoms of speech, association and assembly. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港繼續享有言論、結社同集會自由。你有幾同意呢？」
B3	'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?' 「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？」
B4	'After the handover, people in Hong Kong continue to be protected by the Law regardless of their economic capabilities, identities and social classes. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港人不論經濟能力、身份同社會地位都能夠得到法律保護。你有幾同意呢？」
C1	'When conflicts between mainland China and Hong Kong arise, how confident are you that the conflicts can be resolved through consultation and dialogue?' 「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？」
C2	'After the handover, Hong Kong is able to keep intact the sovereignty of China, national security and profits from development projects. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港可以做到維護國家主權、安全和發展利益。你有幾同意呢？」
C3	'After the handover, Hong Kong is able to maintain long-term prosperity and stability. To what extent would you agree?' 「回歸之後，香港能夠維持到長期繁榮穩定。你有幾同意呢？」
C4	'How confident are you in the full implementation of 'One Country, Two Systems' in Hong Kong in the future before 2047?' 「你有幾大信心香港嘅未來（即2047年前）能全面落實『一國兩制』呢？」

Table 17: Survey details
表 17：調查概況

Round 輪次	Survey Period 調查日期	Number of Respondents 受訪人數			Response Rates 回應率		Confidence Level 置信水平	Sampling Error 抽樣誤差
		Landline 固網	Mobile 手機	Total 總數	Landline 固網	Mobile 手機		
2017 H1	5.23 - 6.3	1,002	-	1,002	36.8%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
2017 H2	12.11 - 12.23	1,006	-	1,006	39.5%	-	95.0%	±3.09%
2018 H1	5.23 - 6.2	1,004	-	1,004	37.2%	-	95.0%	±3.09%
2018 H2	12.3 - 12.12	1,001	-	1,001	38.8%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
2019 H1	5.27 - 6.6	1,002	-	1,002	38.0%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
*	7.24 - 8.7	1,001	-	1,001	39.5%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
*	10.17 - 10.31	1,002	-	1,002	38.0%	-	95.0%	±3.09%
2019 H2	12.10 - 12.20	1,000	-	1,000	40.8%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
2020 H1	6.9 - 6.29	1,001	-	1,001	39.5%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
2020 H2	12.22 - 1.13	1,002	-	1,002	32.5%	-	95.0%	±3.10%
2021 H1	6.21 - 7.9	498	503	1,001	30.9%	31.4%	95.0%	±3.10%
2021 H2	12.20 - 1.10	497	506	1,003	30.6%	30.0%	95.0%	±3.09%
2022 H1	6.23 - 7.11	481	521	1,002	26.9%	28.2%	95.0%	±3.10%
2022 H2	12.15 - 1.18	474	531	1,005	24.4%	26.7%	95.0%	±3.09%
2023 H1	6.13 - 7.18	432	578	1,010	16.6%	23.3%	95.0%	±3.08%
2023 H2	1.12 - 2.29	248	763	1,011	31.4%	38.2%	95.0%	±3.08%
2024 H1	7.11 - 7.31	223	790	1,013	50.7%	54.8%	95.0%	±3.08%
2024 H2	1.21 - 2.25	257	748	1,005	48.1%	59.1%	95.0%	±3.08%
2025 H1	6.6 - 6.23	273	730	1,003	44.5%	44.1%	95.0%	±3.09%

Note: “*” denotes surveys conducted in addition to the biannual exercise.
註：“*”為半年調查的額外輪次。



1.1.1. 雙框電話號碼取樣的加權方法 Weighting method for dual-frame sampling

In dual-frame sampling, weighting adjustments are made for the ownership of phone numbers in addition to the distribution of the Hong Kong population. Since everyone owns a different number of landline and mobile numbers, each has a different probability of being selected as a respondent. To eliminate the over-representation of any individual, the first weight factor (WT1) approximates the probability of selection for each respondent. It is a ratio of the amount of landline and mobile numbers owned by a respondent to the total number of such numbers in the territory. WT1_i is calculated by the inverse of probability of selection of individual i, i.e. WT1_i = π_i⁻¹.

在雙框電話號碼取樣中，除了以香港人口的分布作調整外，亦需要為擁有手提電話這個因素作出調整。由於每人擁有不同數目的固網及流動電話號碼，他們被抽中的機率也有不同。為剔除任何一人被超額代表的機會，第一步驟是估算每名受訪者被隨機抽中的機會率，即以每位受訪者擁有家居固網電話號碼和手機號碼數目，對比全港家居固網電話及手機號碼總數。加權因子 1 (WT1_i) 之計算方式為受訪者 i 被抽中訪問的逆向機會率，即 WT1_i = π_i⁻¹。

$$\pi_i = \frac{n_L}{N_L} \times \frac{t_i^L}{e_i^L} + \frac{n_m}{N_m} \times \frac{t_i^m}{e_i^m}$$

Where 當中	i	= i-th person selected	第 i 名被抽中的人士
	n _L	= amount of sample's landline numbers	家居固網電話號碼樣本數目
	N _L	= amount of population's landline numbers	全部家居固網電話號碼總數
	t _i ^L	= amount of i-th person's landline numbers	第 i 名人士家中擁有的固網電話號碼數目
	e _i ^L	= amount of eligible respondents in the household	住戶中合資格受訪人數
	n _m	= amount of sample's mobile numbers	手機號碼樣本數目
	N _m	= amount of population's mobile numbers	全部手機號碼總數
	t _i ^m	= amount of i-th person's mobile numbers	第 i 名人士個人擁有的手機號碼數目

Sampling in telephone surveys is randomized by phone numbers without consideration of demographics. The second weight factor (WT2) adjusts the size of each sample group to match population distribution in terms of gender and age. WT2 is calculated by dividing the population estimates for a specific gender and age group by its sample size and the sample's probability of selection.

電話調查的隨機抽樣是電話號碼，沒有考慮人口特徵。加權因子 2 (WT2) 按性別和年齡，調整每一個抽樣群組以配合人口分布。加權因子 2 是將性別和年齡分布的人口估算中除以樣本大小和樣本的選擇概率。

$$WT2 = \frac{\text{group population estimates 每組人口估算}}{\text{group sample size 每組樣本大小} \times WT1}$$

The final weighting factor (WT_F) is calculated by the following formula. 最後加權因子計算如下。

$$WT_F = WT1 \times WT2 \times \frac{\text{total sample size 總樣本大小}}{\text{total population estimates 總人口估算}}$$

Where 當中	WT _F	= final weighting factor 最後加權因子
	WT1	= weight factor adjusting for the ownership of phone numbers 調整電話號碼的加權因子
	WT2	= weight factor adjusting for the distribution of the Hong Kong population 調整香港人口分布的加權因子

1.2. International perception

We obtain three pillar scores and twelve sub-pillar scores on the state of freedom and democracy in the world from tracking indices compiled by international think tanks. Every sub-pillar is derived from multiple indicators, offering wide coverage of scopes and territories that enable us to compare Hong Kong's position on the global stage from a 1C2S perspective. There are two selection criteria for data sources. First, their datasets must include Hong Kong to allow for direct comparison. Second, their indicators must capture key areas of 1C2S framework that draw international attention. Additionally, each data source has different geographic coverage, only locations observed by at least three quarters of all data sources are included. As a result, 127 indicators from nine data sources are adopted in our model to score and rank 148 countries and territories. Tables below show the list of indicators and their sources. Data sources include:

- Cato Institute and Fraser Institute: Human Freedom Index (HFI);
- Economist Intelligence Unit: Democracy Index (DI);
- Freedom House: Freedom in the World (FiW);
- International Institute for Management Development (IMD): World Competitiveness Yearbook (WCY);
- Reporters Without Borders: World Press Freedom Index (WPFII);
- V-Dem Institute: V-Dem Dataset (V-Dem);
- World Bank: Doing Business Index (DB);
- World Economic Forum: Global Competitiveness Index (GCI); and
- World Justice Project: Rule of Law Index (RoLI).

1.2. 國際評價

我們收集國際智庫編製的長期追蹤指數，以整合國際社會對世界自由民主狀況的3項支柱和12項子支柱評分。每項子支柱均由多個指標組成，這些指標涵蓋廣泛的範疇和地區，使我們能夠用「一國兩制」視角，在全球舞台上比較香港的地位。我們按兩個原則選擇數據來源：一、它們的數據集必須涵蓋香港，以便進行直接比較；二、它們的指標必須涵蓋國際社會所關心的「一國兩制」關鍵領域。此外，每個數據來源也有不同的地理覆蓋範圍，我們只採納所有數據來源中，最少獲四分之三涵蓋的地區。因此，我們的模型採用來自9個數據來源的127個指標對148個國家和地區進行評分和排名。以下列表顯示指標清單及其來源。數據來源包括：

Table 18: List of indicators on international perception (D. Economic Openness)

表 18：國際評價之指標列表 (D. 經濟開放)

Sub-pillar 子支柱	Area 範疇	Indicator 指標	Description 描述	Source 來源	Scale 尺度
D1. Business Environment 營商環境	Business facilitation 方便營商	D1.1	Pillar 1: Institutions - 1.10 Burden of government regulation	GCI	1-7
		D1.2	5C Business regulations	EFW	0-10
		D1.3	Paying Taxes	DB	0-100
	Labour market 勞動市場	D1.4	Resolving Insolvency	DB	0-100
		D1.5	Pillar 8: Labour market	GCI	0-100
		D1.6	Business Efficiency - 3.2 Labor Market	WCY	0-100
D2. Market Access 市場門檻	Free trade 自由貿易	D2.1	4 Freedom to trade internationally	EFW	0-10
		D2.2	Pillar 7: Product market - Trade openness	GCI	0-100
		D2.3	Trading across Borders	DB	0-100
	Market competition 市場競爭	D2.4	Starting a Business	DB	0-10
		D2.5	Government Efficiency - 2.4 Business Legislation	WCY	0-100
		D2.6	Business Efficiency - 3.5 Attitudes and Values	WCY	0-100
		D2.7	Pillar 7: Product market - Domestic competition	GCI	0-100
D3. Regulatory Quality 監管質素	Protection of property rights 保障私有產權	D3.1	2C Protection of property rights	EFW	0-10
		D3.2	Infrastructure - 4.3.21 Intellectual property rights	WCY	0-10
		D3.3	Pillar 1: Institutions - Property rights	GCI	0-100
	Enforcement of contracts 履行合約	D3.4	2F Legal enforcement of contracts	EFW	0-10
		D3.5	Government Efficiency - 2.3.09 Legal and regulatory framework	WCY	0-10
		D3.6	Enforcing Contracts	DB	0-100
		D3.7	Pillar 1: Institutions - 1.11 Efficiency of legal framework in settling disputes	GCI	1-7
	Corporate governance 企業管治	D3.8	Business Efficiency - 3.3.06 Auditing and accounting practices	WCY	0-10
		D3.9	Pillar 1: Institutions - Corporate governance	GCI	0-100
		D3.10	Protecting Minority Investors	DB	0-100
D4. Financial Stability 金融穩定	Public finance 公共財政	D4.1	3 Sound Money	EFW	0-10
		D4.2	Government Efficiency - 2.1.07 Public finance	WCY	0-10
		D4.3	Pillar 4: Macroeconomic stability	GCI	0-100
	Money market 金融市場	D4.4	5A Credit market regulations	EFW	0-10
		D4.5	Business Efficiency - 3.3.06 Banking and financial services	WCY	0-10
		D4.6	Getting Credit	DB	0-100
		D4.7	Pillar 9: Financial system	GCI	0-100



Table 19: List of indicators on international perception (E. Civil Liberty)

表 19：國際評價之指標列表 (E. 公民權利)

Sub-pillar 子支柱	Area 範疇	Indicator 指標	Description 描述	Source 來源	Scale 尺度
E1. Rule of Law 法治	Judicial independence 司法獨立	E1.1	F. Rule of Law – F1. Is there an independent judiciary?	FiW	0-4
		E1.2	Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.07 Judicial independence	GCI	0-100
	Civil and criminal justice 民事與刑事公義	E1.3	F. Rule of Law – F2. Does due process prevail in civil and criminal matters?	FiW	0-4
		E1.4	Government Efficiency – 2.5.01 Justice	WCY	0-10
		E1.5	Factor 7: Civil Justice	RoLI	0-1
		E1.6	Factor 8: Criminal Justice	RoLI	0-1
	Equal protection 平等保障	E1.7	F. Rule of Law – F4. Do laws, policies, and practices guarantee equal treatment of various segments of the population?	FiW	0-4
		E1.8	Access to justice	V-Dem	0-1
	Regulatory enforcement 監管執法	E1.9	Factor 6: Regulatory Enforcement	RoLI	0-1
		E1.10	Rigorous and impartial public administration	V-Dem	0-4
		E1.11	Transparent laws with predictable enforcement	V-Dem	0-4
E2. Security and Safety 安全	Absence of crime 杜絕犯罪	E2.1	Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.01 Organized crime	GCI	1-7
		E2.2	Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.04 Reliability of police services	GCI	1-7
		E2.3	Factor 5: Order and Security – 5.1 Crime is effectively controlled	RoLI	0-1
	Right to life 生存權利	E2.4	B Security and Safety – Bi Homicide	PFI	0-10
		E2.5	F. Rule of Law – F3. Is there protection from the illegitimate use of physical force and freedom from war and insurgencies?	FiW	0-4
		E2.6	Physical violence index	V-Dem	0-1
		E2.7	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.2 The right to life and security of the person is effectively guaranteed	RoLI	0-1
	Civil conflict and terrorism 內戰與恐怖主義	E2.8	B Security and Safety – Bii. Disappearances, conflicts, and terrorism	PFI	0-10
		E2.9	Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.03 Terrorism incidence	GCI	0-100
		E2.10	Factor 5: Order and Security – 5.2 Civil conflict is effectively limited	RoLI	0-1
E3. Expression, Association and Assembly 表達、結社與集會	Expression 表達	E3.1	F Freedom of Expression – Fi Direct Attacks on Press	PFI	0-10
		E3.2	(Removed)*	-	-
		E3.3	D. Freedom of Expression and Belief – D1. Are there free and independent media?	FiW	0-4
		E3.4	D. Freedom of Expression and Belief – D3. Is there academic freedom, and is the educational system free from extensive political indoctrination?	FiW	0-4
		E3.5	D. Freedom of Expression and Belief – D4. Are individuals free to express their personal views on political or other sensitive topics without fear of surveillance or retribution?	FiW	0-4
		E3.6	World Press Freedom Index	WPFI	0-100
		E3.7	Freedom of expression index	V-Dem	0-1
		E3.8	Alternative sources of information index	V-Dem	0-1
		E3.9	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.4 Freedom of opinion and expression is effectively guaranteed	RoLI	0-1
	Association and Assembly 結社和集會	E3.10	E. Associational and Organizational Rights	FiW	0-12
		E3.11	Freedom of peaceful assembly	V-Dem	0-4
		E3.12	CSO entry and exit	V-Dem	0-4
		E3.13	CSO repression	V-Dem	0-4
		E3.14	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.7 Freedom of assembly and association is effectively guaranteed	RoLI	0-1

* Combined with E3.1 to reflect a revision from Cato Institute.
因應卡托研究所之修訂，與 E3.1 合併。

Sub-pillar 子支柱	Area 範疇	Indicator 指標	Description 描述	Source 來源	Scale 尺度
E4. Individual Rights 個人權利	Religion 宗教	E4.1	D. Freedom of Expression and Belief – D2. Are individuals free to practice and express their religious faith or non-belief in public and private?	FiW	0-4
		E4.2	Freedom of religion	V-Dem	0-4
		E4.3	Religious organization repression	V-Dem	0-4
		E4.4	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.5 Freedom of belief and religion is effectively guaranteed	RoLI	0-1
	Movement 遷徙	E4.5	G. Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights – G1. Do individuals enjoy freedom of movement, including the ability to change their place of residence, employment, or education?	FiW	0-4
		E4.6	Freedom of domestic movement	V-Dem	0-1
		E4.7	Freedom of foreign movement	V-Dem	0-4
	Labour 勞動	E4.8	G. Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights – G4. Do individuals enjoy equality of opportunity and freedom from economic exploitation?	FiW	0-4
		E4.9	Government Efficiency – 2.5.11 Equal opportunity	WCY	0-10
		E4.10	Freedom from forced labor	V-Dem	0-1
		E4.11	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.8 Fundamental labor rights are effectively guaranteed	RoLI	0-1
	Property rights 私有產權	E4.12	G. Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights – G2. Are individuals able to exercise the right to own property and establish private businesses without undue interference from state or nonstate actors?	FiW	0-4
		E4.13	Property rights	V-Dem	0-1
	Relationship 關係	E4.14	Relationship Freedoms	PFI	0-10
		E4.15	G. Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights – G3. Do individuals enjoy personal social freedoms, including choice of marriage partner and size of family, protection from domestic violence, and control over appearance?	FiW	0-4
	Privacy, non-discrimination and equal treatment 私隱、非歧視和平等對待	E4.16	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.1 Equal treatment and absence of discrimination	RoLI	0-1
		E4.17	Factor 4: Fundamental Rights – 4.6 Freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy is effectively guaranteed	RoLI	0-1

Table 20: List of indicators on international perception (F. Democratic Development)

表 20：國際評價之指標列表 (F. 民主發展)

Sub-pillar 子支柱	Area 範疇	Indicator 指標	Description 描述	Source 來源	Scale 尺度
F1. Constraints on Power 權利制約	Executive check 制約行政權	F1.1	Functioning of government	DI	0-100
		F1.2	Factor 1: Constraints on Government Powers	RoLI	0-1
		F1.3	Judicial constraints on the executive index	V-Dem	0-1
		F1.4	Legislative constraints on the executive index	V-Dem	0-1
		F1.5	C. Functioning of Government – C1. Do the freely elected head of government and national legislative representatives determine the policies of the government?	FiW	0-4
		F1.6	Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.08 Efficiency of legal framework in challenging regulations	GCI	0-100
	Absence of corruption 杜絕貪腐	F1.7	C. Functioning of Government – C2. Are safeguards against official corruption strong and effective?	FiW	0-4
		F1.8	Government Efficiency – 2.3.13 Bribery and corruption	WCY	0-10
		F1.9	Political corruption index	V-Dem	0-1 (inverted 倒數)
		F1.10	Factor 2: Absence of Corruption	RoLI	0-1

Sub-pillar 子支柱	Area 範疇	Indicator 指標	Description 描述	Source 來源	Scale 尺度
F2. Political Pluralism 政治多元	Electoral process 選舉過程	F2.1	A. Electoral Process	FiW	0-12
		F2.2	Electoral process and pluralism	DI	0-100
		F2.3	Clean elections index	V-Dem	0-1
		F2.4	Share of population with suffrage	V-Dem	0-1
		F2.5	Disclosure of campaign donations	V-Dem	0-4
	Political competition 政治競爭	F2.6	B. Political Pluralism and Participation – B2. Is there a realistic opportunity for the opposition to increase its support or gain power through elections?	FiW	0-4
		F2.7	B. Political Pluralism and Participation – B3. Are the people's political choices free from domination by forces that are external to the political sphere, or by political forces that employ extrapolitical means?	FiW	0-4
		F2.8	Public campaign finance	V-Dem	0-4
		F2.9	Divided party control index	V-Dem	z score z 分數
		F2.10	Elected officials index	V-Dem	0-1
	Party development 政團發展	F2.11	B. Political Pluralism and Participation – B1. Do the people have the right to organize in different political parties or other competitive political groupings of their choice, and is the system free of undue obstacles to the rise and fall of these competing parties or groupings?	FiW	0-4
		F2.12	Barriers to parties	V-Dem	0-4
		F2.13	Party ban	V-Dem	0-4
		F2.14	Opposition parties autonomy	V-Dem	0-4
		F2.15	Party institutionalization index	V-Dem	0-1
F3. Civic Participation 公民參與	Political rights and awareness 政治權利與意識	F3.1	B. Political Pluralism and Participation – B4. Do various segments of the population (including ethnic, racial, religious, gender, LGBT+, and other relevant groups) have full political rights and electoral opportunities?	FiW	0-4
		F3.2	Political participation	DI	0-100
	Citizen engagement 公民參與	F3.3	Mass mobilization	V-Dem	0-4
		F3.4	Civil society participation index	V-Dem	0-1
		F3.5	Engagement in state-administered mass organizations	V-Dem	0-4
		F3.6	Engagement in independent trade unions	V-Dem	0-4
		F3.7	Engagement in independent political associations	V-Dem	0-4
	Transparency and open government 政務公開	F3.8	Engagement in independent non-political associations	V-Dem	0-4
		F3.9	Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.06 Budget transparency	GCI	0-100
F3.10		Pillar 1: Institutions – 1.12 E-participation	GCI	0-100	
F4. Democratic Culture 民主文化	Public attitude 大眾態度	F3.11	C. Functioning of Government – C3. Does the government operate with openness and transparency?	FiW	0-4
		F3.12	Factor 3: Open Government	RoLI	0-1
		F3.13	Government Efficiency – 2.3.11 Transparency	WCY	0-10
		F4.1	Political culture	DI	0-100
		F4.2	Deliberative component index	V-Dem	0-1
	Political equality 政治平等	F4.3	Political Polarization	V-Dem	0-4 (inverted 倒數)
		F4.4	Political violence	V-Dem	0-4 (inverted 倒數)
		F4.5	Factor 5: Order and Security – 5.3 People do not resort to violence to redress personal grievances	RoLI	0-1
F4.6	Equal protection index	V-Dem	0-1		
F4.7	Equal access index	V-Dem	0-1		
F4.8	Equal distribution of resources index	V-Dem	0-1		

1.2.1. Aggregation method for composite indicators

International indices are often released with a considerable time lag due to the extensive data compilation required from many countries. Very few indicators are collected for release in the immediate index period. Therefore, we offset the time difference by rolling data forward to the release date. In other words, indicators are assigned to the index period in which they become available. Figure 19 shows the number of indicators by years offset. An alternative approach is to backdate data to the collection period. However, this approach has three disadvantages. First, no change will be observed in the latest issue because new scores are applied to an earlier period. Second, our biannual report will always record identical values in the first and second halves because most datasets are compiled on a yearly basis. Third, published scores will be substantially revised in the subsequent issue because indicators are updated retrospectively. It is noteworthy that backdating or time offsetting affects only the presentation of historical scores. Both approaches produce the latest pillar scores based on the most recent available data.

Countries and territories covered by insufficient data sources are omitted in our model. For remaining included locations, an imputation process is carried out to replace missing data. Countries and territories are categorized into 7 regions according to the World Bank region groups. When a missing value arises, it is substituted with the regional average of recorded values. To standardize the range of data values, the complete dataset is transformed into a common scale by min-max normalisation as the below formula. For each indicator in each index period, the frontier value will be rescaled to 10 and the bottom value to 0. Even if a country or territory has the same raw score over time, its normalized score can be changed due to a change in the minimum or maximum value of the data series.

1.2.1. 綜合指數的整合方法

搜集大量國家數據需時，因此國際指數出版的時候一般會滯後，只有少數指標能夠即期發布。因此，我們會將數據向前滾動至出版日期，以補上時間落差。換言之，當國際智庫一發布最新指標，我們便會馬上更新至即期指數。圖 19 顯示經年期調整之指標數目。另外值得考慮的方法，是將數據回溯至它們的收集時期，但是有三個缺點。第一，我們的評分在每次發布時不會有改變，因為新分數只會被更新至較早的收集時期。第二，我們在上半年和下半年公布的數字往往會相同，因為大部分國際指數只會每年更新一次。第三，已發布的數字會在期後報告大幅修訂，因為指標只會往後更新。值得注意的是，向前滾動或向後回溯只會影響歷史分數如何呈現。發布時，它們的最新評分將會相同，因為兩者皆以最新數據去計算最新分數。

數據來源不足的國家或地區將會被省略，如尚有缺失的數據，我們將會以插補方式填補。我們根據世界銀行的標準將所有地區歸類為 7 個地理組別，並以該地理組別中有紀錄的平均值去填補缺失的數據。為將各個指標的高低範圍標準化，整個數據庫會以最小-最大標準化方式轉換至一個共同尺度，公式如下。每個時期的每個指標中，最高的數值將會被縮放為 10，最低的數值則會是 0。隨著一項指標的最低或最高值改變，即使一個國家或地區在不同時期擁有相同的原始分數，經標準化後的分數亦有機會改變。



$$\text{normalized score 標準化分數} = \frac{xi - \min(x)}{\max(x) - \min(x)}$$

A sub-pillar score is generated by its indicators with weights determined by principal component analysis. It is a standard statistical method that processes and simplifies data scientifically in index construction. It extracts a dataset's principal components and identifies their weights in a way that best explains variations across the data through the below statistical analysis. Table 21 shows the weights of every indicator in recent index periods. Measuring about 60 countries and territories only, the coverage of IMD's World Competitiveness Yearbook is significantly smaller than other data sources. As there are more missing than recorded entries, we will assign a zero weight to IMD indicators for unobserved countries and territories instead of imputing with sub-regional average. The weights of available indicators from the remaining data sources will be enlarged proportionately.

子支柱分數整合自多個指標，而各個指標的權重由主成分分析產生。這是一種分析和簡化數據的統計技術，是以科學化方式編製指數的標準方法。此方法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。表 19 顯示近期指數的各個指標權重。IMD 世界競爭力年報只覆蓋約 60 個國家和地區，比其他數據來源的覆蓋量顯然較少，缺失的數值比有紀錄的更多。所以，未被收錄的國家或地區，我們將相關指標的權重調整為零，而非以地理組別的平均值填補，其他數據來源的權重則會按比例地增大。

Figure 19: Number of indicators by offsetting years
圖 19：經年期調整之指標數目

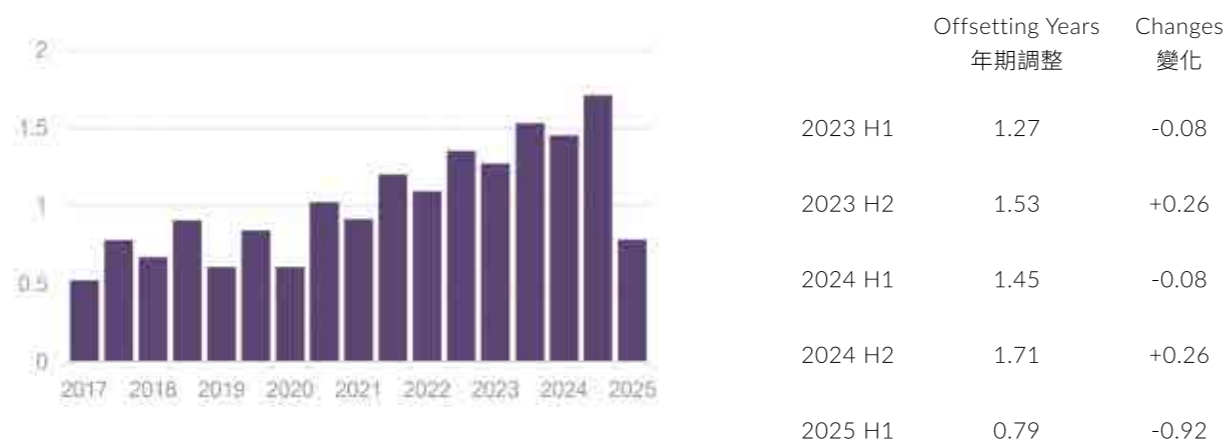


Table 21: PCA weights (%)
表 21：主成分權重 (%)

D. Economic Openness 經濟開放						E. Civil Liberty 公民權利					F. Democratic Development 民主發展						
	2023 H1	2023 H2	2024 H1	2024 H2	2025 H1	2023 H1	2023 H2	2024 H1	2024 H2	2025 H1	2023 H1	2023 H2	2024 H1	2024 H2	2025 H1		
D1.1	13.9	21.8	22.6	22.6	22.0	E1.1	9.3	9.2	9.4	9.4	9.3	F1.1	12.4	12.4	12.5	12.9	12.8
D1.2	19.8	21.7	22.4	22.4	21.9	E1.2	7.0	7.2	7.1	7.2	7.3	F1.2	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.6	12.6
D1.3	19.6	16.1	16.0	16.0	16.5	E1.3	10.5	10.5	10.7	10.7	10.7	F1.3	10.8	10.8	10.8	10.7	10.7
D1.4	17.0	10.4	9.9	9.9	10.0	E1.4	2.8	2.9	2.5	2.6	2.4	F1.4	9.6	9.5	10.3	10.3	10.2
D1.5	23.2	19.7	19.5	19.5	19.8	E1.5	10.6	10.7	10.7	10.7	10.7	F1.5	10.0	9.9	10.0	9.9	9.8
D1.6	6.6	10.3	9.7	9.7	9.7	E1.6	10.9	10.8	10.8	10.9	10.9	F1.6	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.7	4.8
D2.1	14.7	15.9	16.3	16.0	16.3	E1.7	8.7	8.6	8.6	8.5	8.5	F1.7	12.4	12.4	12.4	12.3	12.5
D2.2	15.3	15.3	16.1	16.0	16.2	E1.8	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.4	9.7	F1.8	4.1	4.2	3.4	3.4	3.4
D2.3	13.5	13.4	13.6	13.8	13.8	E1.9	10.9	10.9	10.9	10.8	10.8	F1.9	12.2	12.2	12.3	12.2	12.2
D2.4	11.1	11.5	12.1	12.0	12.4	E1.10	10.1	10.0	10.2	10.2	10.2	F1.10	11.0	11.1	11.0	11.0	11.0
D2.5	16.7	16.0	16.5	16.4	15.8	E1.11	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.7	F2.1	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.4	9.4
D2.6	9.6	9.0	6.0	6.2	5.2	E2.1	10.2	9.8	9.8	9.9	10.0	F2.2	9.2	9.1	9.2	9.2	9.2
D2.7	19.2	18.8	19.4	19.7	20.2	E2.2	10.6	10.2	10.2	10.3	10.3	F2.3	7.7	7.7	8.1	8.1	7.8
D3.1	13.2	12.7	12.9	12.9	13.2	E2.3	11.2	11.2	11.2	11.1	11.0	F2.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.3
D3.2	11.2	10.8	10.7	10.7	10.5	E2.4	4.7	5.2	5.2	4.4	4.4	F2.5	5.3	5.4	5.8	5.7	5.5
D3.3	13.8	13.8	14.0	14.0	14.2	E2.5	13.6	13.6	13.4	13.7	13.7	F2.6	9.4	9.3	9.3	9.3	9.3
D3.4	10.3	12.2	12.4	12.4	12.7	E2.6	10.8	10.7	11.1	11.1	11.6	F2.7	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.5
D3.5	5.3	4.7	3.9	3.9	4.2	E2.7	14.1	13.7	13.7	13.9	13.7	F2.8	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.4	4.3
D3.6	8.1	8.0	8.1	8.1	8.3	E2.8	13.0	13.8	13.6	14.2	14.1	F2.9	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	1.7
D3.7	10.2	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.7	E2.9	4.9	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.1	F2.10	4.9	5.0	4.7	4.7	4.6
D3.8	10.0	9.6	9.2	9.2	8.2	E2.10	7.0	7.3	7.4	7.1	7.1	F2.11	9.8	9.8	9.6	9.6	9.5
D3.9	10.6	10.7	11.1	11.1	11.0	E3.1	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.1	3.1	F2.12	8.2	8.1	7.9	7.9	7.8
D3.10	7.4	7.8	8.1	8.1	8.0	E3.2	-	-	-	-	-	F2.13	6.0	6.1	5.9	5.9	5.8
D4.1	15.9	17.4	17.9	18.2	17.3	E3.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.3	8.2	F2.14	8.9	8.9	8.6	8.6	8.5
D4.2	7.4	6.0	4.8	4.6	7.3	E3.4	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.4	8.3	F2.15	6.7	6.7	6.6	6.6	6.9
D4.3	23.0	22.5	22.4	21.9	21.2	E3.5	8.4	8.3	8.2	8.2	8.4	F3.1	12.7	12.7	12.1	12.1	12.3
D4.4	9.0	11.1	11.3	11.7	10.7	E3.6	7.7	7.8	7.6	7.6	7.8	F3.2	12.7	12.8	12.4	12.4	12.2
D4.5	16.3	14.8	15.4	15.2	16.0	E3.7	8.7	8.8	8.8	8.8	8.7	F3.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3
D4.6	6.4	7.0	7.2	6.8	6.2	E3.8	7.6	7.6	7.8	7.8	7.7	F3.4	10.3	10.2	10.7	10.7	10.3
D4.7	22.2	21.3	21.0	21.5	21.3	E3.9	7.2	7.1	7.1	7.0	7.0	F3.5	7.3	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.1
						E3.10	8.7	8.8	8.8	8.8	8.8	F3.6	5.1	4.8	5.1	5.1	5.5
						E3.11	8.1	8.1	8.0	8.0	8.0	F3.7	4.9	4.7	6.5	6.5	6.4
						E3.12	8.1	8.1	8.1	8.0	8.1	F3.8	3.3	3.1	4.5	4.5	5.2
						E3.13	8.5	8.5	8.5	8.5	8.4	F3.9	9.8	10.3	9.8	9.8	9.7
						E3.14	7.6	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	F3.10	7.0	7.4	6.8	6.8	6.7
						E4.1	6.0	5.9	6.1	6.0	6.0	F3.11	13.5	13.4	12.5	12.5	12.6
						E4.2	5.6	5.5	5.7	5.7	5.7	F3.12	11.7	11.7	11.1	11.1	10.9
						E4.3	5.9	5.8	6.0	5.9	5.8	F3.13	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
						E4.4	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.7	6.6	F4.1	13.1	12.8	13.0	13.2	13.4
						E4.5	7.8	7.8	7.9	7.9	8.0	F4.2	13.4	13.5	13.0	13.1	13.3
						E4.6	6.9	6.9	6.9	6.9	7.0	F4.3	6.3	6.4	7.3	7.3	6.8
						E4.7	5.9	6.0	6.4	6.4	6.4	F4.4	10.3	10.3	10.7	10.7	10.9
						E4.8	7.8	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.7	F4.5	9.1	9.3	9.6	9.3	9.1
						E4.9	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	F4.6	16.7	16.6	16.3	16.3	16.6
						E4.10	5.1	5.1	4.9	4.9	4.8	F4.7	14.4	14.3	13.7	13.7	13.4
						E4.11	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.0	F4.8	16.5	16.7	16.4	16.4	16.4
						E4.12	7.9	7.8	7.8	7.8	7.8						
						E4.13	6.3	6.3	5.9	5.8	6.0						
						E4.14	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.2						
						E4.15	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8						
						E4.16	4.4	4.5	4.4	4.6	4.6						
						E4.17	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.5						

1.3. Revisions and refinement

After the first survey in June 2017, our public opinion questionnaire was refined during the 2017 H2, 2020 H2 and 2022 H1 rounds to increase validity. These refinements include change of wordings, as well as the addition and removal of questions, affecting five of the twelve questions used to compute public opinion scores. The scores from the other seven questions are directly comparable as they are identical in all surveys. Table 22 and Table 23 show the history of the refinement of our questionnaire and the score differences resulting from these changes, respectively.

Since the 2022 H1 report, we have expanded the measurement system for international perception by incorporating more indicators and data sources to enhance objectivity. Figure 20 compares each country's score in the original and revised measurement systems within the same index period. The overall correlation is very strong. Although a broader selection of indicators leads to slight score differences, both systems are consistent in reflecting a country's performance.

Table 22: Revisions of questions on public opinion

表 22：民意調查問題之修訂

Round 輪次	Revision 修訂
2017 H2	Removed '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?' 刪除「回歸之後，特區內部事務並無受到中央各部門同其他內地省市嘅干預。你有幾同意呢？」
2017 H2	Revised '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?' to 'After the handover, Hong Kong has been able to maintain their original way of life. To what extent would you agree?' 修訂「回歸之後，香港人原有嘅生活方式受到內地影響。你有幾同意呢？」為「回歸之後，香港人繼續維持原有嘅生活方式。你有幾同意呢？」
2020 H2	Added 'After the handover, people in Hong Kong continue to be treated equally before the Law. To what extent would you agree?' 新增「回歸之後，香港人繼續係法律面前一律平等。你有幾同意呢？」
2020 H2	Added 'After the handover, Hong Kong is able to keep intact the sovereignty of China, national security and profits from development projects. To what extent would you agree?' 新增「回歸之後，香港可以做到維護國家主權、安全和發展利益。你有幾同意呢？」
2020 H2	Added 'After the handover, Hong Kong is able to maintain prosperity and stability in the long term. To what extent would you agree?' 新增「回歸之後，香港能夠維持到長期繁榮穩定。你有幾同意呢？」
2022 H1	Revised 'After the handover, Hong Kong continues to enjoy the freedom of speech.' to 'After the handover, Hong Kong continues to enjoy the freedoms of speech, association and assembly.' 修訂「回歸之後，香港繼續享有言論自由。你有幾同意呢？」為「回歸之後，香港繼續享有言論、結社同集會自由。你有幾同意呢？」
2022 H1	Revised 'After the handover, people in Hong Kong continue to be treated equally before the Law. To what extent would you agree?' to 'After the handover, people in Hong Kong continue to be protected by the Law regardless of their economic capability, identity and social status. To what extent would you agree?' 修訂「回歸之後，香港人繼續係法律面前一律平等。你有幾同意呢？」為「回歸之後，香港人不論經濟能力、身份同社會地位都能夠得到法律保護。你有幾同意呢？」

1.3. 修訂與調整

在 2017 年 6 月進行第一次調查之後，我們的民意調查問卷在 2017 下半年、2021 上半年和 2022 上半年的輪次中經歷三次修訂，以提高調查的應用性。修訂包括更改調查問題的用字，增加或移除問題，過程影響到民意調查評分中的 5 條問題，另外 7 條問題在所有調查均相同，評分可以直接比較。表 和表 分別顯示調查問題的修訂歷史和得分差異。

為加強國際評價的客觀性，我們在 2022 上半年擴展了國際評價的指標體系，採納更多的指標和數據來源。圖 20 比較每個國家在原有和修訂後的指標體系中，同一指數時期的得分，顯示整體相關性非常強。儘管指標數量增加導致分數略有差異，但每個地區的得分在兩個指標體系之中表現一致。

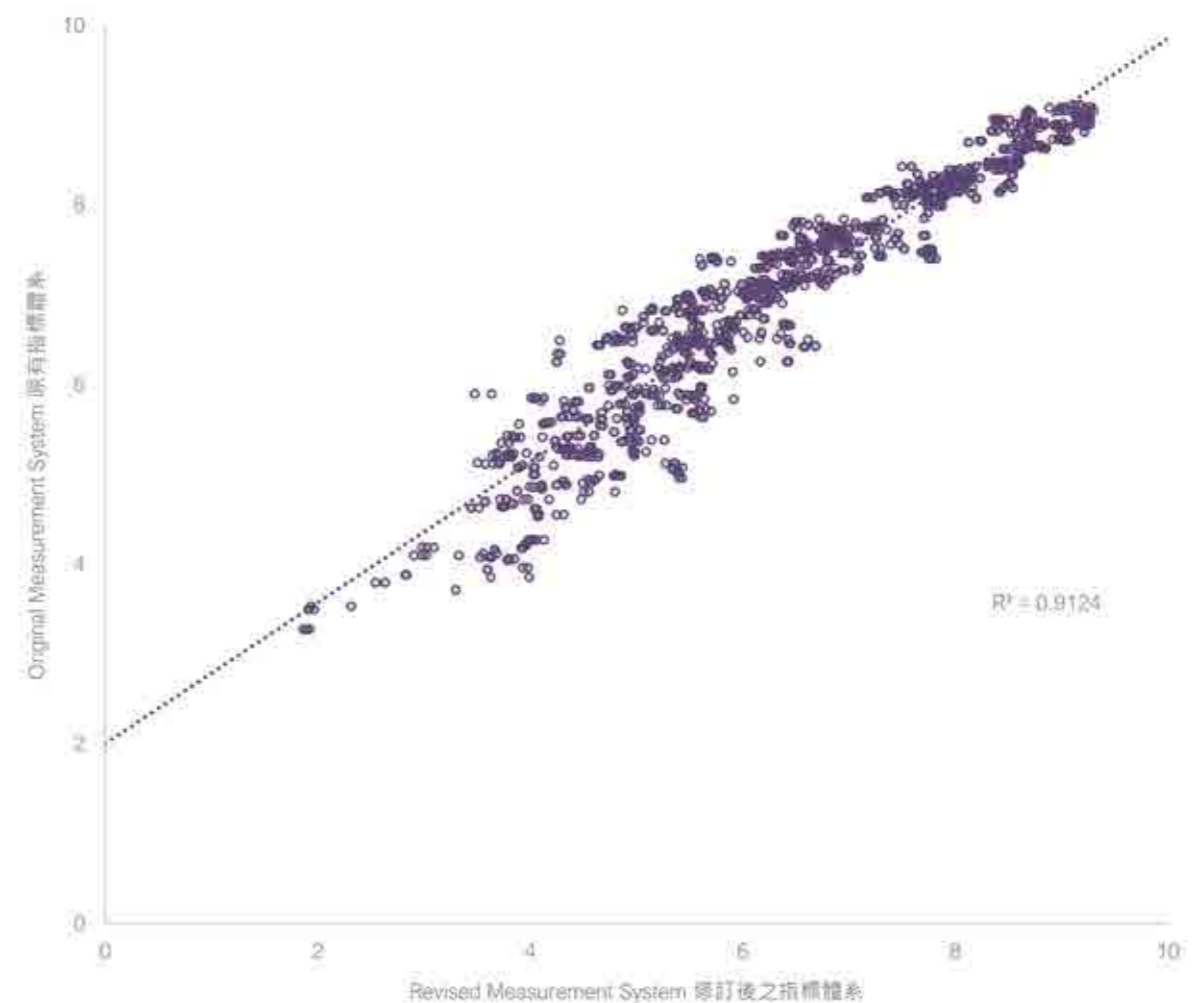
Table 23: Score difference due to revisions of questions on public opinion

表 23：修訂民意調查問題之評分差距

Round 輪次	Identical 相同	Revised 修訂	Difference 差距
2017 H1	4.70	4.84	0.14
2017 H2	4.67	4.98	0.31
2018 H1	4.78	5.05	0.27
2018 H2	4.59	4.84	0.25
2019 H1	4.30	4.58	0.28
2019 H2	3.27	3.53	0.26
2020 H1	3.15	3.39	0.24
2020 H2	3.15	3.62	0.47
2021 H1	3.19	3.62	0.43
2021 H2	3.64	4.02	0.38
2022 H1	4.35	4.71	0.36
2022 H2	4.59	4.98	0.39
2023 H1	4.89	5.22	0.33
2023 H2	4.95	5.21	0.26
2024 H1	5.24	5.45	0.22
2024 H2	5.14	5.38	0.24
2025 H1	5.13	5.33	0.20

Figure 20: Score difference of revised measurement systems on international perception

圖 20：修訂國際評價指標體系後之評分差距



2. 編製「一國兩制」輿情指數 Construction of 1C2S Mass Media Index

We build up a massive dataset by collecting media articles that contain the keyword 'One Country, Two Systems' from news database. Our sample consists of 261,332 news reports from 6 television and radio stations, 21 local daily newspapers and 10 online-only media that were published between April 1998 and December 2023. 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 over 20 years, our text corpus contains around 230 million tokens. The number of articles processed from each media source is listed in Table 24

Common words that are inconsequential to the understanding of news articles, such as pronouns, prepositions and particles, are first removed before further analysis. To determine the sentiment of an article, words are categorised as: 'positive', 'negative' or 'neutral'. The classification scheme adopted is given by the sentiment dictionary for Traditional Chinese words developed by the Natural Language Processing and Sentiment Analysis Lab, Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica.

An article is made up of paragraphs. For each paragraph, net sentiment is calculated by the difference between the number of positive and negative words divided by the total word count. At the article level, a net sentiment score is then derived by averaging the net sentiment of its constituent paragraphs with the below equation. To each news source, a daily net sentiment score is further assigned by averaging the score of all articles published in the past 30 days. This time frame of 30 days is a reporting standard of the media industry. MMI is set at 100 on the base day of 1 January 2021.

$$\text{net sentiment score 情緒評分} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N \frac{(a_i - b_i)}{w_i}}{N}$$

N = total number of paragraphs 段落總數

i = the *i*th paragraph 第 *i* 個段落

aⁱ = number of positive words 正面語例數目

b_i = number of negative words 負面語例數目

w_i = total number of words 正面語例數目

People often receive news from multiple sources and channels. Given the substantial differences in the number of news articles published by various sources and the viewership across different channels, the article count of a news source alone may be an insufficient representation of its influence and perceived importance among readers. To ensure the reliability of the 1C2S MMI, the sentiment score for each news source is weighted by public perceptions of its credibility, based on the survey "Public Evaluation on Media Credibility" conducted by the Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Additionally, each media channel is weighted according to people's primary sources of news from the survey "Appraisal of the Local News Media," conducted by the Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute.

我們以關鍵字「一國兩制」搜集新聞文章，組成累計 261,332 篇報道的龐大數據庫，包含 1998 年 4 月至 2023 年 12 月期間，來自本地 6 間電視電台、21 份日報和 10 間純網媒。我們就每篇文章進行「分詞」，通過電腦運算將文章分解成語例（單詞或短語）。我們利用超過 20 年的資料組成語料庫，包含大約 2 億 241 萬個語例。表 顯示每份報章所運算的文章數量。

在進一步分析這個龐大的語料庫之前，我們首先剔除無助理解文章的常見單詞，如代詞、介詞和助詞。為了辨別一篇文章的情緒，我們採用由台灣中央研究院資訊科學研究所自然語言處理與情感分析實驗室開發的繁體中文情緒字典，把語例分類為「正面」、「中立」或「負面」。

每篇文章由段落組成。我們首先計算每一段落中，正負語例數量的相差，再除以整個段落的字數。每篇文章的情緒評分則為所有段落的平均值，見以下方程式。每個新聞來源的每日情緒評分為過去 30 日所有出版文章的平均分數。媒體行業習慣以 30 日作為報告單位。輿情指數在 2021 年 1 月 1 日設定為基數日。

市民一般從多個新聞來源和傳播媒介取得資訊。由於不同媒體在不同媒介刊登的文章數目、接觸人數有明顯差別，因此，只考慮文章數目不足以呈現不同媒體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」為每個新聞來源的情緒評分加權，以及由香港民意調查中心「新聞傳媒評價」中市民的主要新聞來源為每個傳播媒介的覆蓋度加權。

Table 24: Articles processed in 1C2S MMI

表 24：輿情指數之處理報道數

	2024 Q2	2024 Q3	2024 Q4	2025 Q1	2025 Q2	Database Total 數據庫總量
TV & Radio 電視電台	659	770	925	927	927	31,768
Cable TV / Hong Kong Open TV 有線電視 / 香港開電視	38	55	62	54	54	1,288
Commercial Radio 商業電台	69	70	93	94	94	4,042
Metro Radio 新城電台	88	89	100	136	136	3,085
Now TV	141	174	183	166	166	6,696
RTHK 香港電台	251	261	344	339	339	10,704
TVB 無綫電視	72	121	143	138	138	5,953
Newspaper 報章	2,324	3,493	3,756	3,621	3,621	228,597
am730	82	92	111	110	110	5,713
Apple Daily 蘋果日報	-	-	-	-	-	13,076
Headline Daily 頭條日報	149	238	275	264	264	2,868
Hong Kong Commercial Daily 香港商報	126	466	517	180	180	20,808
Hong Kong Daily News 新報	-	-	-	-	-	4,476
Hong Kong Economic Journal 信報	136	145	170	142	142	7,011
Hong Kong Economic Times 經濟日報	66	78	47	67	67	9,760
Lion Rock Daily 香港仔	17	33	23	32	32	813
Metro Daily 都市日報	-	-	-	-	-	1,528
Ming Pao Daily News 明報	116	128	148	150	150	16,492
Oriental Daily News 東方日報	25	21	22	20	20	10,487
South China Morning Post 南華早報	-	-	1	-	-	712
Sharp Daily 爽報	-	-	-	-	-	152
Sing Pao 成報	30	30	8	-	-	5,573
Sing Tao Daily 星島日報	231	186	259	370	370	17,982
Sky Post 晴報	-	-	-	-	-	833
Ta Kung Pao 大公報	520	932	921	1,078	1,078	52,707
The Standard 英文虎報	-	1	1	-	-	109
The Sun 太陽報	-	-	-	-	-	4,828
Tin Tin Daily News 天天日報	-	-	-	-	-	452
Wen Wei Po 文匯報	826	1,143	1,253	1,208	1,208	52,217
Online-Only Media 純網媒	645	724	796	854	854	29,515
Bastille Post 巴士的報	357	343	433	500	500	13,779
Citizen News 眾新聞	-	-	-	-	-	1,186
HK01 香港01	225	314	308	287	287	10,240
Hong Kong Free Press 香港自由新聞	-	1	-	-	-	46
Initium Media 端傳媒	8	10	9	7	7	229
In-Media 獨立媒體	18	28	20	16	16	635
Passion Times 熱血時報	37	27	25	44	44	848
Post 852 852 郵報	-	-	-	-	-	631
Speak Out HK 港人講地	-	1	1	-	-	61
Stand News 立場新聞	-	-	-	-	-	1,860
Total 總數	3,628	4,987	5,477	5,402	5,402	289,880

2.1. Accuracy test

1C2S MMI 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 25, 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 three 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 three 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.

Table 25: Results of accuracy test
表 25：覆查結果

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

2.1. 準確度覆查

「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如諷刺等寫作手法，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及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，相信不是一個大問題。

為證實此詞彙模型辨別情緒的準確度，我們請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。

我們利用與「一國兩制」輿情指數相同的詞彙模型為此等段落的情緒評分。在模型中，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 25 顯示利用詞彙模型計算的情緒評分。2,363 及 1,472 個段落分別被判決為「正面」及「負面」。被研究員判斷為「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。

II. 相應調查 Comparable Surveys

1. 「一國兩制」觀感 Perception of 1C2S

Our 1C2S Index reflects local and international perceptions of areas such as Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy, human rights and freedom, democratic development, economic openness, and Hong Kong-Mainland relations. We conduct telephone surveys and collect data from international think tanks every six months. Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (HKPORI, formerly Public Opinion Programme of the University of Hong Kong) also conducts telephone surveys quarterly to gauge public confidence in 1C2S. Respondents are asked, 'Generally speaking, are you confident in 1C2S?'. Figure 21 shows that these surveys display a similar trend with a decline from mid-2017 to late-2019 followed by a gradual rebound.

我們的「一國兩制」指數每半年進行電話調查及收集國際數據，為高度自治、人權自由、民主發展、經濟開放、內港關係等範疇評分，反映香港市民與世界各地對「一國兩制」的觀感。香港民意研究所（香港民研，前身為香港大學民意研究計劃）亦有訪問香港市民對「一國兩制」的信心，每三個月進行電話調查，問題為「咁整體黎講，你對一國兩制有冇信心？」。圖 21 顯示這兩項調查的趨勢相近，自 2017 年中開始下滑至 2019 年底，其後慢慢上升。

Figure 21: Changes of public perceptions towards 1C2S

圖 21：「一國兩制」公眾觀感的變動



2. 輿情與民情 Media sentiment and public opinion

We use big data techniques to measure media sentiment towards 1C2S covered by TV stations, radios, newspapers and online media. 1C2S Mass Media Index (MMI) measures daily net sentiment of media reports. It is calculated monthly and reported quarterly. As media sentiment is an important factor in the formation of public opinion, we compare it with HKPORI's Public Sentiment Index (PSI). PSI quantified Hong Kong people's sentiments towards the prevailing societal, economic and political climate. It appraises the concepts of 'good governance' and 'social harmony' by evaluating the overall government performance and social conditions. Figure 22 shows both MMI and PSI oscillated in 2017 and 2018, bottomed in 2019 and embarked on a path of recovery.

我們利用大數據技術去衡量媒體情緒，計算電視電台、報紙和純網媒上所有與「一國兩制」有關文章的情緒淨值，每月編製「一國兩制」輿情指數，每季度結算。媒體所傳遞的情緒是形成民意的重要因素，我們將之與香港民研的「民情指數」比較。「民情指數」反映公眾對政治、社會和經濟環境的情緒反應，包涵「政通」和「人和」兩個概念，評價整體政府管治表現和整體社會狀況。圖 22 顯示輿情指數與民情指數於 2017 年及 2018 年上下浮動，2019 年觸底並自此復甦。

Figure 22: Changes of MMI and PSI
圖 22：輿情指數和民情指數的變動



3. 政治傾向 Political orientation

We ask citizens about their political inclination in our half-yearly survey and classify them as pro-establishment supporters, non-establishment supporters (including democrats, localists, and self-determinists), and moderates (including centrists and those without specific political inclination). HKUPOP conducted telephone surveys every two weeks to collect citizens' political inclination and results from October 2016 to June 2019 were released. After spinning off from the University of Hong Kong, HKPORI

我們在每半年的電話調查中詢問市民的政治傾向，統稱為建制派、非建制派（包括民主派、本土派和自決派）和溫和派（包括中間派和沒有政治取態）。港大民研每兩星期進行電話調查，其間統計市民的政治傾向，並對外公布 2016 年 10 月至 2019 年 6 月的數據。脫離香港

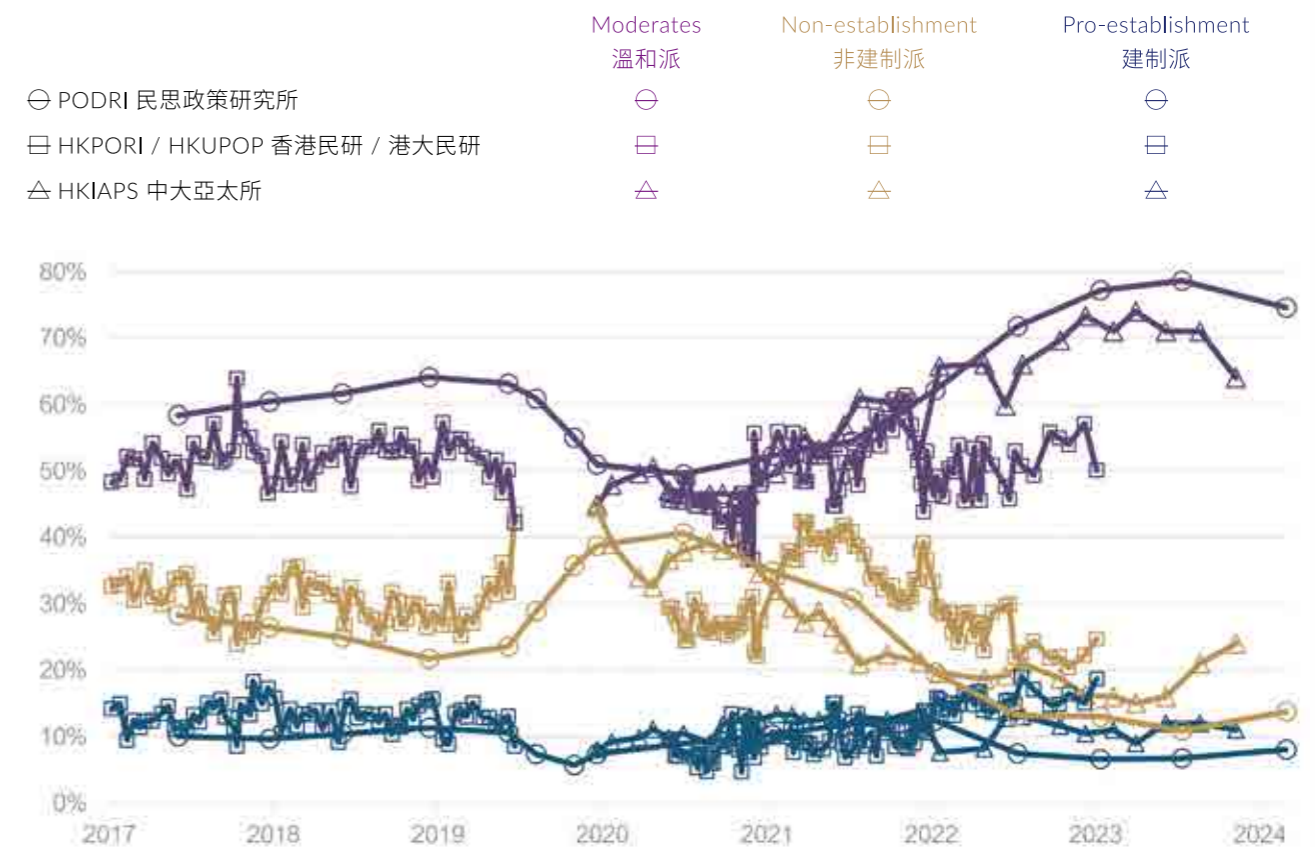
launches the 'We Hong Kongers' series and invites citizens to fill out questionnaires via email almost every week. Results are rim-weighted to obtain political inclination of the online group. The Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (HKIAPS) of the Chinese University of Hong Kong conducts regular telephone surveys to assess popularity of the chief executive of the HKSAR government. Political inclination of respondents has become part of its release since 2020.

大學後，香港民研的「我們香港人」計劃接近每星期以電郵邀請市民填寫問卷，數據經過反覆多重加權，得出網上群組的政治傾向。香港中文大學香港亞太研究所（亞太所）定期就特首民望進行電話調查，自 2020 年起同時公布訪者問的政治傾向。

Political inclination identified by HKPORI and HKIAPS, while termed differently, aligned closely with our classification. Moderates in our survey correspond to HKPORI's 'inclined towards the centrist camp' and 'no political inclination / politically neutral / not belong to any camp' and HKIAPS' 'no specific inclination'. Non-establishment supporters correspond to HKPORI's 'inclined towards the pro-democracy camp' and 'inclined towards the localist camp' and HKIAPS' 'non-establishment'. Pro-establishment supporters correspond to HKPORI's 'inclined towards the pro-establishment camp' and HKIAPS' 'pro-establishment'. Figure 23 shows that both surveys are consistent with our findings. A trend of deradicalization was witnessed from mid-2017 to late-2019, followed by a rapid formation and dissolution of non-establishment supporters in the immediate year and the rise of moderate politics since mid-2020.

雖然香港民研與亞太所對各種政治傾向有不同名稱，但是大致能夠對應我們的分類。我們的建制派對應前者的「傾向建制派」和後者的「建制」，非建制派對應前者的「傾向民主派」與「傾向本土派」和後者的「非建制」，溫和派對應前者的「偏向中間派」與「沒有政治傾向／政治中立／不屬於任何派別」和後者的「沒有明確傾向」。圖 23 顯示兩項調查與我們的發現吻合，同時反映 2017 年中至 2019 年中年的去激進化，其後非建制在一年間急速冒起並退減，以及自 2020 年中興起的溫和政治。

Figure 23: Changes of citizens' political inclinations
圖 23：市民政治傾向的變動



4. 身份認同情 Citizens' identity

Two types of questionnaire design are commonly used to track citizens' self-identity in Hong Kong, the 'dominant identity' design and the 'multiple identity' design. A 'dominant identity' design classifies one's identity either as 'Hongkonger' or 'Chinese', and in some cases, includes certain mixed identities, e.g. 'Chinese in Hong Kong', 'Hongkonger in China' and 'both'. Respondents are compelled to select only one among two or more identities. If proportionally more people choose one category, the proportions of other categories must go down.

We adopt a 'multiple identity' design which uses separate questions to measure citizens' identification as 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese'. This approach allows a possible scenario where a citizen identifies oneself more or less strongly as 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' simultaneously. Furthermore, the source data enable us to categorize citizens into four dominant identities: strong identification as Hongkongers only, strong identification as Chinese only, dual identity with strong identifications in both and others which include those without a dominant identity.

In recent years, the academic community has increasingly adopted multiple identities questionnaires and employed computational methods for analysis (Lee & Chan, 2022; Chan & Tang, 2019; Steinhardt et al., 2018; Yang, 2024). Many studies have relied on HKPORI data to explore these issues in Hong Kong. However, despite these efforts, there remain gaps and limitations, highlighting the need for regular and systematic surveys on multiple identities to better understand the evolving social dynamics.

HKPORI's identity survey employs both the 'multiple identity' and 'dominant identity' questionnaire designs. Respondents first rate their identities as 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' separately. After that, they will choose one amongst these four categories: 'Hongkonger', 'Chinese', 'Chinese in Hong Kong' and 'Hongkonger in China'. Although HKPORI releases results of both designs, media in Hong Kong focuses on the first part only as it is more popular in public surveys. The proportion of citizens that identify themselves strongly as both 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' cannot be reflected.

Figure 24 shows the ratings of citizens' identification as 'Hongkonger' and 'Chinese' from HKPORI and us using a 'multiple identity' design. Both surveys suggest that the 'Hongkonger' identity maintained high in 2020 and then declined. The 'Chinese' identity recovered from its lowest level in 2019 and 2020. Figure 25 shows results from HKPORI and us using a 'dominant identity' design. HKPORI refers 'Chinese in Hong Kong' and 'Hongkongers in China' as 'mixed identities', which corresponds to our 'dual identity'. Both surveys suggest that the majority of Hong Kong society possess a 'dual identity', while being temporarily overtaken by 'Hongkonger only' from 2019 to mid-2021, it has resurged to become the primary identity since late-2021.

香港的身份認同調查有兩種問卷設計：「主要身份」及「多元身份」兩種。以「主要身份」設計的調查一般將身份認同歸類為「香港人」及「中國人」兩種，或者再加入「香港的中國人」、「中國的香港人」、「兩者皆是」等多種混合身份。受訪者需要從兩種或多種身份中，選擇其中一種，如果認同其中一種身份的比例增加，認同其他身份的比例必定減少。

我們的調查採用「多元身份」的問卷設計，用獨立問題要求市民分別對「香港人」及「中國人」的認同感評分，能夠反映市民可能對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身份認同同時加強，或同時減弱。然後利用原始數據判斷市民的「主要身份」，歸為四類：只對香港人身份有較強認同、只對中國人身份有較強認同、對兩種身份均擁有較強認同的雙重認同，以及包括沒有主要身份的其他身份認同。

近年來，學術界越來越多地採用多重身份問卷，並運用計算方法進行分析 (Lee & Chan, 2022; Chan & Tang, 2019; Steinhardt 等, 2018; Yang, 2024)。許多研究利用香港公共意見研究所 (香港民研) 數據來探討這些問題。然而，儘管有這些努力，仍然存在一些空白和局限性，突顯出定期和系統性調查多重身份的必要性，以更好地理解不斷變化的社會動態。

香港民研的身份認同調查同時採用「多元身份」及「主要身份」兩種問卷設計。受訪市民先對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身份分別評分，再從四種身份中選擇其中一種，包括「香港人」、「中國人」、「香港的中國人」及「中國的香港人」。雖然香港民研公布兩種問卷結果，但是由於「主要身份」為多數調查所採用，所以香港傳媒側重報道後者的結果，未能反映有多少市民同時對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身份擁有高度認同。

圖 24 為我們和香港民研的「多元身份」調查結果，顯示市民對「香港人」及「中國人」兩種身份的評分。兩項調查同樣反映「香港人」評分在 2020 年維持高位後回落，而「中國人」評分則在 2019 年及 2020 年墮入谷底後逐漸回升。圖 25 顯示為我們和香港民研的「主要身份」調查結果，香港民研將「香港的中國人」及「中國的香港人」合稱為「混合身份」，對應我們的「雙重認同」。兩項調查同樣反映「雙重認同」是香港社會的大多數，在 2019 年至 2021 年中被「只有香港人」短暫取代，並於 2021 年底再次成為主流身份。

Figure 24: Changes of scores with 'dominant identity' design

圖 24：「主要身分」評分的變動

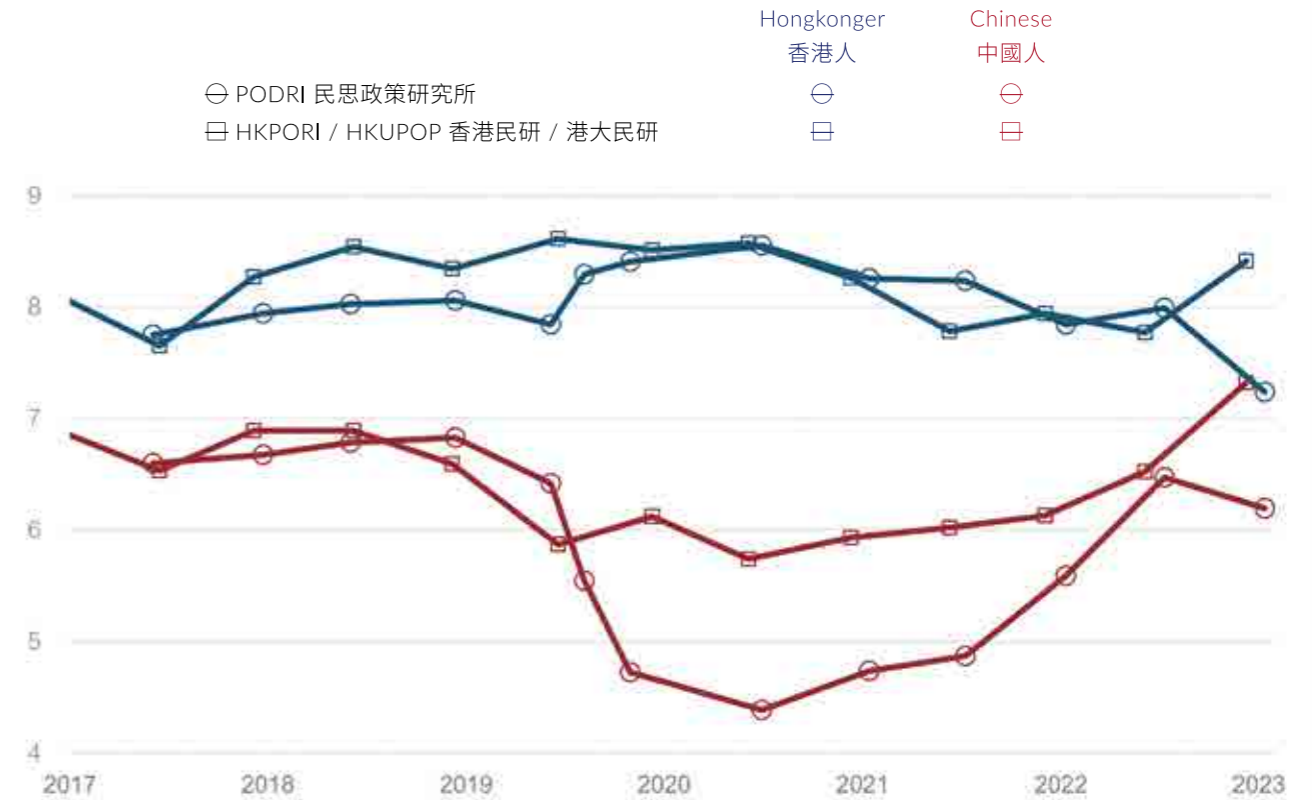
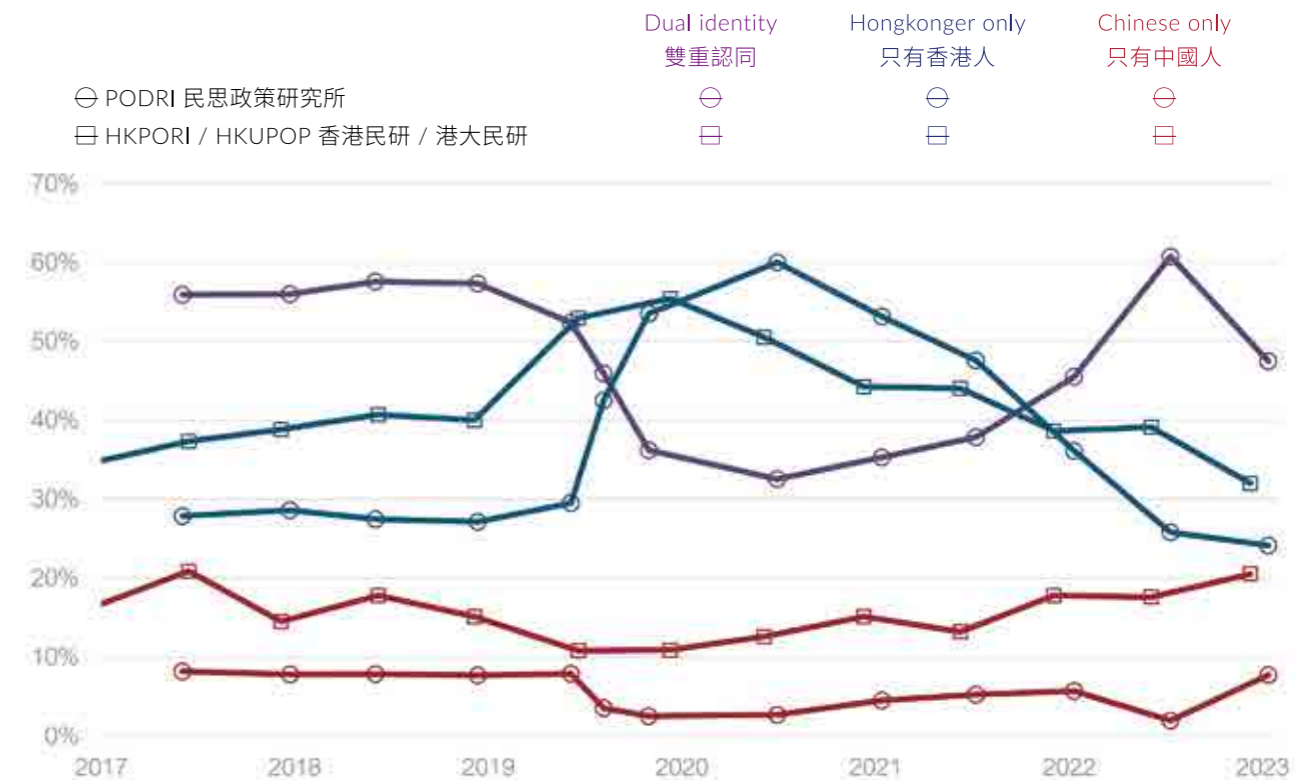


Figure 25: Changes of proportions with 'multiple identity' design

圖 25：「多元身分」比例的變動



'One Country Two Systems' Index 「一國兩制」指數

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'ONE COUNTRY TWO SYSTEMS' INDEX

「一國兩制」指數

2025 | H1 上半年 (Sixteenth Edition 第十六版)

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ISSN (3080-2695)