

Our Future Beyond 2047:
Perspectives from the Hong Kong Public
跨越 2047 :
香港市民的觀點

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目錄 Content

行政摘要 Executive Summary	P.	2
簡介 Introduction	P.	6
背景與目的 Background and Objectives	P.	9
研究方法 Methodology	P.	17
結果 Results		
4.1 法治與自由 Rule of Law and Freedom	P.	22
4.2 管治與政治體制 Governance and Political System	P.	36
4.3 社會經濟狀況 Socio-economic Conditions	P.	51
4.4 香港未來定位 Hong Kong's Positioning	P.	67
政策啓示及建議 Policy Implications and Recommendations	P.	81
結語 Concluding Remarks	P.	88
參考文獻 References	P.	91
附錄 Appendices		
i 新聞文章及字數統計 News article and word count	P.	94
ii 熱門關鍵字清單 List of top search words	P.	95
iii 電話調查問卷 Questionnaire for telephone survey	P.	101
iv 電話調查加權方法 Weighting method for telephone survey	P.	105
v 聚焦小組討論問題 Discussion questions for focus groups	P.	106
vi 聚焦小組受訪者名單 List of focus group participants	P.	107

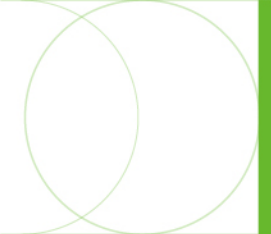
行政摘要 Executive Summary





行政摘要

Executive Summary



(i) Abstract

The anti-extradition movement and its aftermath fuelled public fear and mistrust in and around the integrity of “One Country Two Systems” (1C2S). However, public surveys also suggest a growing support for the continuation of 1C2S beyond 2047. It is difficult to reconcile the fact that despite what appeared to be a marked decline in confidence, Hong Kongers still overwhelmingly indicated that they were in favour of the continuation of the same beyond 2047. The result points to one important point of strain in the Hong Kong-Mainland relations, namely, a mismatch of expectations on the question of what makes 1C2S work. This study uses a futurological paradigm to approach the pragmatic question of how Hong Kong should continue beyond 2047. Big data analytics was employed to examine media content from 1998 to 2020 to identify subjects of concerns that the narrative focused on, focus group discussions with 50 participants spanning across different age groups and a telephone poll of 1,003 randomly sampled individuals were conducted to portray popular sentiment underlying the re-emergence of the “future problem”. We found that the general consensus is for 1C2S to continue but deeper involvement of Hong Kongers in the negotiations is desired by many. Our evidence shows that while the general public is not optimistic toward the future of Hong Kong, the solution to this dissatisfaction is also clear: resilience building, socio-politico-economic reform, and deeper participation of Hong Kongers in a potential negotiation for the post-2047 arrangement.

(ii) Policy implications and recommendations

The discrepancies in expectations on 1C2S have been testified in the public survey and focus group participants conducted for this study. The 2019 social unrest left a deep imprint on all living in the city but it is equally clear from the focus group results that 1C2S still offers much comfort for an overwhelming majority of the public. Instead of constitutional alternatives, it was much more common for participants to propose ways in which 1C2S can improve, often times these suggestions hinted at the deficiencies in governance capacity, shortcomings of neoliberal capitalism and inefficacy of social change. If a hoped-for discussion on the continuation of 1C2S is to be taken place, a majority of the public would want to get involved in the negotiation process.

(i) 研究摘要

修例風波及其餘緒挑起市民對「一國兩制」的信心危機，令公眾恐慌與不信任迅速發酵。然而，民調發現大多數市民仍然支持在2047年後繼續實行「一國兩制」。為何市民對「一國兩制」信心驟降的同時，仍然廣泛認同於2047年後延續同樣的制度？兩種取態似乎難以調和，亦正正指出內地與香港關係的矛盾，離不開不同持分者對實踐此制度的期望上存在差異。本研究從未來研究的角度出發，嘗試探討2047年後香港如何自處。我們利用大數據技術分析新聞媒體於1998年至2020年對2047問題的相關報導，歸納關於香港前途的論述焦點。我們亦以電話調查隨機抽樣訪問了1,003名市民，及以聚焦小組與50名來自不同年齡組別人士進行訪談，勾勒前途問題再起之下的公眾取態。結果發現，延續「一國兩制」為社會共識，大多數市民渴望參與關於2047年香港前途的討論。雖然市民對未來不存樂觀，但是研究亦發現他們期望的解決辦法相當明確：建立抗逆力、社政經改革及讓港人深入參與前途討論。

(ii) 政策啟示及建議

調查結果突顯市民眼中「一國兩制」的現實與期望存在一定差距。雖然2019年的社會事件對香港衝擊猶在，多數市民仍然相信「一國兩制」能夠安定社會。市民甚少提及政制上的替代方案，反而更多建議如何改善現時運行中的「一國兩制」。建議通常圍繞管治能力的缺陷、新自由資本主義的困境和社會變革的失效。如果未來市民能夠參與「一國兩制」前景的討論，他們不會錯失良機。

Worryingly, we found in our survey that over half of the respondents do not think that the SAR or the central government has a genuine intent in making 1C2S successful. There is a list of criteria that needs to be fulfilled for the respondents to consider 1C2S as successful and they tended to think that continuation is only worthwhile when all such criteria were met. Considering the politico-socio happenings lately, it is thus unsurprising that almost two-thirds of the respondents were pessimistic toward the future of Hong Kong.

As a result, there is a deep desire among both the focus group participants and survey respondents for some kind of reforms to take place, be that political, social or economic. While not all participants long for it, two-third from public survey want a much faster pace of democratization. Now that the Hong Kong National Security Law has been introduced and radicalism has calmed down somewhat, they strongly urged the SAR government to pick up the challenge of re-opening dialogue with the central government on political reform and offer short to mid-term timetables. A roadmap detailing the timeline can at least show the public that the authorities are determined to realize this promise in the remaining time of the 50-year timeframe.

Governance capacity is deemed by participants to be a critical indicator of how successful the high degree of autonomy can be achieved. A majority of respondents in the public survey support the deepening of government expenditure, tax responsibility and government's role in the market. Many participants were also confident in the resilience of capitalism practiced in contemporary Hong Kong. The city's economic competitiveness and international confidence are the two aspects that participants identified to facilitate Hong Kong's bargaining power in a potential negotiation.

Considerable obstacle to the continuation of 1C2S lies in misinformation and misunderstanding. Such obstacle may not be completely removable but attempt must be made to eradicate such obstacle. And yet, the government has never been able to rectify such misinformation. Indeed, one may consider this is the other most important element other than the performance of the SAR government in influencing people's perception as to the success or otherwise of the 1C2S. Sadly, no government since 1997 has been able to focus on this very important issue. A way has to be found to confront this issue head on without harming the associated rights and freedoms.

民意調查中，過半受訪者不認為特區政府或中央政府有誠意落實「一國兩制」，情況令人擔心。就衡量「一國兩制」成功與否，市民通常有一套既定標準，並認為只有滿足條件後，延續「一國兩制」才變得有意義。考慮現時的政經狀況，約三分之二受訪者對香港未來感到悲觀並不教人意外。

有見及此，大部分受訪者深切希望在政治、經濟或社會上，現行制度將有所改革。雖然並非所有受訪者對政制民主化抱有憧憬，但是三分之二受訪者希望能夠加快步伐。隨著《港區國安法》生效及社會激進化稍事冷靜，市民期望特區政府儘快就政制改革與中央政府重啟對話，並落實中短期時間表，讓他們相信中央及特區政府有決心在「五十年不變」完結前履行《基本法》的承諾。

在受訪者眼中，管治能力是評價高度自治水平的重要指標。近期不少社會運動蘊含對新自由政策的不滿，民調結果正好反映政府應考慮提高公共開支、審視稅務責任及深化其市場角色。受訪者對香港資本主義的抗逆力抱有一定信心，將來如有一場處理香港未來的前途討論，提高經濟競爭力及增強國際信心乃市民心目中最能夠保障香港利益的議價基礎。

虛假資訊與誤解是阻礙「一國兩制」延續的另一問題，雖難根治，但必須嘗試消除。可是，政府從未能夠糾正這些問題，足以改變市民對「一國兩制」成敗的評價，其影響力比管治表現有過之而無不及。更遺憾是回歸以來，未有一屆政府能夠認真處理。我們必須思索既能兼顧相關自由與權利，又能正視問題癥結的解決方法。

When it comes to maintaining Hong Kong's uniqueness, a strong sense of boundary is displayed spelling out the systemic difference between Hong Kong and the Mainland. At the core of this uniqueness are the freedom and rights guaranteed by 1C2S and the defence of national interest. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that more mutual understanding is crucial to the success of 1C2S. Given the escalating tension between US and China, Hong Kong will continue to feature in various political narrative and the international power struggle. The challenge therefore lies in balancing Hong Kong's role to lobby both sides and to maximize its position as some sort of "middle-man". The future development of Hong Kong lies in its ability to remain an international city of China.

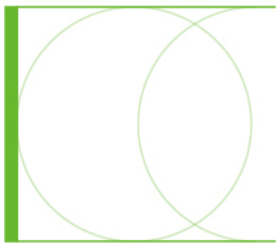
To achieve a balanced view from all stakeholders toward the future of Hong Kong, the study of Hong Kong's future should invite experts, professional groups and other stakeholders to share their viewpoints. A periodic survey will also be useful to compare sentiment over time, especially when negotiation of 2047 draws near and the public have expressed a deep intent to participate in some kind of negotiation. More importantly, as 2047 issue becomes increasingly embedded in mundane lives of citizens, the government should seek to engage with the public as early as possible to set the agenda and prepare for a potential 2047 talk. This could take the form of consultation or deliberation, in formal or informal settings, held by governmental units or independent entities or both. The way forward is there. We only need to find it in time.

談到保持香港的獨特性，市民非常強調兩制之別，而關鍵在於保障自由權利和捍衛國家利益。受訪者不懷疑若內地與香港互相加深了解，將有助於「一國兩制」行穩致遠。中美關係日益緊張，香港無可避免地捲入各種政治論述及國際風波之中。對市民而言，如何演繹中間人的遊說角色，如何維持中國國際都會的地位，將會主宰香港的未來發展。

為更全面地呈現社會各界的意見，關於香港未來的研究可以進一步訪問專家、專業團體及其他持份者。隨著2047年臨近，定期調查能夠比較此過程中的民意變化，一如市民所求，有助於加強潛在談判中的參與感。再者，香港前途的討論日漸普及，無論以諮詢或商討方式，正式或非正式渠道，由官方機構、民間組織或兩者攜手帶領，政府也應趁早接觸市民，設定議題，為可能發生的2047討論凝聚共識。未來前路近在咫尺，我們只須待時而動。

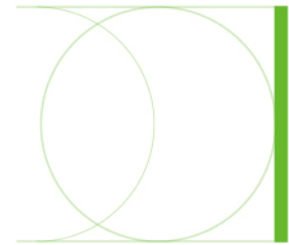
簡介 Introduction





簡介

Introduction



The paradoxical relationship between Hong Kong and mainland China lies in their fundamental ideological differences which constantly affect the implementation of the "One Country Two Systems" (1C2S). As evident in how the anti-extradition riots and the passing of the Hong Kong National Security Law could fuel public fear of erosion of and mistrust in the 1C2S, lack of confidence in 1C2S often serves as a crucial backdrop to the hyper-sensitivity of Hong Kong-mainland relations. While there already is an increasing suspicion of encroachment against Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy, the central government's responses to the political conflicts in Hong Kong often creates further anxiety among the Hong Kong public. Hong Kongers generally viewed such responses as evidence of tighter surveillance, risks to the freedoms of Hong Kong and more importantly, threats to the "core values of Hong Kong".

For three years, Path of Democracy has been tracing Hong Kong citizens' ratings for 1C2S. In August 2020, the latest index recorded the second lowest score since we first launched our project. However, there is still strong growing support for the continuation of 1C2S. It is difficult to reconcile the fact that despite what appeared to be a marked decline in confidence of the 1C2S, people of Hong Kong still overwhelmingly indicated they were in favour of the continuation of the same beyond 2047. The results point to one important point of strain in the Hong Kong-mainland relations, namely, a mismatch of expectations on the question of what makes 1C2S work.

The ever-growing gap of differences of expectation and the rapidly declining level of confidence function as a key indicator of a deep-seated fundamental fissure in the Hong Kong-China relations. What are Hong Kongers' concerns and visions for 2047? The recent governance crisis has spoken and we should humbly acknowledge the unfortunate fact that if the ultimate goal of 1C2S is to lead to full integration between mainland and Hong Kong, unless there will be fundamental changes, any mainland- Hong Kong integration at its current state and pace will highly likely not work. On the other hand, if the ultimate goal of 1C2S is simply to preserve the status quo that is Hong Kong, is preservation of such status quo realistic in view of the return of Hong Kong to the motherland? If 1C2S is to continue, which changes, if any, would be the most beneficial to the interest of Hong Kong and the rest of China overall?

沿於制度之別，內地與香港的矛盾關係一直影響「一國兩制」的落實。兩地互動極其敏感，往往離不開信心問題，近期便有修例風波及《港區國安法》催生市民對「一國兩制」倒退及不信任的公眾恐慌。一方面，市民越來越懷疑香港的高度自治受到蠶食，另一方面，市民對中央政府處理香港政治衝突的手法亦不無憂慮。不少人更視此為中央計劃進一步加強監控、收緊自由、踐踏香港核心價值的先兆。

過去三年，民主思路一直追蹤香港市民對「一國兩制」的評價。2020年8月的最新評分為研究開展以來第二低分。不過，市民卻廣泛支持延續「一國兩制」，人數更正在增加。「一國兩制」經歷信心危機，但是市民仍視之為值得支持的制度。兩種想法似乎難以調和，卻正正反映內地與香港關係的痛點：對甚麼是成功的「一國兩制」有迥異的期望。

期望之差擴大與信心危機惡化均指向內地與香港關係的深層次裂縫。香港人對「2047」有何關注與願景？假如「一國兩制」的長遠目標是內地與香港的全方位融合，我們必須虛心接受近期管治危機所揭露的事實，就是以現今的融合模式和速度，「一國兩制」若無根本性調整便無望成功。又假如「一國兩制」的長遠目標是令香港維持現狀，維持今天的現狀是否符合香港回歸祖國的方針？考慮延續「一國兩制」時，現行制度是否需要改變？如果需要，怎樣的改變才能令內地與香港的利益最大化？

1C2S has long been held as the fundamental state policy for peaceful reunification of China. Hong Kong's future beyond 2047 is well embedded within the series of policy goals contained by the Two Centenaries. Such prime position 1C2S occupies within the national development vision of China should be viewed with optimism and hope that negotiations with the authorities on future arrangement of Hong Kong is possible and indeed deemed essential.

1C2S is now standing at a junction with splits pointing to vastly different future paths. It is with little doubt that HKSAR, the central government and the Hong Kong citizens alike are confronted with the pragmatic question of how Hong Kong should continue. This report will contribute to the first of an in-depth research series, "Our Future beyond 2047", which aims to examine the general public's view toward 1C2S now and their expectations of Hong Kong beyond 2047. In the following stages, we plan to consult elite groups in Hong Kong, such as political parties, professional groups, academics, NGOs, chambers of commerce, international and major local enterprises, and other stakeholders representing Beijing's views.

「一國兩制」是為實現國家和平統一的基本國策。香港在2047年後的未來亦寫入「兩個一百年」奮鬥目標的路線圖之上。「一國兩制」在國家發展大局有重要地位，中央政府不單有意願，更有必要就香港前途進行廣泛協商。

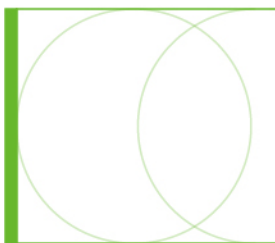
「一國兩制」遇到發展路上的分岔口，無論香港市民、特區政府或中央政府均面臨一道務實的問題：香港前路應何去何從？本報告為「跨越2047」研究系列的首份結果，旨於考察大眾對現時「一國兩制」的評價及對2047年後香港的期望。往後階段將訪問香港的社會代表，包括政黨、專業團體、學者、非政府組織、商會、國際及本地企業，以及其他來自北京方面的意見。



背景與目的

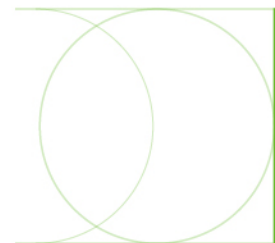
Background and Objectives





背景與目的

Background and Objectives



(i) Study of the future

"Futures studies is the systematic study of possible, probable and preferable futures" (Inayatullah 2013). The study of the future is both an academic field and a participatory social movement which consciously creates authentic alternative scenarios based on multiple interpretations of reality and concerns all types of stakeholders with action-oriented shaping of a desired future in the longer-term.

The openness that contemporary futurology emphasizes could be what Hong Kong needs in this time in history, historically known as the "borrowed land on borrowed time" and of which anxiety toward its future is integral to its very existence. Adopting a futurological angle, this research aims not to predict what will happen to Hong Kong after 2047 but to humbly make a new start to shape a desired future with all stakeholders.

(ii) Incubation of the "remain unchanged for 50 years" promise

Time has never affected the public regarding the discussion of Hong Kong's future. In the beginning of 1980s, Sino-British negotiation commenced against the backdrop of ensuring investor confidence over the potential termination of UK's 99-year lease of the New Territories. In his speech to the Hong Kong delegation, Deng Xiaoping promised that the capitalist system of Hong Kong will "remain unchanged for 50 years" (Deng 1984). This political promise was marked in the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law. The due time of the Hong Kong question was thereby extended from 1997 to 2047. It is now time again to revisit this question.

While the combined efforts of the two aforementioned documents maintained prosperity and stability of the city, certain concerns have persisted throughout the HKSAR era. Just as the Joint Declaration dedicated an annex to settle the land lease issue, the Lands Department and Hong Kong Monetary Authority made clarifications and arrangements addressing similar concerns which resurfaced in the 2010s about land leases and mortgages beyond 2047 (Legislative Council 2016). Indeed, the unchanging system was one of the metrics by which the public evaluate the implementation of 1C2S.

(i) 未來研究

「未來研究是對有可能、會發生及更可取的未來作系統性研究」(Inayatullah 2013)。未來研究既是一門學問，也是一場具參與性的社會運動，旨在基於各種對現實的解讀，有意識地建構真實的另類場景，亦藉著長遠的實際行動，塑造關乎所有持份者的願景。

香港正處於被稱為「借來的地方，借來的時間」的歷史時空，籠罩著對未來的躊躇。當代未來學所著重的開放態度，恰是香港現時最需要的。從未來學角度出發，本研究不為預測2047年後的香港，只望與所有持份者攜手為未來願景踏出第一步。

(ii) 「50年不變」的承諾

公眾對香港前途的討論今昔未變。80年代初，新界99年租期快將屆滿，中英雙方為穩定投資者信心展開談判。鄧小平與香港代表團保證，香港所實行的資本主義制度將會「50年不變」(Deng 1984)。這政治承諾最終記載於《中英聯合聲明》及《基本法》中，將香港前途問題的限期由1997年延後至2047年。現在，前途討論再次浮現，相信是重新探討的時機。

上述兩份文件雖能維持香港的繁榮穩定，但一些議題於回歸之後仍然存在。例如儘管《聯合聲明》以整份附件的篇幅詳盡解釋地契事宜，地契與按揭問題於2010年後依然被重提，終須地政總署及金融管理局釋疑 (Legislative Council 2016)。足證制度變化為大眾評價「一國兩制」實踐情況的一大標準。

There is perhaps no better way to summarize people's concerns than to identify topics that cumulated in the media. Graph 1 presents a network graph connecting keywords in the media written on the topic of the 2047 question from 1998 to 2020 (see the Methodology chapter for details). Words are joined by a line if they are associated with each other, meaning they tend to appear together. The darker, shorter and thicker the line is, the stronger the association. By studying how the media narrate the 2047 question, a few themes emerged: rule of law and freedom, political system, socio-economic conditions and Hong Kong's relations with mainland China and the international community. Phrases surrounding these themes appear to largely frame the discussion of the future problem of Hong Kong.

(iii) Conception of contemporary localism

The purpose of the 50-year promise was to preserve the status quo, the status quo however was shattered when localism emerged as the counter-ideology of 1C2S. During the made-believe peaceful period of 2000s, localism took root from cultural heritage conservation of collective memories against the demolition of the Star and Queen's Piers and the redevelopment of Lee Tung Street. Meanwhile, the post-SARS quick-paced economic integration kindled a counter-hegemonic resistance against the overtourism came from the individual visit scheme, nuisance caused by parallel traders and healthcare burden from anchor babies.

The two mentalities began to converge in the anti-Hong Kong Express Rail Link movement in 2010 and emerge as a political narrative because of the social disparity and Hong Kong-Mainland tension which were left unresolved. Activists gained further prominence as the defensive sentiment against China ran high in controversial events such as the anti-national education movement. The concept of localism gradually fertilized into more developed political demands such as rewriting the Basic Law and building a fully autonomous city-state. The localist discourse gradually shifted from a left-wing narrative prompting rearticulation of the colonial history, post-colonial identity and inclusive multiculturalism to a right-wing narrative saturated with anti-China sentiments and Hong Kong-Mainland discrimination (Law 2014).

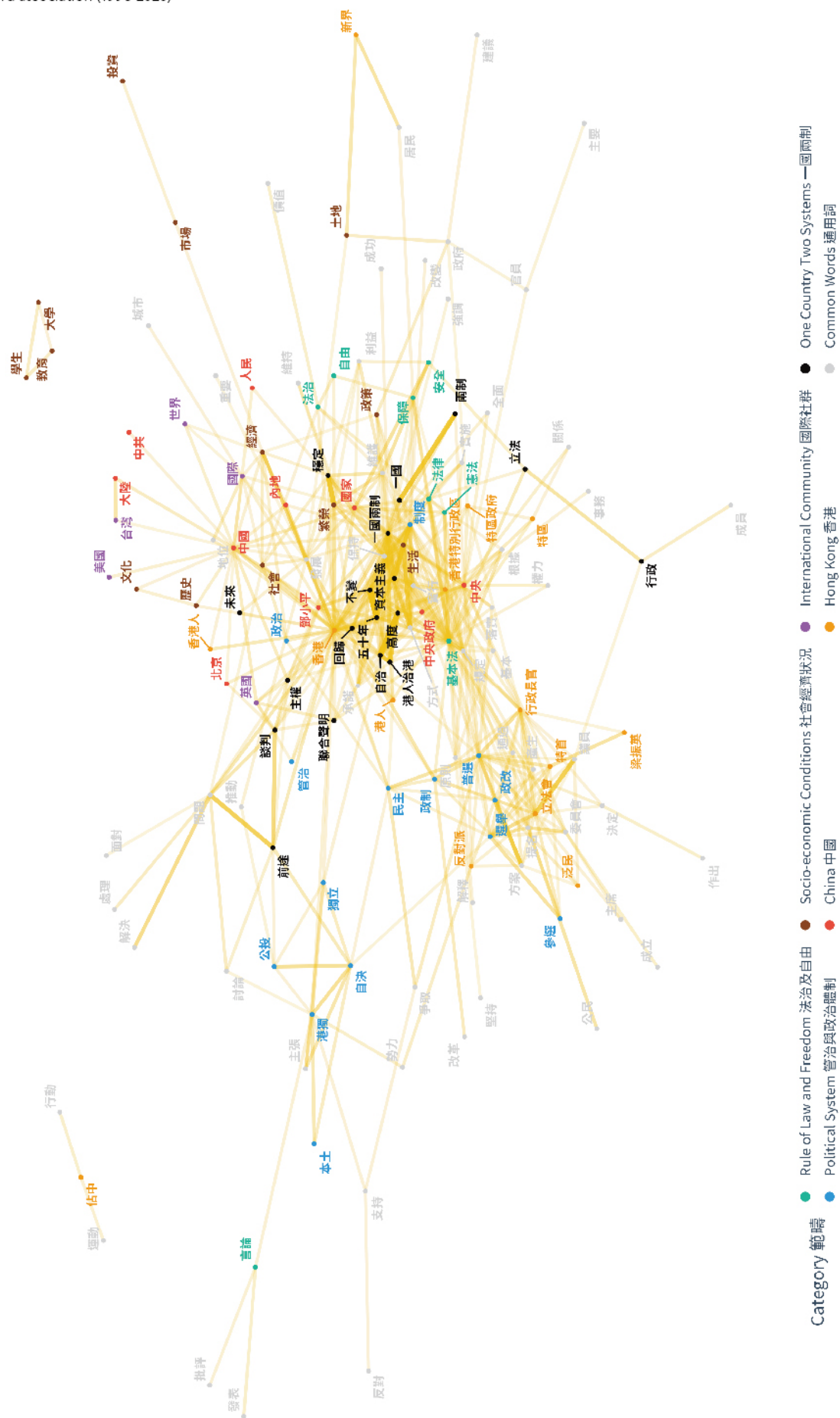
我們透過分析媒體輿論，總結公眾所關注的主題。圖1將有關「2047」的新聞主題製成網絡圖，連結1998年至2020年間所有關鍵字（詳情見「研究方法」）。如詞彙之間具有關聯性，將會被實線連起，代表它們傾向同時出現。線條愈黑、愈短、愈粗即關聯性愈強。媒體對「2047」的論述可歸納為以下範疇：法治與自由、管治與政治體制、社會經濟狀況、內地及國際社會與香港關係。圍繞這幾個範疇的詞彙大致勾畫了社會討論「2047」的輪廓。

(iii) 當代本土主義冒起

「50年不變」的原意是維持現狀，本土主義冒起成為對抗「一國兩制」的意識形態，令這個現狀受到嚴重打擊。在看似風平浪靜的2000年代，本土主義早已於反對拆卸皇后碼頭及重建利東街等文化保育活動及集體回憶事件中萌芽。與此同時，非典型肺炎一疫後，內地與香港的經濟融合急速起步，激發一連串抵抗霸權運動，針對因「自由行」而來的過度旅遊、水貨客對一般居民的滋擾、雙非嬰對醫療系統的壓力。

這兩種思潮於2010年的反高鐵運動中交匯，將社會不均和內地與香港矛盾揉合成一套政治論述。反國民教育等敏感議題令反中情緒升溫，進一步培養社運人士影響力，本土主義也逐漸發酵為相對成熟的政治訴求，包括全民立憲及城邦自治等主張。自此之後，本土論述慢慢由重寫殖民歷史、重塑後殖民身份、多元文化等左翼話語，走向以反中情緒主導、主張內地與香港分隔的右翼觀點 (Law 2014)。

圖1：字詞關聯度（1998-2020）
Graph 1: Word association (1998-2020)



(iv) Evolution of Hong Kong's second reversion

To strive for an acceptable political reform proposal, civil disobedience and civil referendum gradually dominated the resistance discourse in 2013-2014. Confronted with such social awakening, the central government published the White Paper on "The Practice of the 'One Country, Two Systems' Policy in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" to reiterate its overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong just months before the Occupy Central movement. In parallel, the birth of "Hong Kong nationalism" signified the replacement of the articulation of post-colonial subjectivity with the construction of Hong Kongers as an ethnicity. Such concept quickly gained currency within certain sectors and were used to legitimize pro-independence proposals.

In the post-occupy period, discussions on possible futures of Hong Kong beyond 2047 made a blooming return from academia to the public discourse. The failed attempt of political reform gave birth to more radical proposals such as "self-determination" and "independence" as these were deemed the only way out. Groups manifesting the second-round negotiation on the 2047 question became popular especially among the younger generation. The new agenda as second reversion to China not only featured in media but travelled to the election scene and international stage.

This change was evident in Graph 2, showing the number of media articles on the future problem of Hong Kong recorded in 2016. It almost doubled compared with 2015 as well as 2017, making 2016 the most vocal year. Nonetheless, support for localism and its shadow concepts, "self-determination" and "independence", remained at the periphery. It is clear from our earlier survey that the public understood "localism" as an umbrella term that signifies the preservation of the local way of life, culture and history and prioritized allocation of resources to local people. It does not exclusively align with its more extreme variants as "self-determinists" and "Hong Kong independence" (Path of Democracy 2016).

(iv) 香港「二次回歸」的演化

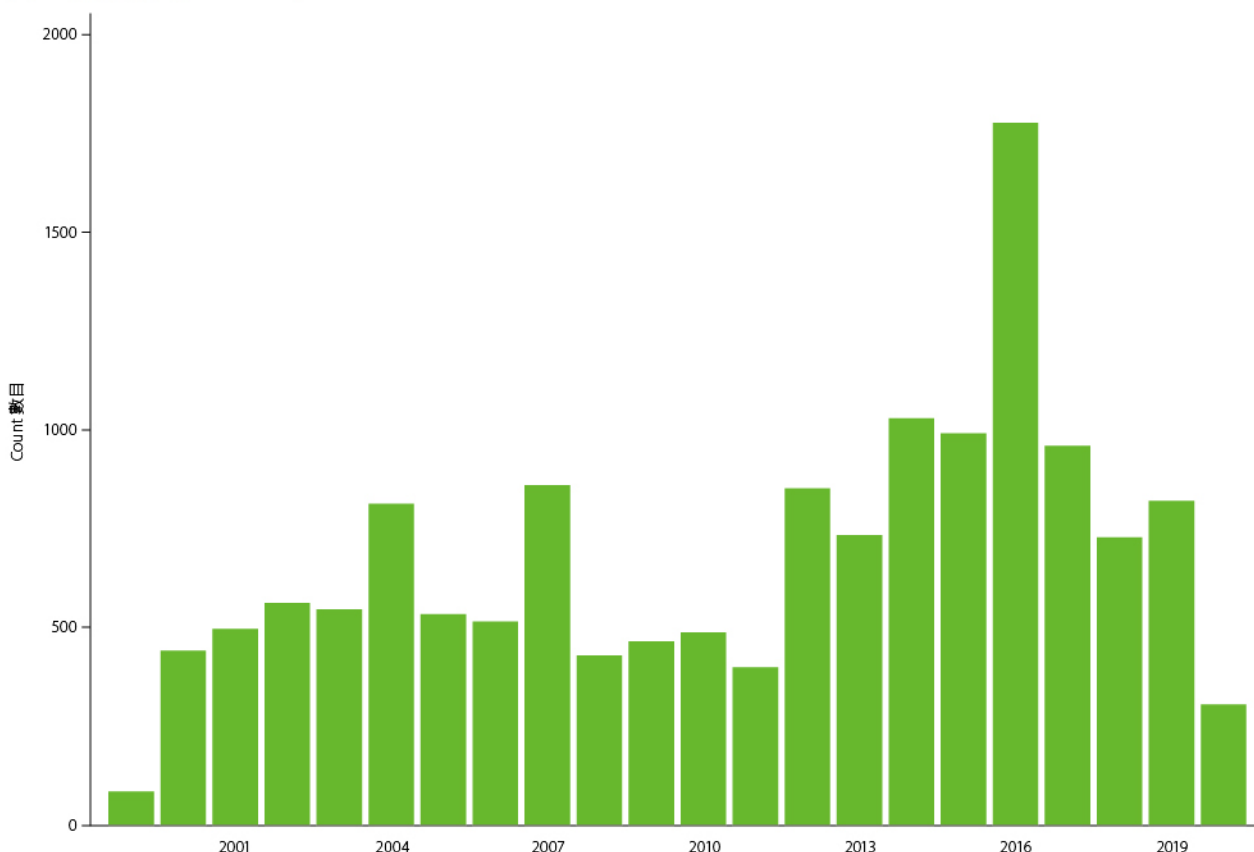
2013年至2014年，公民抗命及全民公投逐漸成為主流抗爭手段，以爭取可接受的政改方案。社會覺醒驅使中央政府於「佔領中環」運動發生前數月出版《「一國兩制」在香港特別行政區的實踐》白皮書，重申對香港擁有的全面管治權。同時，「香港民族論」的誕生象徵將香港人身份建構為族群，並取替後殖民身份。此概念於短時間內獲得不同群體的認同，成為合理化「港獨」思想的根據。

香港在2047年後的前途討論，於後「佔中」時代由學術層面回歸到公眾輿論。政改失敗令更多人視「自決」及「獨立」為唯一出路，倡議第二次前途談判的組織在年輕人間尤其受歡迎，「二次回歸」議程也從媒體開始走進選舉政綱及國際舞台。

此轉變呈現在圖2中，2016年關於香港未來問題的報道數目最突出，幾乎是2015及2017年的雙倍。不過，本土主義及其附屬概念，即「自決」及「獨立」，仍非主流意見。事實上，民主思路的調查曾經反映，本土主義在市民心目中泛指保留原有生活方式、文化歷史及以本地人優先分配資源，並不相等於「自決」及「獨立」概念 (Path of Democracy 2016)。

Graph 2: Article count (1998-2020)

圖2：文章數目（1998-2020）



註：2020年的文章數目只涵蓋一月至九月

Note: Article count for 2020 covers from January to September only.

(v) Hong Kong's future at a crossroad

Clustered with the arrival of COVID-19 as well as the introduction of the Hong Kong National Security Law, the months-long anti-extradition disturbances and its aftermath symbolized the pinnacle of societal polarization and presented a major and imminent crisis of confidence: foreign firms or organizations consider leaving Hong Kong due to its political instability, reputation of the city damaged as various institutions lower their gradings of Hong Kong as a place for business and travelling, and a significant number of citizens react with their passports as they sought abode and citizenship elsewhere.

Western governments were quick to respond to the situation in Hong Kong with a series of policies reviews and amendments causing further concerns and worries in the city. The passing of Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act in the US Congress, stripping Hong Kong of its special status in trade, sanctions on Hong Kong and mainland government officials and the new BN(O) arrangement that eased Hong Kongers' immigration restrictions into UK all impacted people's confidence in the city in ways never experienced before. Undoubtedly, the future of Hong Kong will continue to intertwine with the international power struggle between China and the western world led by the US and the city can no longer distance itself from global politics in the march towards 2047.

(v) 香港未來的十字路口

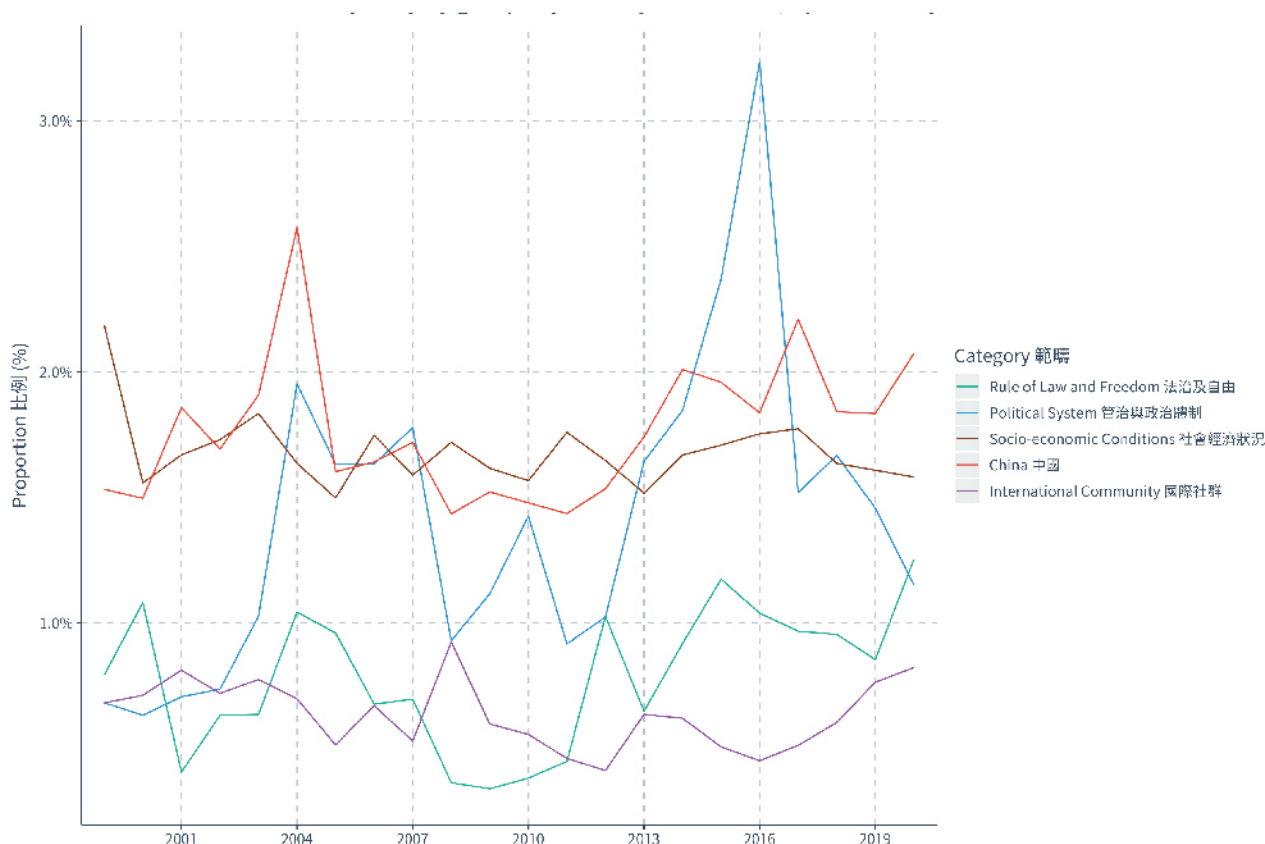
纏繞香港超過半年的反修例運動及其餘波，加上新冠肺炎及《港區國安法》，描繪出社會撕裂的巔峰和山雨欲來的信心危機：外國企業及組織因政治不穩定而考慮撤出香港、調查機構降低營商及旅遊評級令香港聲譽受損、不少市民用腳投票在外地心儀居留權。

西方國家迅速調整對港政策，加劇港人疑慮。無論是美國國會通過的《香港人權及民主法案》，拒絕承認香港的獨立關稅區地位、制裁內地及香港官員，或是新BN(O)安排放寬入籍英國門檻，都讓港人的信心帶來前所未有的保留。不容置疑的是，香港未來必定繼續糾纏於中國與以美國為首的西方陣營的角力之中，要處理2047前途問題，斷不能從國際關係中獨善其身。

Graph 3 shows the occurrence of 2047-related words in the media. These words are extracted and categorized into 8 categories (see Appendix ii for the list of words). The development of the narrative showed different dominant concerns of the society at large at different times. Socio-economic conditions sustained a steadily high level of media exposure in the post-handover period, it diminished over time but sustain a certain level of exposure. Nonetheless, corresponding to the rise of localism and the resistance discourse, particularly since young activists and politicians began to take up the concept and called for an international frontline, together with the breaking down of negotiation on democratization, media focus turned from the political system to rule of law and freedoms and Hong Kong's relations with the international community. The mention of the political system reached the highest exposure in 2016 and dropped to be fourth in frequency in 2020.

圖3顯示媒體上與「2047」相關的詞語出現次數，分為八類（詞語清單見附錄ii）。從各種論述的鋪陳可見，社會整體在不同期間有不同的主要議題。在特區早期，社會經濟狀況的媒體曝光率高企，稍後下降但維持相當水平。與本土主義及抗爭論述的冒起相乎，當年輕社運人士及政客展開「國際戰線」、再加上民主運動談判破裂，媒體焦點從政治體制轉向法治與自由及香港與國際社群關係。管治與政治體制的關注度於2016年達到頂峰，並於2020年急折回落至第四位。

圖3：按類詞頻（1998-2020）
Graph 3: Word frequency by category (1998-2020)



註：「香港」、「一國兩制」、「通用詞」三個類別因過於普遍而未載於圖中。

Note: Categories "Hong Kong", "1C2S" and "common words" are omitted for their generality.



(vi) Rethinking the 2047 question

Despite renewed crisis of confidence in Hong Kong, people still largely prefer the continuation of 1C2S. Our public survey in August 2020 revealed support for the continuation of 1C2S bounced back to pre-extradition level at 77.2% (Poon 2020). The two social movements in 2014 and 2019 have awakened a significant proportion of the public to participate in the discussion of the difficult issue of what and what not of the elements of 1C2S are to be changed. More important still is how the changes should be brought about, what role Hong Kongers will be able to take and what possibilities might arise.

Coincidentally, this year marks the 30th anniversary of the Basic Law. One is reminded through a series of witness statements that the drafting of the Basic Law underwent series of rigorous consultations. The aim of the relentless effort then was clear: to consolidate the largest consensus so to ensure that 1C2S could be launched smoothly in the immediate transition days. Today, citizens are deeply concerned as to what extent they would be able to take a much more active role in the positioning of Hong Kong beyond 2047 and the preparation for the “second reversion to China”, as phrased by Zhang Xiaoming of Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office in a speech given in 2020 (Zhang 2020).

This research aims to examine the general public’s view toward 1C2S now and their expectations of Hong Kong beyond 2047. We not only ask our participants to evaluate the current implementation of 1C2S, we also encourage them to discuss their aspirations and expectations on the future of Hong Kong beyond 2047. Their opinions will be presented surrounding these themes: 1) rule of law and freedom, 2) governance and the political system, 3) socio-economic conditions and 4) Hong Kong’s positioning. Having gained a better sense of the problems at stake, we will summarize our observations and highlight policy implications and recommendations.

(vi) 再思2047前途問題

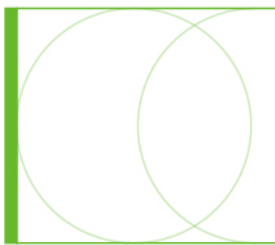
縱使信心危機重現，大部分市民仍然希望延續「一國兩制」。民主思路於2020年8月的調查顯示，延續「一國兩制」的支持度已回升至修例風波前的水平，達77.2%（Poon 2020）。2014年及2019年的社會運動，激發市民思考「一國兩制」是否有需要改變的地方，而更重要的是，這些改變如何實踐，香港人如何自處，以及變革之中可帶來甚麼可能性。

研究期間適逢《基本法》頒布30周年，一系列的昔日回顧提醒公眾，《基本法》的草擬過程經歷多次諮詢，甚為嚴謹，為的是凝聚最大共識，令「一國兩制」於回歸後能馬上順利落實。今天，市民亦期望他們能夠積極參與討論香港於2047年後的定位，為港澳辦張曉明主任所云的「二次回歸」作準備。

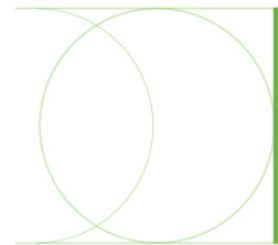
本研究旨在探討公眾對當下「一國兩制」的觀感及對香港於2047年後的期望。受訪者會評價現時「一國兩制」的落實情況，也會勾勒對香港於2047年後的未來想象及期望。他們的意見按以下主題呈現：1) 法治與自由；2) 管治與政治體制；3) 社會經濟狀況；及4) 香港未來定位。從市民角度瞭解香港現存問題後，我們會總結觀察所得並提出政策啟示及建議。

研究方法 Methodology





研究方法 Methodology



(i) Documentary research

We scrutinize various documentary sources, including but not limited to newspapers, periodicals, news releases, publications by research institutions and policy documents closely in understanding the development of narrative around the “problem of Hong Kong” among lay people and officials.

We introduce big data technique to analyze printed newspapers in the study period to identify media discourse about the future problem of Hong Kong to reveal the foci of discussion. Articles that contain any of the designated keywords anywhere will be collected. Search words we used are “2047”, “五十年不變” (remain unchanged for 50 years), “二次回歸” (second reversion) and “前途問題” (future question). Over the period from April 1998 to September 2020, we collected more than 15,000 articles consisting some 6 million words spanning across 21 local daily newspapers.

Articles were then segmented into words and phrases in a process called tokenisation via a computer algorithm. From this massive dataset, general words that are inconsequential to the understanding of news articles were first removed before analysis. To further analyze these words and phrases, we chose 300 words with the highest occurrence and grouped them into 8 categories, namely 1C2S, Hong Kong, rule of law and freedom, political system, socio-economic conditions, China, international community, and common words. The article and word count and the top search words are listed in Appendices i and ii.

To visualize the relationship of these words and phrases, we also calculated the word association of all possible pairs of words at the paragraph level. Word association is defined by the appearance of two given words in the same paragraph. This metric ranges from 0 to 1. A score of 1 implies that two words appear together in the same paragraph all the time, whereas on the other end of the spectrum, a 0 score indicates that the two words never appear in the same paragraph. As each word can pair up with every other 299 words, there were 89,700 pairs of words. In our graphical presentation, 1,000 pairs of most-associated words are visualized by a network graph.

(i) 文獻研究

我們查考報章、期刊、新聞稿、研究刊物及政策文件等不同文獻，以了解前途問題的論述演化。

我們利用大數據分析，整理期內所有印刷報紙關於香港前途問題的報道。所有包含以下任一關鍵字的報道均會被擷取：「2047」、「50年不變」、「二次回歸」及「前途問題」。由1998年4月至2020年9月期間，我們搜集了超過15,000篇來自21間本地報章的報道，分析超過6,000,000字。

每篇文章先以電腦運算，進行「分詞」(tokenization)以分解成單字及詞語。在進一步分析之前，無助理解文章的尋常字詞將被剔除。300個出現次數最高的字詞，可被分成八類：「一國兩制」、香港、法治與自由、政治體系、經濟社會狀況、中國、國際社群及常見詞。分析包含的文章數、字數及關鍵字已表列於附錄i及ii。

為展現字詞間的關係，我們計算了所有字詞之間的關聯度，以段落為單位。關聯度即兩個字詞同時出現在同一段落的機會，數值由0至1。1代表一對字詞恆常地出現在同一段落，0則代表一對字詞永不出現在同一段落。每個字詞能配對另外299個字詞，一共89,700對。我們製作了一幅網絡圖，視覺化地展現關聯度最高的1,000對字詞。

(ii) Telephone survey

To complement the examination of the narrative as circulated among the general public, we commissioned the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong to conduct a phone survey with 1,003 individuals randomly sampled by the CATI (computer assisted telephone interviewing) system, all aged 18 or above, all of them spoke either Cantonese or Mandarin. The survey adopted a dual-frame method, where about half of the respondents were surveyed on landline and the other half on mobile.

To better represent the distribution of the Hong Kong population, all data were weighted by the proportion of gender and age of people aged 18 or above (excluding foreign domestic helpers) according to the Census and Statistics Department, and by the total amount of fixed-line and mobile phone numbers in Hong Kong. Table 1 shows the statistical and scientific standards of the survey. The questionnaire is listed in Appendices iii and iv.

In the opinion polls, questions employed 1 to 7 as the rating scale in the survey process, with 4 as the median. This scale, which is known as the Likert scale, is commonly adopted for psychological assessments. This scale was used instead of a 0 to 10 scale as the latter is deemed too finely graduated and cumbersome for respondents to choose from. However, to better conform to existing indices – which tend to be expressed on a 0 to 10 scale (with 5 as the median) – we converted the results mathematically into the popular 0 to 10 scale.

In the analysis, we decompose the scores given by age, educational attainment, political inclination and income. Some categorizations were made. For political inclination, “pro-establishment” include those who recognize themselves as pro-establishment, anti-filibustering, good for Hong Kong and China, stability camp, loyalists, Communist Party or love China and Hong Kong, “moderates” include those who recognize themselves as centrists and those without specific political inclination, and “non-establishment: other” include those who recognize themselves as localists, self-determinists, non-establishment, local self-determinists, resistance camp or mutual destructionists. Less than 5 respondents who give other answers are grouped into “Others”. This group is omitted in the tables presented in this report because its size is too small to support any meaningful conclusions.

(ii) 電話調查

為廣泛探索公眾論述的面貌，我們委託香港中文大學香港亞太研究所進行電話調查。以電腦輔助電話訪問系統，隨機抽樣，訪問了1,003人。所有受訪者屬18歲或以上，能操廣東話或普通話。調查使用調查採用雙框電話號碼取樣設計，各約一半受訪者經由固網電話及流動電話接受訪問。

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）作調整，以符合香港人口分佈的真實情況。表1顯示調查的統計及科學標準，附錄iii及iv為問卷內容。

電話調查中，題目採用1至7分為評分尺度，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（Likert scale）。常見的0至10分評分尺度，分類過於細緻，令受訪者難以選擇。但為了與常見的尺度匹配，我們利用數學方法將調查結果的評分尺度轉換成為0至10分（以5分為中位數）。

評分將按年齡、教育程度、政治傾向及收入群組劃分再進行分析，部分類別經過整合。政治傾向中，建制派除了自我歸類為「建制派」的受訪者外，也包括「反拉布」、「為香港及中國好」、「穩定派」、「忠誠派」、「共產黨」和「愛國愛港」；溫和派包括「中間派」和「沒有政治傾向」；其他非建制派包括「本土派」、「非建制派」、「本土自決」、「反對派」及「攞炒派」。少於5名受訪者自我歸類為「其他」，人數過少，不能作出有意義的分析，所以此類別已從數表分析中剔除。

For income, respondents are asked to provide their monthly household income in one of following 4 bands: below HK\$25,000, HK\$25,000 to below HK\$50,000, HK\$50,000 to below HK\$100,000 or HK\$100,000 or above. In this report, the 4 bands are labelled as lower, lower middle, upper middle and higher income groups for easy referencing and not indication of social class.

受訪者亦會從以下4個選項中選擇其每月家庭收入：少於港幣\$25,000、港幣\$25,000至少於港幣\$50,000、港幣\$50,000至少於港幣\$100,000或港幣\$100,000或以上。簡明起見，本報告將他們統稱為較低收入、中低收入、中高收入及較高收入組別，惟這些分類並不代表社會階級。

表1：調查資料
Table 1: Survey details

	Survey date 調查日期	Number of Respondents 受訪人數	Response Rate 回應率	Confidence Level 置信水平	Sampling Error 抽樣誤差
Landline 固網	4 Sep-22 Sept 2020	502	34.5%	95%	± 3.09%
Mobile 手機		501	32.8%		
Total 總數		1,003	33.6%		

(iii) Focus groups

To produce higher resolution images of the psychology and rationale of how the public perceive Hong Kong's future, we commissioned Social Policy Research Limited to recruit 50 participants randomly from their pool of general public interviewees. They were separated into 7 groups according to their age, with 6 to 8 participants in each group. Struck by the COVID-19 outbreak, all groups were conducted over online video conferencing, except for one group which was conducted face-to-face in the survey agency's office, in September and October 2020.

Among the 50 participants, 24 are female 26 are male. 21 of them aged 20-29, 15 aged 30-49, 14 aged 50-72. The discussion questions and basic demographics of participants are listed in Appendices v and vi.

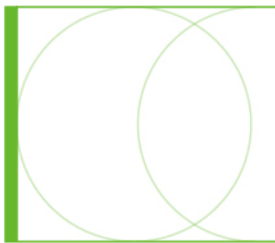
(iii) 聚焦小組

為求更清晰了解社會大眾對香港未來的心理及想法，我們委託社會政策研究有限公司從其公眾受訪群中隨機招募50名參加者，每6至8人為一組，按年齡分成7組，於2020年9至10月期間進行聚焦小組訪談。因疫情關係，只有一組為實體面談，於受託機構的會議室進行，其餘組別均為網上會議。

50名參加者中，有24名女性，26名男性，當中21名為20-29歲，15名為30-49歲，14名為50-72歲。討論問題及參加者的基本資料已列於附錄v及vi。

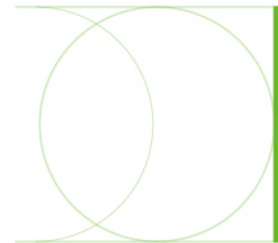
結果 Results





結果

Results



4.1 Rule of Law and Freedom

(i) Politicization of court reveals fear of erosion of judiciary independence

Within the period of this study, alleged “unprofessionalism” of judges in handling political cases often attracted much media attention and were utilized by different political groups to advance their own respective narratives. Imagined as well as reasonable criticisms of the judiciary is unsurprising as our survey found that respondents ranked the right to be treated equally before the law (9.47) as the top freedom and right that should be better protected for the success of 1C2S. This right is consistently ranked at the top for all age groups, education attainments, political inclination and income groups, except for the least educated group (primary or below).

Focus group discussions indicated that judges were criticised for their word choices in their judgements even though the relevant words were often taken out of contexts. Such incidents were quickly mobilized by political actors of both camps to “foreground” the inadequacies of the judicial system and to sell their various political narratives, from the death of 1C2S to the proposal of establishing a Sentencing Committee and Court Watch to prevent the possibility of biased judgments.

The politicization of the court is most deeply felt by some of the oldest participants who recalled that judges used to be well-respected figures of authority and whose judgements were taken as moral codes. These participants despaired at how some political groups opportunistically mobilize populist sentiment for their own gain at the expense of the judiciary independence.

In the opening of legal year of 2020, the Chief Justice Geoffrey Ma publicly defended the impartiality of the judges, highlighting the seriousness of these allegations. Some maintained that the legal professionals who shared the responsibility of safeguarding judicial independence in the past fell short on their tasks and began to surrender to populist demands. Nonetheless, younger participants felt that the government’s reiteration of the executive-led system and the “non-existence of separation of powers” rather than an actual assessment of the role of the judiciary, harmed judicial independence most severely.

4.1 法治與自由

(i) 司法政治化令人憂慮司法獨立受損

研究期間，傳媒對法官在處理政治案件時提出「非專業」的質疑，經常引起廣泛關注，被不同的政治團體用作宣傳其政治主張。不論對於司法機構的指控是否合理、有否依據，這些批評也不教人意外，因為我們的調查發現，大部分受訪者認為「一國兩制」若要成功，最需要加強保障的權利與自由是法律面前受到平等對待（9.47）。於所有年齡組別、教育程度、政治傾向及收入群組排名最高，除了教育程度最低組別（小學或以下）。

聚焦小組討論中，有受訪者指法官的判詞經常被斷章取義，個別用字特別易受批評。不同陣營的政治人物即時動員宣傳，突顯司法制度的不足和宣揚政治觀點，包括「『一國兩制』已死」的論調及設立統一判決標準的量刑委員會和法庭監察組織。

年長的受訪者對司法政治化感受最深，他們指法官曾是備受敬重的權威人物，其判決更被視為道德準則。他們對於政治人物乘民粹當道，趁機為一己之利攻擊司法獨立表示反感。

2020年法律年度開幕典禮上，時任終審法院首席法官馬道立公開維護法官的中立性，指出媒體及政治人物對法庭指控極為嚴重。有受訪者認為，法律專業人士有責任維護司法獨立，但他們未能履行，甚至受民粹擺佈。不過，也有較年輕的受訪者認為，政府重申行政主導體制及否定三權分立存在，並非建基於實際情況，對司法獨立傷害最深。

"We always used to respect judges, whatever they said, Hong Kongers used to take their words for it... they are representative, and I believe that judges now do not have any problems, but some LegCo councillors always just pick one or two sentences from the whole judgement and twist their meaning to get public attention, to advance their own reputation... there is no such thing as yellow or blue judges, they just follow the law."

「我們香港人從前很尊重法官，法官說甚麼我們差不多相信九成...很有代表性，現在的法官應該沒有問題，問題是有議員為了出位...即是他們利用法官判案大造文章，把自己的名氣、名聲帶到社區。法官說一兩句感受，便拿著那一兩句說話斷章取義...並沒有黃或藍的法官，他們只跟法例做事。」

(Male 男/ 67/ Retired 退休人士)

"I believe judicial independence is dead already, when judges were believed to be siding with the protesters or those who opposed to the government were criticized to be biased made me believe that the 1C2S I have in mind is already dead."

「司法獨立方面我相信是名存實亡，只要某一些法官稍被認為偏頗一些示威者，或不符合政府的一些想法的時候便會受到批評，我自己心目中的『一國兩制』已經壽終正寢。」

(Male 男/ 33/ Financial Planner 財務策劃師)

"Recently, the biggest fear of the public is that justice is not vindicated... under certain circumstances, things that we think were 'right' were judged (illegal)... there are gaps between our expectations (of how judicial independence will be upheld) and reality."

「近一兩年大家最擔心的是公義不能得到彰顯...某些情況下，我們覺得『對』的東西反而會被判（非法）...現實跟我們想像的（保持司法獨立）有落差。」

(Female 女/ 34/ Bank Manager 銀行經理)

(ii) Legal challenges to Hong Kong's new constitutional order

Hong Kong is part of a country that practices civil law but with an independent judiciary that practices common law in relation to issues within our own autonomy. The Hong Kong judiciary has the power to adjudicate constitutional issues but the final interpretation of the Basic Law is vested in the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. National laws can also be introduced under Annex III of the Basic Law. Some recognized that these provisions have added strength and vigour to the Basic Law, for instance, the National Security Law has brought a period of calm to Hong Kong in times of emergency when Hong Kong cannot handle disturbances by itself.

At the same time, the interpretation of the Basic Law and the introduction of national laws are often quoted as examples of unwelcomed moves by the central government to encroach on Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy. Notably, quite a significant number of these participants demonstrated knowledge in the legality and constitutionality of these actions. This knowledge, however, does not generate one's acceptance of what happened. Instead, participants tended to regard the interpretation of existing articles and the introduction of new national laws negatively and feared they represent examples of an authoritarian state overriding the Basic Law and discrediting the common law tradition. Knowing these acts are valid and a binding part of the new constitutional order, they call for more self-restraint in relation to such acts in the future.

(ii) 香港新憲制秩序的法律挑戰

香港屬於實行大陸法國家的一部分，但於自治範圍內實行普通法，並保持獨立司法權。香港司法機構有權裁定憲法問題，但《基本法》的最終解釋權歸全國人民代表大會常務委員會所有，全國性法律也可以引入於《基本法》附件三內。有人認為這些規定豐富了《基本法》的內涵及作用，例如當無法自行處理騷亂的時候，《港區安全法》為危機中的香港帶來一陣平靜。

在訪談中，人大釋法及引入全國性法律經常被指作中央政府侵犯香港高度自治的例子。雖然不少受訪者瞭解其合法性和合憲性，但他們同時對此等舉措表示不歡迎和不接受。他們普遍反對及懼怕解釋現有條文及實施新的全國性法律，視之為專制政權凌駕《基本法》及貶低普通法傳統的例子。知悉釋法及實施新法是新憲制秩序的組成部分，他們期望中央政府在運用權力時能夠自我克制。

For 1C2S to be successfully implemented, there are also participants who thought that the conceptual incompatibility between the common and continental law traditions must be narrowed, if not eliminated. This could begin with educating the public about the difference between the two law systems, so that one could better understand the basis of the central government's decisions.

為確保「一國兩制」成功實踐，有受訪者建議應儘量收窄普通法及大陸法傳統的差別，例如提高公眾對兩者之別的認知，以協助市民理解中央政府的決策依據。

"They (the authorities) are constantly moving the goalposts whenever there was a conflict, NPSCS interpretation of Basic Law become the only solution. (The integrity of) 1C2S depends on the Basic Law... There isn't much value in discussing (whether 1C2S is still healthy) if they (the authorities) are the one defining the framework."

「它（政府）可以任意擺龍門定義『一國兩制』，每一次有爭拗的時候，最後便會用人大釋法去解決。『一國兩制』（的完整性）其實是依賴《基本法》...它們（政府）告訴你這個『一國兩制』的框架，便沒有討論（是否健全的）空間。」

(Male 男/ 31/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"I feel that Annex 3 was abused...NPCSC's interpretation of Basic Law is interference in itself. Ideally, this should be avoided, though I know that it is written in the Basic Law that NPCSC acquires the power to interpret the Basic Law... I vividly remember the Leung and Yau disqualification case... NPCSC interpreted the Basic Law before the court had judgement and in the end they were disqualified... these were gestures that are constitutional, written in the Basic Law but which is, in principle, interference."

「我可以用『濫用』來形容《基本法》附件三...人大釋法本來就是一種（干預）。理想之中，人大釋法這種東西也可以避免，但是我知道在《基本法》的規定下，中央是有最後的釋法權。深刻印象的是梁頌恆及游蕙禎案...當時法院未判決，中央已經透過釋法去解釋得更清楚，褫奪他們立法會議員的職位...這些行為符合憲法安排，是《基本法》有寫明的，但也是一種干預。」

(Male 男/ 21/ Student 學生)

"If one is faithful to 1C2S, then they should leave Hong Kong to utilize their own legislative system to implement something within the expectation of China. But now the central government is imposing certain systems on Hong Kong (i.e. National Security Law). This seriously affect 1C2S, although they have the right to do so, but this really affects the citizens' confidence in 1C2S."

「如果要確實履行『一國兩制』，應該讓這個地方擁有自己的立法程序，去做中國期望的事，但現在會強行把一些制度植入香港（例如實施《港區國安法》），嚴重影響到『一國兩制』...雖然他們有這個權利，但會影響人們對『一國兩制』的信心。」

(Male 男/ 26/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"Some people might say that (the National Security Law) restrains freedom but for many people it is a good thing because (only the law allows our society) to be calmer and more peaceful."

「有人視（《港區國安法》）為更不自由，或者完全沒有自由，但我相信很多人會覺得是好的，因為這樣（只有《港區國安法》，社會）才會安定安寧。」

(Female 女/ 53/ Homemaker 家庭主婦)

(iii) Conflictual articulation between civil liberty and national interest

Some participants of the focus groups were uncomfortable with perceived incremental "mainlandization" and erosion of civil liberties of Hong Kong over the past decade. Yet, some showed understanding of central government's measures to ensure that national interest is not being challenged in Hong Kong while a few did not feel that Hong Kong and their lives had materially changed other than the nuisance and disruption brought by the social unrest in 2019.

(iii) 公民自由與國家利益互相銜接的矛盾

聚焦小組中有受訪者指，對過去十年「內地化」加劇和香港公民自由受到侵蝕感到不安。但是，也有些人理解中央政府採取措施，確保香港會不危害國家利益，亦有些人認為，除了2019年的社會騷亂帶來滋擾和破壞外，他們的生活沒有出現實質變化。

The dilemma between civil liberty and national interest is differently experienced amongst groups of different age, political inclination, income and education attainment. Among all 9 areas of freedoms and rights that our public survey gauged, the freedom of assembly and association (7.62) and the right to freely and openly express one's view and publish (8.31) are rated least necessary for greater protection, suggesting there is no unified view. Academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions (8.72) is in the middle band. The general pattern indicates that younger and higher educated respondents prefer greater protection of freedoms and rights while non-establishment supporters prefer the same more strongly than pro-establishment supporters. Different income groups do not show much discrepancy, except for the freedom of assembly and association, where the lower income group tends to support greater protection less.

Another group of participants displayed an apocalyptic feeling towards an approaching "doomsday" of Hong Kong. The loss of freedom of the press and expression was their chief dissatisfaction under the current 1C2S. Any measures adopted in response to the violation of the "one country" principle or advocacy of the independence narrative is instantly equated with the "containment" of freedom of speech and complete self-censorship. Changes in the media landscape due to personnel arrangements in news agencies are often speculated as retaliation taken by the authorities against media workers. RTHK as the only public broadcaster in Hong Kong is widely perceived as a victim of ever tightening censorship and as a result attract even more support for its integrity in upholding its "fourth power".

The expeditious gazetting of the Hong Kong National Security Law also presents a point of despair for the public, effectively exposing the dilemma at the heart of the current articulation between freedoms and national security. While some received the decision negatively for its perceived ruthless stripping of freedoms, others reacted positively for its control over expansive freedoms out of national security concerns and also for its protection over those whose livelihood suffered during the social unrest in 2019. That said, many participants were unaware of the legal boundary of this law. Thus, even those who claimed to be politically apathetic in the past also found their lives severely affected as they exercised self-censorship in mundane activities like making online comments.

Academic freedom also came up in the focus group. The reported sit-ins of mainland visitors to monitor lectures will inevitably prompt academics to feel that universities are no longer a safe place to explore and discuss different, and perhaps tabooed subjects.

不同年齡、政治傾向、收入群組及教育程度的受訪者，對公民自由及國家利益之間的取捨有著不同的感受。我們的電話調查評估九項自由與權利需不需要加強保障，其中「自由參與遊行示威與組織社會團體」（7.62）和「自由公開發表意見和出版」（8.31）的評分最低，「自由進行學術研究與文藝創作」（8.72）位於中間。年紀較輕、教育程度較高的受訪者較支持加強保障自由及權利。相對於建制派支持者，非建制派支持者較支持加強保障基本自由權利。除了較低收入群組較不支持加強保障集會和結社自由外，不同收入群組在其他範疇的差異並不大。

有些受訪者絕望地認為香港快將「淪陷」。喪失新聞和言語自由是他們對當前的「一國兩制」最主要的不滿。任何針對違反「一國」原則及提倡「港獨」的反制措施，均與壓制言論自由及自我審查劃上等號。新聞機構的人事安排改變媒體格局，常被認為是政府對媒體工作者的報復。香港電台作為香港唯一的公共廣播電台，被廣泛視為嚴格審查的受害者，亦因此得到更多支持以維護其「第四權」的地位。

短時間內通過的《港區國安法》也給公眾帶來一絲沮喪，恰恰揭示當前公民自由與國家安全互相銜接的矛盾。儘管有些人認為《國安法》無情地剝奪了自由，但也有一些人認為《國安法》可以約束漠視國家安全的恣意放縱，以及保護於2019年社會動盪期間生活受到影響的人們。不過，大部分參加者並不清楚《國安法》的法律界線，即使聲稱過去對政治冷感的人，由於會在網上留言之類的日常活動中自我審查，也表示自己的生活受到嚴重影響。

聚焦小組也談到學術自由，提及有報導指出內地遊客曾出席大學講座，無可避免地使學者們感到大學不再是一個安全場所去探索和討論不同議題，更遑論敏感題材。

"The freedom of press has been tightening in the last decade, the first time I noticed this was when Lau Chun-to, the chief editor of *Mingpao*, was attacked, other similar incidents also take place afterward."

「過往十年會見到新聞自由慢慢收窄。我第一次意識到這件事的時候是《明報》總編劉進圖受襲的時候，從那件事開始有不同的記者也會受到襲擊。」

(Female 女/ 34/ Bank Manager 銀行經理)

"The premise of 1C2S is that the intactness of 'one country' should be maintained, but this comes into conflict with the high degree of autonomy promised to Hong Kong so freedoms are seen being tightened. There seemed to be violation of the definitions but it is still better that Hong Kong can maintain its difference from mainland, we can teach in Cantonese and we have our own currency."

「『一國兩制』的前提是要先有『一國』，要完整。承諾給予香港人高度自治權，但（自治權）太多會威脅到國家安全，所以就會不斷收緊一些權利。雖然跟開始的本意有少少違反，但至少香港人可以繼續維持原本，不需要用普通話上課，平常生活也不會用人民幣。」

(Female 女/ 20/ Student 學生)

"1C2S is not what I expected but it was mostly accidental, there were foreign influences but the localists have also become too radical. The Chinese government need to do something to defend its boundaries."

「『一國兩制』跟我以往期望的有少許落差，但這個落差不是預期內的。外國有外國勢力，香港方面也有太多太激進的事，令中國政府要做些動作保障自己的領土。」

(Male 男/ 54/ Customer Service Officer 客戶服務主任)

"It is clear in the university setting, we used to be really international but now...(the passing of National Security Law for example) is scaring internationally renowned professors away from Hong Kong."

「大學裡，以往有很多國際性的東西...（但《港區國安法》訂立後，）可能嚇到一些國際有名的學者，令他們不敢擔任教授的職位。」

(Male 男/ 64/ Shop Manager 店鋪經理)

(iv) Lack of capacity to implement high degree of autonomy

Some participants diagnosed that the lack of capacity to implement high degree of autonomy is most obviously seen in societal fissures found in relation to one's right to privacy and freedom from discrimination. They are the two areas that were uniformly voted to be highly important by respondents from all age, education attainment, political inclination and income groups. Our survey shows that right to privacy (9.14) and protection of lives and safety (9.09) are the more concerned areas which need improvement, ranking second and third out of all 9. Right to privacy is always in the top 3 across all political inclinations. Protection of lives and safety is more sought after by moderates and democrats. Fewer people concern about discrimination (8.33), ranking third last, and it is the only item scoring below 9 among non-establishment supporters.

(iv) 缺乏實現高度自治的能力

有受訪者認為，當保障個人私隱及免受歧視的自由受威脅時，社會出現裂痕，令高度自治的能力最見缺乏。不論年紀、政治傾向、教育程度及收入群組，以上兩項權利及自由被受訪者一貫地評為較重要。電話調查發現「個人私隱」（9.14）及「生命與人身安全」（9.09）是兩個較需要保障的範疇，於九個選項中分別排名第二及第三。個人私隱在所有政治傾向中均排首三位。溫和派及民主派較注重保障生命與人身安全。「免於被歧視」的保障較少人注重，排行尾三，亦是而非建制派支持者中，唯一一項評分低於9分的項目。



The weaponization of personal data in the form of online doxing and cyberbullying is a result of political dualism of “blue” and “yellow” camps. Cases of unethical use of personal data soared and directed against police officers and their families as well as journalists and protesters. It is perceived that a lot of professionals are exploiting their work resources as professional groups such as financial advisers, reporters and even civil servants were found unable to uphold their professional standards as they deliberately leaked sensitive information in aid of cyberbullying. At a higher level, widespread distrust of the SAR government inspired and fuelled many conspiracy theories to develop around facilities or schemes when digitalization is relevant. For instance, the smart lamp posts were believed to tools for surveillance, was felled by protesters in a demonstration in August 2019; thereafter, online doxing and harassment against staff at the manufacturer eventually led to premature termination of the service provision to the government. Health codes introduced to ease travelling between Guangdong, Macau and Hong Kong were met with privacy and humanitarian concerns as the schemes were alleged to be in truth a tool for stealing data to classify citizens.

Distrust is also present at interpersonal level, dating even further back in time. The inability of authorities to treat the tension arising from socio-cultural conflicts between mainlanders and Hong Kongers in the early days of multiple entry permit gradually escalated into hatred and discrimination against mainlanders more generally. Beginning from the 2010s, the conflict became more ethnicized as people were stigmatized or labelled as “Mainlander” or “authentic local” for purposes of discrimination as evident in occurrences like restaurants refusing to serve Mandarin-speaking customers.

藍黃陣營二元對立，網上起底和網絡欺凌等行為令個人資料武器化。不道德地取用個人資料的事件激增，針對警察和其家人以及記者和示威者均不少。人們認為許多專業人士濫用職權，無法秉持專業標準，因為財務顧問、記者甚至公務員等專業團體被發現故意洩露敏感信息，助長網絡欺凌。從宏觀角度，許多陰謀論在市民普遍不信任特區政府下發酵，尤其是與電子化相關的設施和計劃；例如，智慧燈柱被認為是監控工具，在2019年8月的一次示威中被示威者擊倒。此後，供應商員工被網上起底，以致供應商提早終止服務。為粵港澳通關而預備的「健康碼」，亦被認為是竊取數據以辨識市民的工具。

人際關係的不信任，甚至可追溯到更早的時候。當局無力應對內地人與香港人之間的社會文化差異而引起矛盾，逐漸升級為對內地人的歧視和仇恨。從2010年代開始，衝突越演越烈，「大陸人」被標籤和污名化，以區別於「本地人」，例子如餐館拒絕為說普通話的顧客提供服務。

“We even lost the freedom to wear what we want. Now if you wear black, you might be discriminated against or even arrested. The mask ban made me feel that I have even lost the freedom to wear face masks... this is violating basic human rights.”

「我們甚至失去了衣著的自由，你穿黑衫可能會被歧視或者被拘捕。《禁幪面法》令我覺得原來我現在連戴口罩的自由也失去了... 我覺得這是一個侵犯基本人權的行為。」

(Female 女/ 21/ Student 學生)

“We find ourselves exercising self-censorship when venting online, sometimes we just want an outlet of our emotions on Facebook but would find ourselves being targeted by some organizations. They send snitch letters and we get fired. That was before the National Security Law. Now with the law, we would violate the law when we repeat certain slogans, then we find some other expressions or graphics (to express ourselves), and they (the authorities) would find more things to ban. Our freedom is slowly tightening.”

「慢慢大家已經開始自我審查，即使你上網到Facebook發洩情緒，便可能會有『篤灰』或者有些機構會率先解僱，這種情況甚至是在《國安法》前發生的。現在《國安法》已經實施，有些口號會干犯《國安法》。這些口號開始被禁，大家便會用其他方法，例如圖像（去表達自己），慢慢（政府）禁制的東西便越來越多，自由便慢慢開始收窄。」

(Male 男/ 35/ Clerk 文職人員)

"I feel that the younger generation generally is missing a sense of responsibility... regarding freedom of speech, we must also be responsible for what we did (when enjoying these freedom). We must be clear of our responsibility and honour our obligations as well, we must be clear of what we need to do, what standards we need to observe, we are all working toward the betterment of the society after all."

「我覺得現在年輕一輩責任感比較少...關於言論自由方面，（我們享用自由的同時）也要為自己的言行負責任。清晰自己的責任然後背起自己的義務，要做什麼，要守什麼（規則），大家要令整個社會發展。」

(Female 女/ 42/ Homemaker 家庭主婦)

(v) Further erosion of freedoms on the Mainland prompted the desire for firewall for Hong Kong

The systemic political gap between Mainland and Hong Kong is of huge concern to Hong Kongers. From religious freedom, to that of speech, to less well-developed legal safeguards, the differences between the two places prompted the desire for firewall be strengthened so that the "original way of life" of Hong Kongers can be assured.

While freedom of religion is one of the less concerned freedoms across all groups with an average score of 8.58, there are more and more cases which deepen the fear of the Mainland way of life being replicated in Hong Kong. Our focus group participants recalled the appointment of Xia Baolong, the director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, whose political career is known for his uprooting of Christian churches in Zhejiang, and the bishop agreement between Vatican and Beijing which is said to have effectively suppressed underground churches made many believe that religious freedom in Hong Kong will more or less be affected. The eventual loss of one's own dialect and culture during the sinicization of Xinjiang and Tibet is often cited as the "countermodel" of Hong Kong should it becomes increasingly undistinguishable from the Mainland.

(v) 內地的自由收窄，驅使港人築起防火牆

內地與香港存在系統性政治鴻溝，引起不少香港人高度關注。從宗教自由、言論自由，以至不及香港成熟的法律保障，兩地的分歧驅使築起防火牆的迫切感，以確保香港人的「原有生活方式」不變。

雖然宗教自由是所有群體中較少關注的自由之一，平均分為8.58分，但是不少事件令人們更加擔心內地的生活方式會延伸至香港。有聚焦小組受訪者提到，港澳辦主任夏寶龍在浙江清拆基督教堂的往績，以及有傳梵蒂岡與北京就主教任命的安排，可能限制地下教會的生存空間，兩者令人聯想到香港的宗教自由或多或少也會受到負面影響。新疆與西藏的漢化過程中，語言與文化不盡保存，常被舉作反面例子，以推測香港與內地將會變得難區分。



Most shocking still is the arrest of the 12 wanted Hong Kongers, suspects of various crimes, in their attempt to flee to Taiwan in August 2020. Focus group participants reflected on the insufficiency of legal safeguards on the Mainland which justified their distrust in the extradition law. Despite the fact that the detained were being intercepted during their illegal entry into Mainland waters, some viewed this a deprivation of freedom of movement as advocated in the opposition's discourse. The public's reaction corresponds to the focus group results, finding a relatively high score of 9.04 for greater protection of freedom of movement and residence.

Nonetheless, it must be noted that the desire to have the firewall strengthened does not mean a wholesale rejection of China or that such demand necessarily grows out of anti-China sentiments. Focus group members often justified this demand with a realistic assessment of the system currently in place in China which made them believe it is highly unlikely that the Chinese political system could evolve to an acceptable standard. Some even expressed a faint hope that Hong Kong could lead in modernizing the Chinese system, though of the majority harboured disbelief and uncertainty.

"Even though the Legislative Council does not necessarily fully represent the public opinion, but I still hope that everything will still always go through them first, including when NPSCS would be interpreting the Basic Law."

「即使立法會不能完整表達民意，也比人大大一條法例好，所有事也應該經立法會通過。」

(Female 女/ 21/ Student 學生)

"The social movement made China felt that their national security is threatened so they are slowly tightening the freedom of Hong Kongers. The 12 Hong Kongers arrested recently exemplified how the freedom of movement become under control."

「近年社會運動令中國認為國家可能會受到威脅，所以自由慢慢被收緊，例如12港人被拘留內地，也屬於鉗制他們的遷徙自由。」

(Female 女/ 20/ Student 學生)

最令受訪者震驚的是2020年8月的「十二港人」案中，不同罪行的疑犯潛逃台灣。有聚焦小組受訪者認為，事件反映內地的法律保障不足，印證了大眾對《逃犯條例》的不安。儘管被拘留人士乃因非法進入內地水域而遭到攔截，但一些人仍然認同民主派所主張的論調，認為此舉剝奪了出入境自由。呼應聚焦小組的反應，電話調查的結果顯示，公眾認同要加強保護「移居與出入境」自由，給分相對較高（9.04）。

必須指出的是，築起防火牆並不意味著全面拒絕中國，亦不意味這種願意出自反華情緒。有些受訪者對內地的社會狀況有一定理解與評估，認為內地的政治制度不大可能發展到他們可接受的標準。儘管多數人抱著懷疑和未知的態度，一些人尚有絲微希望，相信香港可以牽頭推動內地體制現代化。



(vi) Summary of Survey Data

Consensus on the protection of all 9 freedoms and rights

- To varying extents, the majority of respondents agree that there is a need of a greater protection of all freedoms and rights as all items receive an average score of at least 7.6 (out of 10).
- The three highest rating items are “right to be treated equally before the law” (9.47), “right to privacy is protected” (9.14), and “lives and safety are fully protected” (9.09).
- Those with the lowest scores are “freedom of assembly and association” (7.62), “freely and openly express one’s view and publish” (8.31), and “freedom from being discriminated” (8.33).
- “Right to be treated equally before the law” consistently ranks at the top for all age groups, education attainments, political inclinations and income groups, except for the least educated group (primary or below).
- “Freedom of assembly and association” generally ranks one of the lowest among most age groups, education attainments, political inclinations and income groups, except for the youngest group (aged 18-29) and the non-establishment supporters.

The desire for more protection of freedoms and rights increases with education level but decreases with age

- In general, there is a negative relationship between age and the average score given to any item asked. That is to say, the older the respondent is, the lower average score one is likely to give to the items asked.
- The younger respondents (aged 18-39) generally have strong desire for greater protection of all freedoms and rights, where all items receive an average score of at least 8. On the other hand, older respondents (aged 50 or above) tend to deem “freely and openly express one’s view and publish” (7.72 to 7.99) and “freedom of assembly and association” (6.57 to 7.11) in need of less protection than other freedoms and rights.
- The average score generally increases with the respondents’ education level. Respondents with higher educational attainment (degree or above) generally produce a minimum score of 8, while those with less educational attainment (secondary or below) tend to have less regard for “freedom of assembly and association” (6.40 to 7.57) compare to other aspects.

(vi) 電話調查總結

加強保障九項自由權利為全民共識

- 所有選項平均得分最少為7.6（以10分滿分），即大部分受訪者不同程度地認同所有自由及權利均需要更大保障。
- 最需要保障的三項自由及權利為：「法律面前受到平等對待」（9.47）、「個人私隱」（9.14）及「生命及人身安全」（9.09）。
- 最不需要保障的自由及權利為：「參與遊行示威與組織社會團體」（7.62）、「自由公開發表意見和出版」（8.31）及「免於被歧視」（8.33）。
- 除了教育程度最低組別（小學或以下）外，所有年齡組別、政治傾向、教育程度及收入群組中，法律面前受到平等對待的權利是排名最高的選項。
- 除了最年輕組別（18-29歲）及非建制派支持者外，所有年齡組別、政治傾向、教育程度及收入群組中，遊行示威及組織社團的自由均處於低位。

教育程度愈高、年紀愈少受訪者對加強保障自由及權利的訴求愈大

- 概括而言，受訪者的年齡與9項自由及權利的評分有負面關係，即受訪者年紀愈大，給予項目的評分愈低。
- 年輕受訪者（18-39歲）渴望自由及權利得到保障，所有項目的平均分不低於8分。另一方面，年紀較大的受訪者（50歲或以上）傾向認為「自由公開發表意見和出版」（7.72至7.99）及「參與遊行示威與組織社會團體」（6.57至7.11）比其他範疇較少需要保障。
- 平均分與受訪者的教育程度有正面關係。教育程度較高受訪者（學士或以上）評分一般達8分或以上。教育程度較低者（中學或以下）一般認為「參與遊行示威與組織社會團體」（6.40至7.57）比其他範疇較少需要保障。

Huge political divide

- Pro-establishment and non-establishment supporters respectively produce some of the lowest (on “freedom of assembly and association”) and highest (on “right to be treated equally before the law”) average scores.
- All of the lowest scores were produced by pro-establishment supporters, though most items often still reached at least 7 or more, “right to be treated equally before the law” (9.06) is the only item receiving score higher than 9 among pro-establishment supporters. On the other hand, non-establishment respondents produce a minimum score of above 9 on almost all items, with the exception of “freedom from being discriminated”, which still stands at 8.63.

政治鴻溝巨大

- 建制派及非建制派支持者分別於給出最低（「參與遊行示威與組織社會團體」）及最高（「法律面前受到平等對待」）的評分。
- 所有範疇的最低評分均來自建制派支持者，惟每個評分仍不低於7分。「法律面前受到平等對待」（9.06）是建制派支持者中，唯一一項給予高於9分的範疇。另一方面，非建制派支持者的評分最小也有9分，除了獲得8.63分的「免於被歧視」。

No clear relation between income level and desire for freedoms and rights be better protected

- Regardless of one’s income level, all items generally receive scores above 8, with the exception of “freedom of assembly and association” which only receives 6.72 from the lower-income group. “Right to be treated equally before the law” ranks top by all income group.

收入水平與保護自由及權利並無明確關係

- 無論受訪者的收入狀況如何，所有範疇均獲8分或以上的評分，惟獨是低收入組別對「參與遊行示威與組織社會團體」只給6.72分。「法律面前受到平等對待」是所有收入群組評分最高的範疇。



表2.2 - Table 2.2 - 所有受訪者 All respondents

	Unnecessary 不需要	Half-half 一半半	Necessary 需要	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
1. Do you think the following freedom and rights need a stronger protection if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐一國兩制，以下的自由和權利需要更大保障嗎？					
a) Freely and openly express one's view and publish 自由公開發表意見和出版	7.1%	4.4%	85.2%	3.3%	8.31
b) Lives and safety are fully protected 生命與人身安全得到充分保障	3.7%	1.9%	93.1%	1.2%	9.09
c) Freedom of assembly and association 自由參與遊行示威與組織社會團體	13.4%	6.6%	76.5%	3.6%	7.62
d) Freedom to practise any religion of one's choice 自由選擇宗教信仰	6.3%	4.8%	88.0%	0.9%	8.58
e) Freedom from being discriminated 免於被歧視	5.2%	5.4%	87.2%	2.2%	8.33
f) Freedom of movement and residence 自由移居與出入境	3.5%	2.4%	93.1%	0.9%	9.04
g) Academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions 自由進行學術研究與文藝創作	4.4%	4.3%	90.1%	1.2%	8.72
h) Right to be treated equally before the law 法律面前受到平等對待	1.7%	1.9%	95.9%	0.5%	9.47
i) Right to privacy is protected 個人私隱得到充分保障	3.0%	2.5%	93.8%	0.7%	9.14

表2.2 - Table 2.2 - 平均分 (按年齡組別) Average score by age

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	≥70	All respondents 所有受訪者
1. Do you think the following freedom and rights need a stronger protection if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐一國兩制，以下的自由和權利需要更大保障嗎？							
a) Freely and openly express one's view and publish 自由公開發表意見和出版	9.41	8.84	8.12	7.99	7.72	7.82	8.31
b) Lives and safety are fully protected 生命與人身安全得到充分保障	9.67	9.47	9.30	9.04	8.50	8.49	9.09
c) Freedom of assembly and association 自由參與遊行示威與組織社會團體	8.95	8.44	7.72	6.93	7.11	6.57	7.62
d) Freedom to practise any religion of one's choice 自由選擇宗教信仰	8.91	8.89	8.62	8.31	8.39	8.44	8.58
e) Freedom from being discriminated 免於被歧視	8.91	8.63	8.46	8.23	7.72	8.02	8.33
f) Freedom of movement and residence 自由移居與出入境	9.53	9.39	8.98	8.84	8.83	8.66	9.04
g) Academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions 自由進行學術研究與文藝創作	9.40	9.16	8.94	8.44	8.32	8.03	8.72
h) Right to be treated equally before the law 法律面前受到平等對待	9.73	9.66	9.54	9.47	8.98	9.46	9.47
i) Right to privacy is protected 個人私隱得到充分保障	9.64	9.41	9.00	8.98	8.77	9.06	9.14

表2.3 - Table 2.3 – 平均分 (按教育程度) Average score by educational attainment

	Primary or below 小學或以下	Junior secondary 初中	Senior secondary 高中	Non-degree tertiary 專上非學位	Bachelor 大學學位	Postgraduate 研究院	All respondents 所有受訪者
1. Do you think the following freedom and rights need a stronger protection if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐一國兩制，以下的自由和權利需要更大保障嗎？							
a) Freely and openly express one's view and publish 自由公開發表意見和出版	7.41	7.74	8.18	8.53	8.83	8.99	8.31
b) Lives and safety are fully protected 生命與人身安全得到充分保障	8.41	8.89	8.97	9.36	9.38	9.61	9.09
c) Freedom of assembly and association 自由參與遊行示威與組織社會團體	6.40	6.81	7.57	7.97	8.20	8.44	7.62
d) Freedom to practise any religion of one's choice 自由選擇宗教信仰	8.22	8.69	8.28	8.78	8.77	9.31	8.58
e) Freedom from being discriminated 免於被歧視	8.25	7.91	7.92	8.94	8.54	9.05	8.33
f) Freedom of movement and residence 自由移居與出入境	8.53	8.81	8.96	9.27	9.24	9.57	9.04
g) Academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions 自由進行學術研究與文藝創作	8.22	8.26	8.60	8.90	9.05	9.38	8.72
h) Right to be treated equally before the law 法律面前受到平等對待	8.86	9.49	9.46	9.62	9.59	9.78	9.47
i) Right to privacy is protected 個人私隱得到充分保障	9.05	9.08	8.96	9.27	9.26	9.27	9.14

表2.4 - Table 2.4 – 平均分（按政治傾向） Average score by political inclination

	Pro-establishment 建制派	Moderates 溫和派	Non- establishment 非建制派	Non-est: Democrats 非建制：民主派	Non-est: Others 非建制：其他	All respondents 所有受訪者
1. Do you think the following freedom and rights need a stronger protection if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐一國兩制，以下的自由和權利需要更大保障嗎？						
a) Freely and openly express one's view and publish 自由公開發表意見和出版	5.63	8.22	9.66	9.66	9.65	8.31
b) Lives and safety are fully protected/生命與人身安全得到充分保障	8.12	8.97	9.65	9.67	9.62	9.09
c) Freedom of assembly and association/自由參與遊行示威與組織社會團體	4.43	7.31	9.49	9.47	9.51	7.62
d) Freedom to practise any religion of one's choice 自由選擇宗教信仰	8.01	8.30	9.30	9.31	9.28	8.58
e) Freedom from being discriminated/免於被歧視	7.22	8.36	8.63	8.61	8.65	8.33
f) Freedom of movement and residence/自由移居與出入境	8.57	8.80	9.66	9.61	9.71	9.04
g) Academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions/自由進行學術研究與文藝創作	7.39	8.58	9.66	9.66	9.66	8.72
h) Right to be treated equally before the law/law面前受到平等對待	9.06	9.34	9.85	9.85	9.85	9.47
i) Right to privacy is protected/個人私隱得到充分保障	8.55	8.97	9.74	9.76	9.72	9.14

表2.5 - Table 2.5 – 平均分 (按家庭收入) Average score by household income

	Lower 較低	Lower Middle 中低	Upper Middle 中高	Higher 較高	All respondents 所有受訪者
1. Do you think the following freedom and rights need a stronger protection if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐一國兩制，以下的自由和權利需要更大保障嗎？					
a) Freely and openly express one's view and publish by public opinion	8.05	8.34	8.80	8.96	8.31
b) Lives and safety are fully protected	8.74	9.26	9.25	9.36	9.09
c) Freedom of assembly and association with organized social groups	6.72	7.80	8.40	8.26	7.62
d) Freedom to practise any religion of one's choice	8.34	8.59	8.76	9.16	8.58
e) Freedom from being discriminated	8.00	8.34	8.56	8.77	8.33
f) Freedom of movement and residence	8.85	9.08	9.32	9.47	9.04
g) Academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions	8.46	8.71	9.09	9.20	8.72
h) Right to be treated equally before the law	9.54	9.43	9.68	9.73	9.47
i) Right to privacy is protected	9.16	9.06	9.34	9.18	9.14

4.2 Governance and Political System

(i) Greater involvement in the negotiation of the new 1C2S contract

Those who had experienced the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong first-hand are most disheartened by the passive role of Hong Kongers in the past over the future of 1C2S as they see 2047 could be the second coming of disappointment if they do not have a seat at the negotiation table.

Participants generally reached a consensus on “50 years remain unchanged” being the key and foundation of the 1C2S. Keeping the Basic Law largely as it is became the priority in many participants’ agenda in the rare event that they should lead a role in the negotiation on Hong Kong’s future beyond 2047. Many participants had an expectation that after the 50-year period, the two systems of 1C2S would indeed change. But they held the view that there should only be amendment if such were to minimize or even abolish “grey areas” by which the Hong Kong system was rendered less significant.

The “50 years remain unchanged” promise is, however, a paradox to some, as some participants read the transition period as essentially a homogenization process by which the Hong Kong system would merge with the Chinese system. Some participants thus indicated that they would not be surprised if there were systemic changes before the 50-year due time, though they still would like to see 1C2S being respected in the mean time.

The focus group participants unanimously believed that it is the central government’s decision to formulate the future of 1C2S and that Hong Kongers will have little role, if any, to play. Buried within the reluctant and depressive acceptance was the faith in the social contract bound by the Basic Law. For many, absolute and unquestioned loyalty to this contract probably presented the best solution to the sustainability of 1C2S. They believe a robust working relationship between Hong Kong and mainland China will minimize whatever discrepancies between the socialist and capitalist systems and be beneficial to both parties.

“Whether or not 1C2S will continue, I hope that Hong Kongers will have the chance to participate in the negotiation.”

「無論最後是否實行『一國兩制』也好，希望可以冇香港人參與這個『續約』的討論」

(Female 女/ 31/ Journalist 記者)

“I don’t really mind if 1C2S continue beyond 2047 because it was said in 1997 that ‘50 years remain unchanged’, when 2047 approached and the system is to change to 1C1S...I will accept our fate.”

「『一國兩制』延續與否，我覺得也沒所謂，因為1997年列明『五十年不變』。我會覺得2047年時，有可能是『一國一制』的回歸...我也會認命。」

(Female 女/ 34/ Bank Manager 銀行經理)

4.2 管治與政治體制

(i) 渴望參與「一國兩制」前途的新討論

回歸前的過渡期間，港人只能被動地參與「一國兩制」前途討論，曾親身經歷政權移交的人倍感失望。假如2047年的前途討論中，港人仍然沒有參與角色，將會令他們再次抱憾。

受訪者普遍認同「五十年不變」是「一國兩制」的關鍵和基礎。儘管不寄厚望，但如有機會參與二次前途討論，他們會將保全《基本法》列為首要任務。不少受訪者估計五十年後，「兩制」終究也會變化。如若有任何改變，他們認為只能是為了消除灰色地帶而出現，以防香港的制度被弱化。

然而，某些受訪者認為「五十年不變」的承諾只似矛盾般存在，因為這五十年實質上是香港體制與內地體制同質化的過渡時期。因此，一些受訪者一方面希望「一國兩制」在這段時期能夠被尊重，另一方面表示即使五十年期限前發生系統性變化，他們也不會感到驚訝。

受訪者一致認為，「一國兩制」的未來掌握於中央政府手中，香港人幾乎不會扮演任何角色。面對現實，他們表現出一種無奈與抑鬱，只有將盼望訴諸《基本法》訂下的社會契約。要長遠維持「一國兩制」，最佳方法可能是全心全意地和毫無疑問地忠於這份社會契約。他們認為，香港與內地若能保持穩固的合作關係，社會主義與資本主義的差異便能縮至最小，互惠互利。

"We respect the contract, it was initially promised to us that '50 years remain unchanged', after which we will have to contemplate whether or not to continue 1C2S. so I think 50 years (after the launching 1C2S) will be a good time to review whether it (1C2S) really works. Now after just 23 years, we realized already that many things are just 'up to interpretations' (of the authorities)."

「我們本來有合約精神，一開始已經講明五十年作為一個期限，之後再去考慮究竟是不是繼續延續『一國兩制』呢？五十年是一個很好的時機，去檢視這個制度還不可行。因為現在只是過了二十三年，已經發覺很多事也隨意被中央解讀。」

(Female 女/ 32/ Procurement Officer 採購主任)

"If 1C2S is to continue, then I hope that there would be clauses that specify the boundaries of power of both SAR and the central government and never put things like Annex 3 in, where other clauses can be randomly added anytime."

「如果『一國兩制』延續，我希望中央政府在一些條文上面寫得明確點，即是寫明它們（中央政府與特區政府）的權限到哪裏，不要留著好像《附件三》無稜兩可的，（避免）以後可以隨便加入（條款）的情況。」

(Male 男/ 22/ Student 學生)

(ii) 1C2S is the overwhelming option for Hong Kong's future

Even though the idea of gaining independence and becoming a Chinese autonomous city were brought up during the focus group discussions, participants overwhelmingly agreed that 1C2S, if practised as promised, should continue, even indefinitely. The past 23 years however highlighted the conflicts arising from a difference in understanding or expectation of what 1C2S means. While some participants understood the 50-year timeframe as one for compromising differences and experimental in the removal of boundaries, most had higher expectation and felt justified in their demand for 1C2S's ability in maintaining a high degree of autonomy, enjoyment of freedoms and continuation of the distinction from the Mainland.

Working youths in our focus group tended to feel more deeply about the deterioration of 1C2S to 1C1S. Some of them identified the current problems of 1C2S as lying not only in conceptual ambiguity, but unwillingness on the part of the authorities to commit to the cause. A few participants diagnosed that 1C2S is often no more than just a name which SAR or the central government used to capture Hong Kong's economic gain. Despite the perception that 1C2S has become 1C1S in practice, they displayed certain level of confidence in the unlikelihood of the imposition of 1C1S.

(ii) 「一國兩制」是香港前途的不二之選

雖然在聚焦小組討論中，有人提出完全獨立和成為中國直轄市的想法，但受訪者絕大多數也同意，如果「一國兩制」能夠按照所承諾的方式實施，應該無限期地繼續下去。可是，過去23年發生的衝突，呈現了社會對「一國兩制」的內涵存在不同理解和期望。一些受訪者視五十年的時限為各種差異的妥協和消除隔閡的試驗，但大多數人抱有更高期望，要求「一國兩制」能夠令香港區別於內地，保持高度自治和保障自由權利。

聚焦小組的在職青年對「一國兩制」倒退成「一國一制」有深刻感受。部份人認為，當前「一國兩制」的問題不僅因為概念上模稜兩可，還因為當局不願貫徹始終。有些受訪者指「一國兩制」只是特區政府和中央政府用以攫取香港經濟利益的代名詞。他們覺得「一國兩制」在實踐中傾向「一國一制」，但也相信「一國一制」不可能在香港實施。

It is noteworthy that any degree of preference of independence of Hong Kong or any kind of self-determinist was extremely rare, whether of practical considerations, any attachment to a Chinese identity, or any perceived incompatibility of the “one country” premise. Most participants emphasized the indisputability of Hong Kong’s being part of China. A small group of younger focus participants do not oppose to the adoption of 1C1S if the mainland system will be as socially, economically and legally developed as Hong Kong’s by 2047. That is to say, these people would happily accept 1C1S only if the “one system” could match up with Hong Kong’s current system. Others suggested the most ideal situation would be for the two systems to develop together.

A smaller group found the current state of 1C2S satisfactory. They were usually middle-aged participants who tended to measure the success of 1C2S in terms of the improvement of living standard, job security and public safety.

Perhaps surprisingly, while older participants did not find the recent development of 1C2S satisfactory, they tended not to have strong expectations of 1C2S, mostly because they envisaged that they will not be around in 2047 and thus unwilling to yield their command of the future to younger stakeholders. They also displayed a mix of optimism, pessimism and uncertainty towards the future of Hong Kong as they recognized that there are both merits and drawbacks in the existing system. Some of them envisioned that the original way of life on the economic and social front would likely remain unchanged, although there might be less space to discuss political issues, especially if they are critical of the authorities.

“The reason why 1C2S is not working is because those signing the contract don’t honour them (1C2S)... They (the central government) are already proactively intervening Hong Kong’s affairs after just 23 years (of 1C2S). The question of whether 1C2S should continue really depends on whether they (the central government) would respect the contract.”

「現在問題是簽合約的人或者政權沒有合約精神可言...（『一國兩制』）現在過了二十三年，見到（中央政府）積極干預。應不應該延續『一國兩制』這個問題上，我覺得首先要解決（中央政府的）合約精神。」

(Male 男/ 35/ Clerk 文職人員)

“For me, China does not necessarily represent the Communist party and is not necessarily a one-party state. It can also embrace universal values and democratize. If it has been democratized, I really don’t mind 1C1S. But this is not the case right now, 1C2S is already non-existent and (the authorities) constantly change the definition (of what 1C2S mean). For me right now, whether 1C2S will continue after 2047 I no longer care, as it is no longer the 1C2S promised in the ‘contract.’”

「對我來說，中國不一定代表共產黨，中國也可以發展普及民主或普世價值，不只是一黨專政。民主意識已經提升的話，我真的不介意2047年之後『一國一制』。但現在不是這樣，『一國兩制』已經沒有了，或者是可以任意擺龍門定義『一國兩制』是什麼。保留或不保留也沒所謂，因為已經不是原本簽約時所講的。」

(Male 男/ 31/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

值得注意的是，無論是出於實際考慮，對中國人身份的認同，或與「一國」前提不相容，支持任何程度的「香港獨立」或任何形式的前途自決均屬極少數。大多數受訪者強調香港作為中國一部分是無可爭議的事實。有部分年輕受訪者同意，假如中國的社會、經濟或法律水平能在2047年前與香港同樣發達，他們並不反對「一國一制」，意即只有當內地的一制能追上香港的一制，他們才會接受「一國一制」。也有些人認為，最理想的情況是兩個制度共同發展。

也有一小撮受訪者滿意「一國兩制」的當前狀態，他們多數已屆中年，傾向以生活水平、工作保障和公共安全的改善來衡量「一國兩制」是否成功。

或許令人意想不到，年長受訪者縱使不滿意「一國兩制」的近期發展，但他們對「一國兩制」的期望也沒有很高，主要因為他們想像到自己未能活至2047年，實在無權干預屬於年輕一代的未來。他們認識到現有制度既有優點也有缺點，因此對香港的未來表現出樂觀、悲觀和不確定的多重感受。他們之中的一些人認為，原來的生活方式在經濟和社會領域上，很可能會保持不變，但是政治議題的討論空間可能會收窄，尤其是批評政府的話題。

"We will each articulate our 1C2S ...it's ok if you implement 1C2S in Hong Kong like you would in Macau but whether the international community recognize Hong Kong as such is another matter. Mass emigration is evidence that people are losing confidence."

「『一國兩制、各自表述』...跟澳門一樣，即管說『一國兩制』仍然存在，但國際承認你與否是另一件事。信心問題，你看多少人移民就知道了。」

(Female 女/ 62/ Care worker 護理員)

"I hope 1C2S in 2047 will be what it was intended to be, things in China will catch up with Hong Kong and we improve together not regress or drag each other down."

「我希望2047年後的『一國兩制』，會好像當初提出『一國兩制』的想法一樣，中國所有東西也開始追到香港的進度，大家一起進步而不是互相拖累。」

(Female 女/ 21/ Salesperson 銷售員)

"Hong Kong is part of China...structurally we don't have the capacity to be independent...what other countries could we get the provisions we acquire now than China?"

「香港是中國一部分...制度方面太多依賴大陸，即是經濟、民生，所有也依賴中國供給。如果要獨立的話，哪個國家可以供給香港呢？」

(Male 男/ 41/ Engineer 工程師)

(iii) Political polarization hinders implementation of 1C2S

All participants recognized the merits of a pluralistic society and most understood the damage political polarization caused to the implementation of 1C2S. The participants however differ as to who they attributed the responsibility for creating these societal fissures to.

More middle-aged participants tended to focus on how SAR government systemically excluded opposition voices in government as exemplified by the disqualification of candidates siding with localism and outright barring them from running elections. Some read these incidents as the central government orchestrating suppression against the opposition through methods like NPCSC's interpretation of the Basic Law or secret talks with Hong Kong government officials.

Some of the youngest and oldest participants attributed equal blame to both political groups and the government. On the one hand, these participants felt that the localist narrative was gravely simplified and indiscriminate vilification of government officials had in fact worked against the localist cause in denying themselves opportunities to truly respond to the demands of the people. On the other hand, some political groups are also unwilling to negotiate and reconcile. The participants were worried that political polarization had put the Hong Kong-Mainland relationship under too much stress and would backfire and harm the prospects of 1C2S.

(iii) 政治兩極化拖累「一國兩制」落實

所有受訪者了解多元社會的優點，而大多數也了解政治兩極化對實施「一國兩制」所帶來的破壞。但是，受訪者對造成社會裂痕的責任誰屬問題，有不同看法。

較多中年受訪者傾向聚焦於特區政府如何系統性排除反對聲音，例如，候選人打著本土主義旗號會被取消資格，完全禁止參加選舉。有些人將這些事件看作是中央政府藉著人大釋法或給予港府官員秘密指令，從而打壓反對派的手段。

一些最年輕和最年長的受訪者皆認為政治團體和政府需負同樣責任。一方面，這些受訪者認為本土主義論述被大大簡化，再加上官員不分皂白的批評，令他們無法回應本土訴求，違背本土主義的初衷。另一方面，一些政治團體不願談判與和解。受訪者擔心，政治兩極化使內地與香港的關係承受太大壓力，只會適得其反並損害「一國兩制」的前景。

Some of the oldest focus group participants gave more details on what successful implementation of 1C2S might be like, hinting at democratization as well as the emergence of moderate and middle-of-the-road politics. They understood that 1C2S will not be given to Hong Kong unconditionally especially if politicians continue to deploy provocative strategies.

部分最年長的聚焦小組受訪者對何謂成功的「一國兩制」有較清晰的解說，認為民主化、溫和派和中間政治需要進一步發展。他們明白「一國兩制」並非無條件授予香港，如果政客繼續採取挑釁性策略，肯定無望成功。

"Everyone has different ideas about how a society should operate, we should adopt a more opened attitude. The society is pluralistic and it allows (different voices) to brainstorm together to reach solution and improve...government seem to think that listening to the citizens (is a sign of weakness) and they refuse to listen and communicate with citizens... their insistence make the society more polarized."

「每個人對於一個社會怎樣運作的理解也不一樣，所以應該保持開放態度，令大家活在更加多元的社會。（不同聲音）可以構思更加多東西，社會才可以進步，慢慢改善有不足的地方...可能政府認為聽市民意見會削弱自己權力，但是政府堅持自己的觀點不溝通，令社會撕裂更加嚴重。」

(Female 女/ 20/ Student 學生)

"There should be many voices (in the society), not single one, otherwise Hong Kong will be no different from Mainland or other totalitarian states... government should work harder to create such platforms where people can peacefully exchange opinions... rather than suppressing these voices."

「聲音存在（於社會）是沒有問題的，不應該是單一聲音，否則香港跟大陸或者其他極權國家便沒有分別...政府要思考一下如何做到大家可以和平表達自己意見，使到雙方也有一個渠道或者平台，避免有人走到極端的方法表達自己...比禁聲好。」

(Male 男/ 31/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"We need to give more opinions to the central government, with restraint."

「希望大家可以溫和，跟中央『有偈傾』。」

(Male 男/ 72/ Retired 退休人士)

There are two types of people in the society obstructing the realization of two types of development of the 1C2S. One of them is the 'yellow-ribbon' preventing the 1C2S envisioned by the central government because of their dissatisfaction in central government's actions. And the other is 'blue-ribbon' and they think that the 'yellow-ribbon' is preventing what they expected (of 1C2S to be realized). The 'yellow ribbon' think that the blue ribbon and central government is preventing what we truly think of the 1C2S to happen, 'high degree of autonomy' and Hong Kongers ruling Hong Kong.

「社會上有兩種不同立場的人，分別阻礙著兩種『一國兩制』的發展。一個是所謂的『黃絲』，阻礙著中央所想的『一國兩制』發展，因為明顯地『黃絲』立場人士對中央行為有很多不滿；另一個想法是『藍絲』，覺得『黃絲』阻礙著他們所想像的『一國兩制』。『黃絲』覺得『藍絲』及中央阻礙著我們認為真正的『一國兩制』發展，即是『高度自治、港人治港』等。」

(Male 男/ 22/ Student 學生)



(iv) Hope for democratization

Hope for democratization is shared by many participants as the key, and perhaps the only key to the continuation of 1C2S. From our survey results, it is clear that the public share some common aspirations for democratization in Hong Kong. For instance, a majority of respondents agree that improvements are necessary for a fair and open election for government leaders (82.9%) and fair competition among political parties (83.5%). Over two-thirds (67.0%) think that democratization in Hong Kong should be faster, shared by all groups, with the exception of pro-establishment supporters.

Many focus group participants summarized one aim of 1C2S to be that Hong Kong should adopt an indispensable role as a Chinese democratic example to China. Democratization is thus perceived as more than benefitting the internal governance of Hong Kong where different groups and interests can be adequately represented in the legislative process; that it is and will be a defining quality of the success of 1C2S. However, many found it disappointing that not only is Hong Kong losing the role one aspires to, but the promised democratization as stipulated in the Basic Law is far from fully realized after almost half time towards 2047.

The SAR government's inability to carry out political reform in a timely, structured fashion caused much disappointment and discontentment among participants. Framing democratization of Hong Kong as a life and death situation is the dominant narrative of the anti-extradition movement. As the movement subsided with the arrival of National Security Law, the longing for a democratized Hong Kong is still alive, though much toned-down and consolidated into a reluctant acceptance of the current system. There were participants who took the "failure" of the social movement and the series of events that followed as a telling sign of the failure of 1C2S, while there were also participants who see the "good" in the social movement taking place in 2019 and not later, as it exposed the deep-seated problems of Hong Kong to the central government and provided a chance for reviewing the implementation of 1C2S as well as the relevance of the Basic Law.

Yet, there were also participants indicating that the social movement made them see the immaturity of promoting democratization in Hong Kong. They realized that Hong Kong is neither fit for universal suffrage nor are there any such political talents to lead the city when they witnessed some politicians defended protesters despite their violent behaviours. On the contrary, the perceived lack of political talent is also the reason why other participants hope for the success of democratic reform as they felt that the current government officials had been failing them.

(iv) 對民主化的盼望

許多受訪者視民主化為延續「一國兩制」的關鍵，甚至是唯一關鍵。從電話調查結果可以看到，民主化是香港公眾的共同願望。大多數受訪者認為，政府領導人的選舉需要更公平公開（82.9%）和政黨之間的競爭需要公平（83.5%）。超過三分之二（67.0%）的人認為，香港的民主化步伐應該更快，得到除建制派支持者以外的所有群組認同。

許多聚焦小組受訪者總結「一國兩制」的其中一個目標，是香港能發揮不可或缺的角色，作為中國民主城市的範例。因此，民主化不僅令立法過程中，不同團體與利益能有均衡代表，對香港的內部管治有好處，更是「一國兩制」是否成功的決定因素。然而，香港逐漸失去預期的角色，令不少人失望，尤其是距離2047年只剩一半路程，《基本法》承諾的民主化目標完全談不上實現。

特區政府無法把握時機有系統地進行政制改革，引起受訪者極大失望和不滿。修例風波期間，主流論述提到爭取民主化是「寧為玉碎，不作瓦全」，社會運動隨著《港區國安法》實施而平靜下來，但市民對民主化的渴望仍然存在，只是經過多番整固，勉強接受及融入現行體制。有些受訪者相信社會運動的「失敗」以及隨後一系列事件，標誌著「一國兩制」付之流水。有些受訪者則觀察到2019年社會運動的「成就」，因為它向中央政府暴露了香港的深層次問題，提供機會去檢討「一國兩制」的實施以及《基本法》的作用。

然而也有受訪者指出，社會運動使他們明白香港推行民主化的條件並未成熟。目睹政客為部分示威者的暴力行為護航，令他們意識到香港既未適合推行普選，也未有適合的政治人才來領導這座城市。與此同時，其他受訪者正正因為政治人才短缺，現任官員表現未如理想，所以更希望民主化改革成功。

"Some people think that the social movement (anti-extradition movement) was promoting Hong Kong independence but my view is that it was making a demand, asking (the authorities) to respect 1C2S. The question is whether we should continue this system broken by (the authorities)."

「現在的社會運動（反修例運動），政府的想法是有人鼓吹『港獨』，我自己觀察的原因是市民希望（政府）尊重『一國兩制』。一個已經被（政府）破壞的制度是否應該繼續延續呢？」

(Female 女/ 32/ Procurement Officer 採購主任)

"I cannot say that the social movement did not do any good to the development of 1C2S. If the social movement erupted in 2047... then Hong Kongers would not be able to fight for the continuation of 1C2S, because then 1C1S would only be natural. But if the social movement, concerning the future of Hong Kong, takes place within the 50-year time period, then it is not a bad method to showcase the deep-seated problems of 1C2S."

「不可以說現時社會狀況對『一國兩制』發展沒有用處，如果今時今日的社會衝突到2047年才爆發的話，可能中央會斬釘切鐵，香港人也沒有什麼反駁的餘地，因為屆時變回『一國一制』是理所當然。如果在『一國兩制』還是『50年不變』的時間內爆發，便明顯展現到（『一國兩制』的）深層次矛盾。」

(Male 男/ 22/ Student 學生)

"People complained about (the proposals on) the election of the Chief Executive. If everyone gets a vote...does it mean any (random) person can run for election? (To ensure the quality of the candidate, it makes sense that) only those appointed will be allowed to run for election."

「人們說選特首沒有自由，如果一人一票...是否隨便（任何人）也可以參選？（為保證由有能力的人管治，可以）有人推舉出來，然後我們才去選。」

(Female 女/ 48/ Accountant 會計師)

"I am optimistic about democratization in Hong Kong in 2047, because this is a global trend and I think China will follow."

「我覺得2047年以後，（香港）會傾向於民主方面，因為這是全世界的大趨勢，中國大陸也會跟隨。」

(Female 女/ 59/ Clerk 文職人員)

"There is something more important than democracy, it is the livelihood of people...we don't value the freedoms we already enjoy. The demand for democratization must be legal and peaceful...we need to reflect on this (what prompted the central government to introduce the National Security Law)."

「民主前還有兩個字，『民生』，民生比民主更重要...我們好像不懂珍惜自由。想爭取要用合法的途徑...（《港區國安法》的出現）我們要反省一下。」

(Male 男/ 68/ Retired 退休人士)

(v) Quality of governance plays an important part in the implementation of 1C2S

Our survey results testify that check and balance is the most-wanted government function that needs improvement after democratization. Most respondents agree that it is necessary for the courts (83.4%) and the legislature (83.3%) to balance the executive branch. Some participants refer to the personal misconduct of some senior officials as breaching the trust of people and that the accountability system should be more strictly followed.

(v) 施政水平是實踐「一國兩制」的重要因素

電話調查結果顯示，互相制衡是僅次於民主化後，最需要改善的政府功能。大多數受訪者認為，司法機關（83.4%）和立法機關（83.3%）必須更能制衡行政部門。某些高級官員的失當行為違反市民信任，有受訪者指出應該嚴格遵守問責制。

Improving the provision of quality public services (81.6%) is the common ground of every demographic group save that law enforcement and maintaining social orders (79.1%) comes last. Notably for these two government functions, the highest support comes from the democrats while the lowest comes from the localists. These are two of the few questions that the democrats and localists respond differently. Many focus group participants agreed that the delivery of everyday government function will affect their evaluation of the overarching governance structure.

One of the more-cited criticisms of the implementation of 1C2S is the neglect of Hong Kong people's interest by government officials. To some, the anti-extradition movement exposed exactly HKSAR's lack of governance capacity where the government is pushing forward an unfavourable policy. Almost two-third of the respondents (63.1%) indicate that the SAR government's policies cannot satisfy the needs and interests of different parties and no group gives a passing score, including the pro-establishment supporters.

"The government should prioritize the needs of Hong Kongers and these cannot be written black and white in the Basic Law, it depends on the mindset of our leader. ...s/he should be able to act independent from the influence of other powers (stronger than him/her)."

「政府制定政策時，應由香港人出發，不是《基本法》可以明確指示，是當權者想法的問題...代表香港人的官員，做決定的時候不能單單聽從其他（強勢）國家或者人物的想法。」

(Male 男/ 20/ Student 學生)

"The Chief Executives we have in Hong Kong have impaired political wisdom...(I understand that) every place has their own problems but I feel that officials in Hong Kong just want to report to (the central government). They never put themselves in the position of Hong Kongers, before things become so destructive there were many remedies available...they are unwilling to negotiate (with us)...back in 2008, we were all proud to be Chinese... now it feels like (the central government) will only grant positions to those who are loyal to them but not those with political wisdom."

「這幾屆特首的政治智慧真的很差...（我明白）每個地方也會發生很多不同的事情，但管治香港的人好像只是想著跟上面（中央政府）交代，他們沒有從香港人角度出發，很多事情本來可以在未到破壞前，有其他方法解決方法...但他們不（與市民）討論...2008年香港人很支持中國，身份認同好高漲...應該有個有政治智慧的出來做特首，不是聽從（中央政府）的才讓他做。」

(Male 男/ 44/ Photographer 攝影師)



(vi) Summary of Survey Data

There is necessity in improving government's accountability through check and balance

- The majority of respondents (over 80%) agree that monitoring mechanisms from the judiciary or legislature should improve to keep governmental bodies in check.
- The average score generally decreases with age, and increases with education levels and income.
- Political divide on this issue is clear, with pro-establishment producing the lowest score of 5.44 and 4.87 on strengthening the monitoring function of the judiciary and legislature respectively, while democrats the highest of 9.73 and 9.53 respectively.

Respondents all agreed it is necessary to improve the fairness of elections

- Fairness in elections receive the most support, with the highest score of 8.22.
- The average score generally decreases with the respondents' age and generally increases with education levels.
- The pro-establishment supporters produce the lowest scores on fair elections of government leaders and political parties, respectively 5.45 and 6.50, while non-establishment supporters all produce scores of above 9.

Improvements on public service is less necessary compared to other aspects

- Provision of public service and law enforcement receive two of the lowest scores of 7.61 and 7.45, though around 80% of respondents still deem them two necessary areas for improvement.
- Scores given to them generally reach at least 7.3, with the exception of pro-establishment supporters who deem the provision of public service relatively less necessary, at 6.61.

(v) 電話調查總結

有必要加強制衡以改善政府問責性

- 大多數受訪者（超過80%）認同司法機關及立法機關的監察功能應該改善，以制衡行政部門。
- 平均分隨年齡下降，並隨收入水平及教育程度上升。
- 政治分歧明顯，在加強司法機關及立法機關的監察功能兩個範疇上，建制派支持者分別給予最低的5.44分及4.87分，民主派支持者則給予最高的9.73分及9.53分。

所有受訪者同意有必要改善選舉公平性

- 改善選舉公平性獲得最多受訪者支持，評分達最高的8.22分。
- 平均分隨受訪者年齡下降，並隨教育程度上升。
- 建制派支持者對改善政府領導人及不同政黨的選舉公平性給予最低評分，分別只有5.45分及6.50分，非建制派支持者則評分不少於9分。

公共服務水平比其他範疇較不必改善

- 雖然有約80%受訪者認為有必要改善公共服務及加強執法，但是兩項分別獲得7.61分及7.45分的最低分數。
- 兩個範疇的評分一般不少於7.3分，除了建制派支持者外，他們認為較沒必要改善公共服務，只給予6.61分。



All groups are dissatisfied with the inability of government to initiate policies to look after interests of all parties in the society

- Over 60% of the respondents think the government's policies cannot satisfy the needs and interests of all parties in the society, with an average score of just 2.98.
- Generally, there is no clear distinctions between different groups and the government's perceived ability to satisfy interests of all parties, as scores produced by all sub-groups are similarly low. Younger respondents aged 18-29 years old agree most that government policies cannot satisfy interests of all parties, producing an average of only 1.97. While pro-establishment produced a relatively high score of 4.93, it is still below 5.
- The score increases with age and decreases with education level.
- The satisfaction score of middle-income individuals is the lowest among other income groups (2.86 for lower-middle and 2.57 for upper-middle).

Faster-paced democratization soon is preferred by most

- Over two-thirds of participants think that Hong Kong's democratization should be faster.
- Younger respondents tend to hope for faster democratization compared to older respondents. Similar pattern is also seen in those with higher educational attainment and income levels, where higher educational attainment or income level tend to mean stronger desire for a faster-paced democratization, though the relations are not as clear as that with age.
- The starkest contrast between hope for faster democratization is found in respondents of different political inclinations. The difference in score between pro-establishment and non-establishment is the starkest, standing respectively at 4.41 and 8.69.

政府未能推行切合社會各界利益的政策，所有組別均感不滿

- 超過60%受訪者認為政府政策未能切合社會各界的需求及利益，滿意度只有2.98分。
- 各個組別對政府政策的滿意度評分偏低，沒有清晰分別。較年輕組別（18-29歲）最不同意政府政策能滿足社會各界利益，給予1.97分。建制派支持者的評分較高，達4.93分，仍然不及5分。
- 評分隨年紀上升，並隨教育程度下降。
- 中等收入組別的滿意度較其他收入組別低（中低及中高組別分別為2.86分及2.57分）。

大部分受訪者希望加快民主化步伐

- 超過三分之二受訪者認為香港的民主化步伐應該更快。
- 年輕受訪者比年長受訪者更希望加快民主進程。教育程度及收入較高者呈現相似的意見，即希望加快民主化步伐，但分野不及年齡高低般明顯。
- 不同政治傾向的市民對民主化步伐的態度有最明顯的差異。建制派支持者與非建制派支持者之間的差別最鮮明，分別為4.41分及8.69分。

表3.1 - Table 3.1 – 所有受訪者 All respondents

	Unnecessary 不需要	Half-half 一半半	Necessary 需要	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
2. Do you think the following government systems need a greater improvement if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」，以下政府功能有多需要改善呢？					
a) The courts can protect the citizens if the government abuses power 如果政府濫權，司法機構能夠保護市民	7.9%	3.3%	83.4%	5.4%	8.12
b) The legislative branch can monitor the government 立法機關能夠監察政府	8.5%	5.0%	83.3%	3.2%	8.05
c) The capacity to provide quality public services 提供良好的公共服務	8.1%	8.1%	81.6%	2.2%	7.61
d) The capacity to enforce laws and maintain the order of the society 執行法律和維護社會秩序	9.0%	8.7%	79.1%	3.2%	7.45
e) Citizens can elect government leaders through fair and open elections 市民經過自由公平的選舉選出政府領導人	9.8%	4.7%	82.9%	2.7%	8.22
f) Different political parties can compete with one another under fair conditions in elections 不同政黨可於選舉中公平競爭	7.6%	6.1%	83.5%	2.9%	7.99
3. Do you think the HKSAR government's policies satisfy the needs and interests of all parties in the society? 你認為特區政府的政策有多切合不同人士的需要和利益呢？					
	Not satisfying 不切合	Half-half 一半半	Satisfying 切合	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
	63.1%	19.1%	14.9%	2.9%	2.98
4. Do you think the future democratization of Hong Kong should be faster or slower? 你認為未來香港的民主化進程應該更快還是更慢呢？					
	Slower 更慢	Half-half 一半半	Faster 更快	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
	14.0%	14.5%	67.0%	4.5%	6.97

表 3.2 - Table 3.2 – 平均分 (按年齡組別) Average score by age

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	≥70	All respondents 所有受訪者
2. Do you think the following government systems need a greater improvement if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」，以下政府功能有多需要改善呢？							
a) The courts can protect the citizens if the government abuses power 如果政府濫權，司法機構能夠保護市民	9.13	8.76	8.18	7.84	7.31	7.47	8.12
b) The legislative branch can monitor the government 立法機關能夠監察政府	9.08	8.27	8.40	7.48	7.39	7.77	8.05
c) The capacity to provide quality public services 提供良好的公共服務	7.59	7.86	7.56	7.54	7.59	7.52	7.61
d) The capacity to enforce laws and maintain the order of the society 執行法律和維護社會秩序	7.20	7.42	7.49	7.32	7.49	7.82	7.45
e) Citizens can elect government leaders through fair and open elections 市民經過自由公平的選舉選出政府領導人	9.46	8.69	8.20	7.63	7.58	7.88	8.22
f) Different political parties can compete with one another under fair conditions in elections 不同政黨可於選舉中公平競爭	8.81	8.25	8.29	7.54	7.29	7.82	7.99
3. Do you think the HKSAR government's policies satisfy the needs and interests of all parties in the society? 你認為特區政府的政策有多切合不同人士的需要和利益呢？	1.97	2.56	2.96	3.58	3.04	3.72	2.98
4. Do you think the future democratization of Hong Kong should be faster or slower? 你認為未來香港的民主化進程應該更快還是更慢呢？	8.07	7.81	7.20	6.20	6.10	6.54	6.97

表3.3 - Table 3.3 – 平均分 (按教育程度) Average score by educational attainment

	Primary or below 小學或以下	Junior secondary 初中	Senior secondary 高中	Non-degree tertiary 專上非學位	Bachelor 大學學位	Postgraduate 研究院	All respondents 所有受訪者
2. Do you think the following government systems need a greater improvement if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」，以下政府功能有多需要改善呢？							
a) The courts can protect the citizens if the government abuses power 如果政府濫權，司法機構能夠保護市民	7.05	8.19	8.00	8.59	8.30	8.87	8.12
b) The legislative branch can monitor the government 立法機關能夠監察政府	7.32	8.02	8.03	8.07	8.41	8.07	8.05
c) The capacity to provide quality public services 提供良好的公共服務	7.36	8.08	7.55	7.99	7.39	7.78	7.61
d) The capacity to enforce laws and maintain the order of the society 執行法律和維護社會秩序	7.25	8.02	7.45	7.65	7.21	7.62	7.45
e) Citizens can elect government leaders through fair and open elections 市民經過自由公平的選舉選出政府領導人	7.68	8.43	7.90	8.29	8.65	8.29	8.22
f) Different political parties can compete with one another under fair conditions in elections 不同政黨可於選舉中公平競爭	7.44	8.12	7.75	8.20	8.24	8.40	7.99
3. Do you think the HKSAR government's policies satisfy the needs and interests of all parties in the society? 你認為特區政府的政策有多切合不同人士的需要和利益呢？	3.71	3.49	2.82	2.96	2.61	3.06	2.98
4. Do you think the future democratization of Hong Kong should be faster or slower? 你認為未來香港的民主化進程應該更快還是更慢呢？	5.69	6.70	7.02	6.87	7.43	7.87	6.97

表3.4 - Table 3.4 – 平均分 (按政治傾向) Average score by political inclination

	Pro-establishment 建制派	Moderates 溫和派	Non-establishment 非建制派	Non-est: Democrats 非建制：民主派	Non-est: Others 非建制：其他	All respondents 所有受訪者
2. Do you think the following government systems need a greater improvement if IC2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」，以下政府功能有多需要改善呢？						
a) The courts can protect the citizens if the government abuses power 如果政府濫權，司法機構能夠保護市民	5.44	7.83	9.70	9.73	9.66	8.12
b) The legislative branch can monitor the government立法機關能夠監察政府	4.87	7.92	9.41	9.53	9.28	8.05
c) The capacity to provide quality public services提供良好的公共服務	6.61	7.80	7.85	7.97	7.72	7.61
d) The capacity to enforce laws and maintain the order of the society執行法律和維護社會秩序	7.31	7.60	7.52	7.87	7.13	7.45
e) Citizens can elect government leaders through fair and open elections市民經過自由公平的選舉選出政府領導人	5.43	8.11	9.56	9.53	9.59	8.22
f) Different political parties can compete with one another under fair conditions in elections 不同政黨可於選舉中公平競爭	6.50	7.65	9.12	9.16	9.07	7.99
3. Do you think the HKSAR government's policies satisfy the needs and interests of all parties in the society? 你認為特區政府的政策有多切合不同人士的需要和利益呢？	4.93	3.22	1.76	1.91	1.60	2.98
4. Do you think the future democratization of Hong Kong should be faster or slower? 你認為未來香港的民主化進程應該更快還是更慢呢？	4.41	6.64	8.51	8.69	8.31	6.97

表3.5 - Table 3.5 – 平均分 (按家庭收入) Average score by household income

	Lower 較低	Lower Middle 中低	Upper Middle 中高	Higher 較高	All respondents 所有受訪者
2. Do you think the following government systems need a greater improvement if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? 你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」，以下政府功能有多需要改善呢？					
a) The courts can protect the citizens if the government abuses power 如果政府濫權，司法機構能夠保護市民	7.65	8.08	8.80	8.89	8.12
b) The legislative branch can monitor the government 立法機關能夠監察政府	7.70	8.20	8.47	8.15	8.05
c) The capacity to provide quality public services 提供良好的公共服務	7.79	7.63	7.69	7.26	7.61
d) The capacity to enforce laws and maintain the order of the society 執行法律和維護社會秩序	7.56	7.52	7.71	7.18	7.45
e) Citizens can elect government leaders through fair and open elections 市民經過自由公平的選舉選出政府領導人	7.97	8.36	8.63	8.25	8.22
f) Different political parties can compete with one another under fair conditions in elections 政黨可於選舉中公平競爭	7.67	8.15	8.30	8.20	7.99
3. Do you think the HKSAR government's policies satisfy the needs and interests of all parties in the society? 你認為特區政府的政策有多切合不同人士的需要和利益呢？	3.40	2.86	2.57	3.48	2.98
4. Do you think the future democratization of Hong Kong should be faster or slower? 你認為未來香港的民主化進程應該更快還是更慢呢？	6.55	7.13	7.59	7.47	6.97

4.3 Socio-economic Conditions

(i) Hong Kong's economic contribution to China determines the continuation of 1C2S

The economic achievements of Hong Kong under 1C2S are undoubted even among the most critical participants. They displayed a clear understanding of Hong Kong's contribution to China. They also observed that these achievements equipped Hong Kong with certain degree of resilience. It was widely held by the participants that due to pragmatic considerations, China would work hard to ensure the survival of 1C2S at least at the most superficial level as long as Hong Kong is able to contribute in the development of international commerce to China.

Yet, Hong Kong's position is not unshakable. The rise to its position as an international financial centre has been a mixture of historical accidents, conditioning and engineering. With US revoking Hong Kong's special status recently, some participants felt that the act certifies that Hong Kong is perceived to be the same as the rest of China. Hong Kong must discover new positioning to gain bargaining power to convince China for the continuation of 1C2S.

While some feel proud of Hong Kong's achievement, some also realize that this is a pressure point to coerce China into political concessions which coincides with the "laam-chau" (mutual destruction) strategy as seen in the anti-extradition movement. Even some younger participants argue that such strategy will further undermine Hong Kong's bargaining power and eventually dismantle the possible continuation of 1C2S.

On a different level, focus group discussions tended to focus almost exclusively on the economic factor while only a few recognized the mentality of the Chinese leadership that 1C2S would continue if it benefits China overall politically and not solely economically. Over the last two decades, China has moved on in its own economic development. The rapid rise of cities like Shenzhen, Shanghai and Guangzhou has shown that China has already reached a stage where it is no longer dependent on Hong Kong economically and at times this was a point of concern for the participants who urged for more reinvention of the Hong Kong style capitalism to maintain its advantage.

4.3 社會經濟狀況

(i) 「一國兩制」延續與否取決於香港對中國的經濟貢獻

即使是經常批評「一國兩制」的受訪者，對於香港的經濟成就也是無容置疑的。他們清楚了解香港對中國的貢獻，亦觀察到這些成就使香港具備一定的抗逆能力。受訪者普遍認為，只要香港能夠繼續為中國的國際貿易發展貢獻，中國基於現實考慮，必然會確保「一國兩制」至少在表面上延續。

然而，香港的地位並非不可動搖。香港能夠躍升為國際金融中心不少得歷史的偶然、條件和塑造。隨著美國最近撤銷香港的特殊地位，一些受訪者認為此舉證明香港被視為無異於中國其他普通城市。因此香港應尋找新定位，為爭取延續「一國兩制」增添籌碼。

儘管有些人為香港的成功感到自豪，但是也有人認為香港應利用自身優勢向中方施壓，迫使其作出政治讓步，與修例風波的「攞炒」策略不謀而合。在較年輕的受訪者中，亦有人憂慮這種手法只會進一步削弱香港的議價能力，甚至摧毀延續「一國兩制」的可能性。

另一方面，聚焦小組討論幾乎全部集中於經濟因素上，只有少數人提及中國領導人的思路，即「一國兩制」的延續不僅懸於經濟利益之上，亦須能為國家發揮政治作用。過去二十多年間，中國的經濟發展已經踏出一步。深圳、上海和廣州等城市的迅速崛起表明，中國現時的发展階段已經不再需要依賴香港，有受訪者因此促請香港特色的資本主義需要創新，以維持香港自身優勢。

"The continuation of 1C2S depends on whether it can bring economic benefits to China without threatening national security."

「『一國兩制』應否繼續延續，首先要確保它不會太影響到國家安全而又可以為中國帶來一些很好的經濟效益。」

(Female 女/ 20/ Student 學生)

"The continuation of 1C2S is so that China can take advantage of Hong Kong, they want the benefits that the badge 1C2S would bring, like taking Hong Kong as the trading window to make economic gains."

「若香港打著『一國兩制』旗號，可以令國家有益，國家便會繼續在香港獲取利益，例如用香港作為貿易窗口賺錢。」

(Female 女/ 29/ Flight Attendant 空中服務員)

(ii) The success of capitalism signifies the success of the "two systems"

Participants generally agreed that some key elements of the market economy, such as private property rights, free exchange of currency and free flow of capital, remain intact. But to some participants, Hong Kong's lack of self-sufficiency is responsible for the diminishing competitiveness of the city and the perceived failure of capitalism over the years.

Survey results demonstrate that a majority of respondents support the government should participate in the market more proactively by developing selected industries (68.3%), allocate more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone (69.9%) and tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need (63.3%). There is greater support for all three policy choices from the lower income group than the higher.

In some of the focus groups the participants opined that Hong Kong's reactionary economic policy continues to diminish its competitiveness and overlook the urgency in diversifying. The current economic model supported by the four pillar industries is deemed both inward and backward looking which matches neither the macro-economic trend nor the interests of youth. To them, Hong Kong appears to be too proud of its past achievements, too short-sighted in its future outlook and too timid to stay in its comfort zone of the four-pillar industrial model.

The participants, particularly those under 30 and were in employment, had deep feelings about how the government's efforts often do not follow through, which eventually lead to further problems. For instance, when government expressed its intention to develop the six priorities industries, Hong Kong lacked the necessary infrastructure to deliver. The limited size of the market cannot absorb the influx of new graduates trained by tertiary institutions. Skilled youths in these specializations are either paid poorly or pulled away from the relevant industries by opportunities elsewhere, causing not only mismatch in the employment market but weakened social mobility for a generation.

(ii) 資本主義成功即標誌「兩制」成功

受訪者普遍認同市場經濟的一些關鍵要素，如私有產權、貨幣自由兌換和資本自由流動，能夠保持不變。但某些受訪者認為，近年香港競爭力下降和資本主義看似失敗，乃因香港無法自給自足而造成。

調查結果說明，大多數受訪者支持政府更積極地參與市場，不論是主動發展特定行業（68.3%），增加公共開支來照顧每個人的基本需要（69.9%），或向富人徵稅以補貼有需要的人（63.3%）。較低收入群組對這三個政策選項的支持度，高於較高收入群組。

有些聚焦小組中的參加者談及，香港的回應式經濟政策持續削弱香港的競爭力，又忽視產業多元化的緊迫性。當前的經濟模式由四大支柱產業撐起，即內向又守舊，不符合宏觀經濟趨勢和年輕人的興趣。對他們而言，香港似乎過度自滿於往日成就，無力瞻望未來前景，故步自封於四大支柱產業模式的舒適區。

政府實施的政策未能妥善執行，最終導致更多問題。受訪者對此有深刻感受，尤其是30歲以下的在職人士。例如，當政府宣布要發展六大優勢產業時，香港缺乏必要的基本條件。市場規模有限，無法吸收大專院校所培訓的畢業生。這群高技術青年要麼工資不高，要麼尋找其他機會脫離相關行業，不僅造成就業市場錯配，亦削弱了一代人的社會流動力。

Secondly, many participants attribute, in part, if not in large part, the rocketing discontent caused by HKSAR government's poor allocation of public resources. Land and housing were examples put forth by many focus group participants. Although evidence was not provided, there was a general impression that new immigrants are the main beneficiary of public housing and mainlanders are the main buyers of Hong Kong properties. Local youth are priced out of the housing markets and are forced to compromise their career and family planning for a relatively reasonable standard of living in the city. The consequence is far-reaching as some predicted that the unwillingness to bear children will prevent the continuation of Hong Kongers (perhaps as an "ethnic group") and thus the continuation of 1C2S.

To some participants, the crux of land and housing problems lies in the exploitation of resources, and suggested that more government effort should be devoted to penalizing wealthy residents in public housing. Some failed to truly understand the one-way permit system and how it worked and proposed exercising a "vetting right" when granting one-way permits to mainlanders. Some others said that the small house policy should be revisited to ensure land resources are maximized.

Expensive and time-consuming infrastructural projects like the Lantau Tomorrow Vision, the high-speed rail, and the Shatin-Central line are much despised. While the return of capital investment might be long-term, participants could not see how public spending is effectively allocated to tackle immediate needs of the mass. They are not surprised that such overly conservative resource distribution provided a source of public distrust and anger. They considered such gigantic sum of money spent on these projects could have been spent on poverty alleviation schemes, such as unemployment relief or emergency funds for COVID-hit industries, that will benefit more people in need.

Utilizing the financial autonomy to differentiate HKSAR from Mainland China was deemed a crucial task in adhering to the concept of 1C2S. Regarding the lack of precision when executing government budgeting, the overloaded public healthcare was used to illustrate the point. Worsened by an ageing population and a growing size of public healthcare users who were priced out of the expensive private healthcare system, they regarded government inaction in this area as insensitive and inconsiderate to public demands and needs. They suggested the government should recruit more medics from overseas, rather than the Mainland, to maintain the service standards.

其次，許多受訪者將社會上的不滿情緒歸咎於特區政府分配公共資源不力。土地和房屋是許多聚焦小組受訪者提出的例子。雖然沒有證據，但他們的整體印象是新移民為公共房屋的主要得益者，而內地人為香港房地產的主要購買者。年輕人因房價高企無法自置居所，他們被迫改變自己的職業生涯和生育計劃以換取相對合理的生活水平。這有深遠後果，因為有些人估計極低生育率會令香港人絕後（作為一個族群），繼而阻礙「一國兩制」的延續。

對於一些受訪者而言，土地和房屋問題的癥結在於濫用資源，他們建議政府應對屋富戶多加處罰。有些人未能真正理解單程證制度及運作方式，建議向內地人發放單程證時行使「審核權」。也有一些人說，應該重新檢討丁屋政策，確保土地資源得到最大利用。

受訪者批評一些昂貴而費時的基礎設施項目，如明日大嶼、高鐵和沙中線等。儘管資本投資的回報可能是長期的，但受訪者看不到公共開支如何有效地分配，來滿足社會大眾的迫切需要。這種過於保守的資源分配造成公眾的不信任和憤怒，他們對此並不感到驚訝。他們認為，用於此等基建的巨額資金可以轉用於扶貧措施，例如提供失業救濟金或為受疫情影響行業提供應急資金，能使更多有需要的人受惠。

遵循「一國兩制」的另一關鍵，是運用香港的財政自主權以區別於內地。受訪者認為政府預算缺乏精確性，從遠超負荷的醫療系統可見一斑。人口不斷老化，無法負擔私營醫療費用的病人亦增加。他們認為政府無所作為是對社會需要不夠敏感和考慮不夠周詳。他們建議政府應從海外而非內地招募更多醫務人員，以維持服務水平。



"Over the years, Hong Kong has always tilted toward the financial sector or the land developers. We do not acquire the capacity and momentum for economic growth. Along with the other social problems, it just makes the people discontent and turn to politics for solution."

「這麼多年來香港的經濟結構完全側重於金融地產業，在經濟沒有明顯的增長動力，加上本身存在非常多社會問題，長久以來令人民對整個社會產生不滿，自然會想在政治方面作出改變。」

(Male 男/ 24/ Customer Service Officer 客戶服務主任)

"The economy needs to diversify even though it is already a Chinese financial centre, there is such heterogeneity of work genre within the financial sector like Fintech, can we have a better positioning? Honestly, I don't know what the Innovation and Technology Bureau did in the past few years, or the Cyberport. I don't feel that there are any improvements in the past few years."

「經濟可以更多元化，即使作為一個中國金融中心也可以做更多。例如金融創新方面，可不可以有個更好的定位呢？從前成立的創新科技局或數碼港，我也不知做了什麼，這幾年我完全不認為香港在這方面有進步的地方。」

(Male 男/ 26/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"Hong Kong does not have any industry standing out and have always been following the wider global or Asian trend, so when the society is stable then the economy will flourish... investors will then come."

「經濟方面其實香港沒有特別行業或者經濟，也是跟隨亞洲或者全世界大勢。主要如果社會穩定，經濟便一定自然向上...投資者便會來香港。」

(Male 男/ 51/ Trading Manager 貿易經理)

"The government should strive to justly distribute resources. For example, many big corporates are making a lot of money already, the Employment Support Scheme should focus on more local industries...so they can survive...IC2S grants HKSAR the freedom to take full control of its budget, the central government never intervened with the budgeting but HKSAR needs to make sure that resources are fairly distributed."

「經濟這方面其實政府真的要平均些分配資源。好像『保就業』，有些大企業根本真的賺很多，津貼真的要補給真本土的行業，讓小老闆也可以維生...『一國兩制』下香港自己管制儲備如何用，中央也沒有干預過。香港政府在運行這些手法前提要貼題些，要分配給合適的行業，要公平地分配資源。」

(Female 女/ 54/ Clerk 文職人員)

"Whether certain government official meet their policy objectives is irrelevant because they still get paid...they have no skin in the game, they do not suffer (if they failed to meet target)... if their performance is linked to (their policies outcomes) then it can motivate them."

「高官制訂房屋政策的時候，無論是否達到他們的政策目標也沒所謂，他們也照常得到薪金...他們不被政策效果影響，如果他們的表現是連接到其他方面（政策效果）會更合理，令人有動力令這個地方變好的。」

(Male 男/ 26/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"The government has been spending a lot on projects like high-speed rail, Shatin-Central line and the Tomorrow's Lantau, but they should listen to the opinion of people from different strata of the society and consider directing funds to areas that benefit the majority to alleviate the societal conflicts."

「政府從前的政策可能很多撥款在高鐵、沙中線、現在有『明日大嶼』。其實我們是否應該聽更多社會不同階層階級的意見，會否把這些錢撥款予一些真正令到大眾也可以享受的福利上？那麼會否令社會衝突緩和和一些呢？」

(Male 男/ 20/ Student 學生)

(iii) Perceived unfairness in Hong Kong's socio-economic conditions

In this time of economic uncertainty brought on by the pandemic, the self-evaluated economic prospects for survey respondents are mixed, with 36.8 think that they will be in a better situation and 32.8% worse. Survey results also show that the majority of respondents (57.9%) think that social policies in Hong Kong is unfair. The relationship between individual economic prospects and one's view of societal fairness is unclear. It is conventional to believe that poorer economic prospects will accompany with perceived unfairness of social policies as witnessed in the middle-income group and non-degree graduates. However, the relationship is reversed for younger respondents as they have more positive expectation over their economic prospects and greater perceived unfairness in social policies. Similarly, non-establishment supporters evaluate their economic prospects almost equally compared to moderates but have a much stronger sense of unfairness.

Even with a certain level of confidence in their own competence, younger groups felt strongly that the future outlook of their fellows is darkened by social immobility. They were sympathetic to their cohorts who are locked in heavy burden from student loan. Unchanged income scales for fresh graduates in the past decade made the acquisition of higher education gravely unattractive.

While the participants might not have any first-hand experiences of poverty, they identified wealth gap and inequality as problems all-pervading and consolidating in contemporary Hong Kong. This has particular impact on children and youth's unequal access to education, as classes moved online to Zoom lately.

The perceived inequality is not limited to the less advantaged. Commercially, some participants felt that the influx of Chinese capital on a generally massive scale altered the level-playing field where local enterprises could rarely, if ever, compete. This does not do justice to enterprising local business talents. Participants often felt that what these businesses lack is the financial capacity to enter into the local market and stay long enough to establish themselves. At the individual level, participants also hold that a growing proportion of Chinese firms have suspected preferences toward mainland graduates over local graduates at entry level. Such claims are hard to verify but feel very real to those experiencing it.

(iii) 社經條件被認為不公平

疫情下的經濟不穩期間，電話調查的受訪者自評經濟前景好壞參半，36.8%認為他們的處境會更好，32.8%則認為會更差。結果還顯示，大多數受訪者（57.9%）認為香港的社會政策不公平。個人經濟前景與社會公平的觀感之間並無清晰關係。常見的說法是對經濟前景越悲觀的人，便會認為社會政策越不公平。這種現象在中收入群組和非學位大專生中看到。但年輕受訪者卻相反，他們對自己的經濟前景抱有較積極的期望，亦同時認為社會政策較為不公。非建制派支持者對自身經濟前景的預測與溫和派幾乎相同，但對政策不公的觀感卻要強得多。

即使是對個人能力有信心的年輕人，仍然會因社會缺乏流動，而為同輩的前途感到憂心。他們同情同輩的學生貸款負擔沉重。過去十年，畢業生的起薪點停滯不前，使高等教育嚴重缺乏吸引力。

儘管受訪年輕人未必經歷過貧窮，他們認為香港所有問題均能追溯到貧富懸殊和收入不平等。最近，疫情令教學移師網上，學童接受教育的機會更為不均。

社會不平等不單止影響弱勢社群。在商業領域，有受訪者認為大量內地資金湧入，改變了公平競爭的營商環境，令本地企業難以競爭和生存，無助培養本地商業人才。受訪者觀察到不少企業因缺乏資金而無法進入本地市場，亦無法長期營運得以建立規模。在個人層面，受訪者深信越來越多國企更傾向聘請內地畢業生。雖然說法無從稽考，但對身處其中的人極其真實。

"Housing is a huge burden for younger generation, this prompts many to ditch any child-bearing plans...if these problems can be solved, then it would relieve a lot of conflicts within the society."

「現在香港年輕一輩人連最基本住屋問題已經很大負擔，會令年輕人不情願生育下一代...所以如果可以解決到香港人這些最基本的問題的話，對社會矛盾有幫助。」

(Female 女/ 28/ Baker 烘培師)

"Has the quality of life been compromised (only) after reversion to China?... I have heard from elderly that back in the 60s, the living conditions were even worse than it is now. How few people back then were not living in super cramped space?... People's demands have grown nowadays; our standard of living has risen. But when making these demands, what have we sacrificed? (we must be aware that we also have) responsibilities."

「香港現在是否因為『一國兩制』令整個社會生活質素變低呢?...其實聽老人家講，六十年代香港的住屋其實更嚴重，有多少人不是住『劏房』?今時今日大家其實是自己要求變多，生活質素變高。大家有所要求的時候其實又付出了什麼呢?我覺得(對自己的)責任要清晰。」

(Female 女/ 42/ Homemaker 家庭主婦)

"Industries such as construction, finance and insurance have gradually been filled with many Chinese corporations... pushing both Hong Kong and foreign corporations out of the scene."

「例如建築、金融、保險之類的行業，慢慢用很多中資的公司在香港立足...令從前很多英資公司或者港資公司很難在香港立足。」

(Female 女/ 29/ Flight Attendant 空中服務員)

"Chinese corporate often get the tendering for government projects directly, to me, that looks like the weakening of "two systems". Culturally, broadcast companies are playing more drama from Mainland and less made locally. Mainlanders are also controlling our biggest broadcast company. The space for Hong Kongers to express ourselves is increasingly small... Even in translations, we used to have the freedom to adopt different versions of a term but now we do always choose the Mainland one... There is often huge pool of funding making cooperation with Mainland almost free and thus much easier. We seem to have the choice to choose freely but these economic pull factors meant that we do not actually have that freedom... we (Hong Kongers) are very passive in all these."

「中資直接被政府判(中標)，『兩制』好像愈來愈減弱。文化環境方面，電視台播愈來愈多來自中國內地的劇集，香港劇集愈來愈少，我們連香港最大電視台也被內地人控制著，香港人的發言權愈來愈少...香港從前可以選擇來自中國或台灣的譯名，但今日只可以選擇中國的譯名...政府研究經費會指定如果跟中國內地團隊合作便會有經費，當然有權選擇可以跟其他地區合作但要自費。表面上有兩個選擇，但經濟誘因下只有一個選擇。香港人在這方面很被動。」

(Male 男/ 23/ Assistant Arborist 助理樹藝師)

"I work in Central, there are a lot of Chinese capital-backed corporations and they tend to employ Mainlanders. These people are usually educated overseas and acquire knowledge in both Mainland and the international horizon... it is only natural for them (the Chinese corporates) to choose the mainland candidate. Hong Kongers are given much less chances comparatively."

「我在中環上班，見到很多中資基本上全部也會聘請內地人，內地人可能很多也在外國讀書，有內地的知識又有國際的知識...變相也會選擇內地人，給更少機會香港人。」

(Male 男/ 26/ Marketing Manager 市場部經理)

(iv) International outlook and local priorities gave way to China's development

China's impact is growing globally. Some of focus group participants applauded its economic success and believed Hong Kong should seize the ample opportunities in China. But there is also the observation that Hong Kong is beginning to accommodate China in every possible aspect. Hong Kong as an established economy flourishing on the international stage being possibly overshadowed by the growing Chinese market raises many participants' concerns. They worried that the over-reliance on China may restrict Hong Kong's international horizon.

(iv) 國際機遇及本地要事遷就國家發展

中國的影響力在全球範圍內不斷增長。有受訪者讚揚中國經濟的成功，並相信香港應捉緊內地機遇，但也有人觀察到香港在各個範疇也有遷就國家發展的跡象。受訪者擔憂香港本身是在國際舞台上相當成熟的經濟體，可能慢慢被不斷增長的中國市場所掩蓋而失色。他們擔心過度依賴中國，會限制香港的國際視野。

Survey results show that opinion towards Hong Kong's participation in the Chinese economy is split, with 40.9% support and 40.2% oppose, implying contradictory attitudes towards economic opportunities from the massive mainland market. The generation gap and political divide is obvious. Younger and non-establishment supporters is against Hong Kong participation, whereas older and pro-establishment supporters support. Greater participation in economic activities in foreign countries is more of a consensus from the public survey, with 74.8% support and 8.5% oppose.

From teaching Chinese language in Mandarin and the introduction of National Education Curriculum in education to lifeless moulding of retail landscape, to meeting the needs of high-purchasing mainland customers, be they parallel traders or luxuries buyers; to the influx of mainlanders on individual visit scheme, anchor babies and alleged "benefit tourism", the divide is evident and big. It should come as no surprise that some participants insisted that people find it hard to believe that the government is putting the needs of Hong Kong people at top priority.

In face of China's growing soft power, focus group participants refer to the concept of cultural assimilation as they see Hong Kong's local culture is diminishing. For instance, the entertainment industry no longer flourishes as they did. One sees local broadcast company playing an increasing proportion of mainland-produced, mandarin-speaking drama series which are making huge hits in the city. In the literary realm, there is a growing use of mainland slangs and terms used in translation while simplified Chinese characters are becoming more common in day-to-day settings.

All made the participants felt as if the most mundane aspects of everyday life are being invaded. To many participants, the problems economic integration brought to the locals certainly outweigh the benefits. In response to China-facing policies, there is a growing sentiment to oppose all China-related issues. The perceived unjust treatment of locals mobilized many to retaliate with proposals such as the "yellow economic circle" to vindicate a sense of justice that is missing in the society.

電話調查結果發現，市民對香港應否參與國內市場的意見呈兩極化，支持及反對的比率分別錄得40.9%及40.2%。年齡及政治鴻溝明顯：較年輕組別及非建制派支持者均反對香港參與內地市場，較年長組別及建制派支持者則支持。參與外國的經濟活動是多數受訪者的共識，有74.8%支持，只有8.5%反對。

從「普教中」和國民教育，到迎合水貨客或高消費族群而徹底單一化的零售業格局，到自由行、單程証、雙非嬰和「零團費」旅遊，社會分歧持續惡化，令一些受訪者難以相信特區政府的施政是以安頓民生為首要目標。

隨著內地的軟實力日益增強，有受訪者認為香港本地文化正被同化。例如，娛樂事業已不及昔日輝煌，有受訪者注意到本地電視台播出內地製作、普通話廣播的電視劇越來越多，亦在本地觀眾群中大受歡迎。在語文運用方面，內地潮流用語及簡體字在日常生活也被廣泛使用。

不少受訪者感到日常生活慢慢地被佔據，認為香港與內地的經濟融合肯定是弊多於利。當面向內地的政策越來越多，他們對任何與中國有關的議題便越來越反感。「黃色經濟圈」等制衡方案，便是由許多感到社會不公的人所提出，嘗試為社會挽回公義。

Capacity-building will prove crucial to the growth of Hong Kong's own bargaining power in a potential 2047 talk. Some proposed that Hong Kongers must reduce reliance on the seemingly unbeatable Chinese market by developing deeper and more extensive relations with foreign firms. However, some participants analysed that the dominating role of Chinese firms in the local economy produces the inaccurate impression that Hong Kong is symbiotic to the Chinese market when in fact, a fair share of the Hong Kong market is occupied by both prominent international and local firms who are able to survive on their own.

提升自身能力是在2047前景的討論中，香港能夠增加議價空間的關鍵。有受訪者建議香港應與外資企業建立更深更廣的關係，減少過分依賴內地市場。亦有受訪者指出，儘管內地企業在香港經濟有主導角色，但斷定後者只寄生於內地經濟實屬片面的理解。事實上，香港市場的若干部分乃由有相當盈利能力的本地及外資企業支撐。

"The pandemic is a good time to reset our economy...the retail industry has always been tilted to the mainland market. We don't need so many pharmacies in Tsim Sha Tsui selling the same kinds of things...we see many shops being closed (since the closure of the border and we should rethink) whether we should be so singular (in our economic approach)."

「現在這個疫情是一個重整...香港的零售全部也側重於內地自由行消費，我們香港人根本不需要在尖沙咀有這麼多藥房，全部賣一式一樣的東西。見到很多公司倒閉，究竟香港是否真的需要，一窩蜂當時全部做自由行，便全面迎合呢？」

(Male 男/ 33/ Financial Planner 財務策劃師)



"If not for Mainland's Individual Visit Scheme back in post-SARS days, Hong Kong economy would not develop so quickly and would probably be dead. People complained about the Mainlanders devouring our resources but our economy really is better and people now have jobs!"

「沙士時，如果不是中國放寬自由行，你認為香港經濟會不會飛得那麼快，可能還是一潭死水！發展得快，便批評大陸人來跟我們爭食，但香港的經濟好了，又有工開有飯食！」

(Female 女/ 48/ Accountant 會計師)

"'Hong Konger ruling Hong Kong' is not just in a literal sense... (the Chief Executive) should prioritize Hong Kongers when drafting policies. Now we see that the policies overlook the interest of Hong Kongers to match Mainland's policies."

「我覺得『港人治港』不是純粹特首是香港人... 政策方面也要香港人優先。反觀這幾年的政策，很多可能忽略了香港人的利益，配合中國大陸的政策。」

(Male 男/ 21/ Student 學生)

"People always say Hong Kong is dependent on China but why depend, not cooperation, why is it not (framed as) a win-win, mutually beneficial relationship?"

「我們常說香港要依靠大陸，但為何要用依靠呢？為何不可以是一個合作關係呢？用一個互惠互利的態度去做呢？」

(Female 女/ 42/ Homemaker 家庭主婦)



(v) Summary of Survey Data

Hope for a government taking up more responsibility for the society

- Over or close to two-thirds of all respondents think the government should assist development of selected industries proactively (68.3%), tax the rich to subsidize those in need (69.9%), and spend more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone (63.3%).
- Youngest respondents think it is more important to take care of each citizen's basic needs (7.54), while the oldest respondents think supporting selected industries (7.26) is more important.
- There is no obvious difference between education attainment and average scores produced on the three aforementioned items. Yet, junior secondary produced the highest score of 7.09 to proactively assisting the development of selected industries.
- Respondents of different political inclinations display different priorities. Pro-establishment supporters tend to support market intervention more while non-establishment respondents want the government to take care of everyone's basic needs.
- Common decreasing trends are seen by income, the higher income the less the respondents think the government should support selected industries, tax the rich, and taking care of basic needs.

All groups agree Hong Kong should participate more in foreign economic activities while that in Mainland's economic activities is diverse

- The average score on "Hong Kong to participate more in foreign economic activities" is 7.27 while that in Mainland is 4.82. The pattern of preferring participation in foreign economic activities rather than that in Mainland is seen in all age, income groups and respondents of different education attainments.
- For each age group and education level, respondents agree that Hong Kong should participate more in foreign economic activities than in Mainland. Difference in score between the two items drops with age and increase with education level.
- Unsurprisingly, pro-establishment supporters produced the highest average score of 8.45 to "participate more in the Mainland market" and non-establishment the lowest of 2.88. While scores given to Mainland market is more fluctuated, those given to "foreign" options are consistent, at over 7 regardless of one's political inclinations.

(v) 電話調查總結

期望政府承擔更多社會責任

- 約三分之二受訪者認為政府應主動扶持選定產業（68.3%），向富人徵稅並分配資源給有需要人士（69.9%），用更多公帑照顧市民的基本需要（63.3%）。
- 最年輕的受訪者認為政府首要任務是照顧市民基本需要（7.54），較年長的則認為扶持發展選定產業（7.26）更為重要。
- 教育程度與上述三項的支持度評分沒有明顯差異，惟教育水平達初中程度的受訪者較為支持發展選定產業，有7.09分。
- 不同政治傾向的受訪者有不同意見。建制派支持者偏向支持政府更多介入市場，非建制派支持者則希望政府能夠照顧市民的基本需要。
- 收入水平呈負面關係。收入水平越高的受訪者，越不認同政府應該扶持選定產業、向富人徵稅及照顧基本需要。

所有組別同意香港應參與更多對外經濟活動，但對參與內地經濟活動的支持度則有分歧

- 認為「香港應參與更多於外國經濟活動」的平均分是7.27分，而「香港應參與更多於中國內地經濟活動」則為4.82分。所有年齡、收入及教育程度組別中，認為香港應參與於外國經濟活動的受訪者均比內地為多。
- 對於香港應參與更多的境外經濟活動，所有年齡及教育程度組別的受訪者均以外國多於內地。兩個選項的評分差距，隨年齡上升而拉近，又隨教育程度上升而拉闊。
- 建制派支持者是認為香港最應參與更多於內地經濟活動的組別，評分為最高的8.45分。非建制派支持者的評分則最低，僅2.88分。雖然對參與內地經濟活動的評分有高有低，所有政治傾向組別對參與外國經濟活動的評分相當一致，均超過7分。

Hong Kongers are uncertain about their future financial situation

- Overall, those who think their financial situation will “better” and those “worse” in the next decade both acquire almost or just over one-third in proportion.
- Only the youngest (aged 18 to 29), most educated (postgraduates), pro-establishment supporters and higher-income group show confidence that they will see improvements in their financial situation in the coming decade.

Social policies in Hong Kong are seen as unfair by respondents

- Over half of all respondents (57.9%) think that social policies in Hong Kong are unfair.
- Regardless of one's age, political inclination, education attainment and income level, scores given to fairness of social policies are below 5, with the exception of pro-establishment group who gives an average score of 5.63.
- Perceived unfairness decreases with age. In term of income, the middle-income group gives the lowest score.

The relationship of the financial situation and perceived fairness of social policies is unclear

- For most respondents, stronger optimism in their financial prospects is associated with greater perceived fairness of social policies, but there are also some exceptions.
- By age, the youngest respondents, aged 18 to 29, are the most positive towards their financial prospects. However, the group also gives the lowest score on the fairness of social policies.
- Non-establishment supporters have a similar score to moderates on their future financial situation (4.64 and 4.62 respectively), but they see social policies much more unfairly than moderates (1.80 and 3.67 respectively).

香港人自己的未來經濟狀況充滿未知之數

- 總體而言，認為自己的經濟狀況在十年後會變好或變差的受訪者各佔約三分之一。
- 只有最年輕（18至29歲）、教育程度較高（研究院程度）、建制派支持者及較高收入組別的受訪者認為，在未來十年內會看到自己的經濟狀況有所改善。

受訪者認為香港的社會政策不公平

- 超過一半受訪者（57.9%）認為香港的社會政策不公平。
- 幾乎所有年齡、政治傾向、教育程度及收入水平組別，均對社會政策公平性給予低於5分的評分。建制派支持者是唯一例外，但平均分僅為5.63分。
- 社會政策公平性的評分隨年紀上升而降低，中等收入組別給予最低評分。

個人經濟狀況與社會政策公平性無明確關係

- 普遍而言，對自身未來經濟狀況較樂觀的受訪者，傾向認為社會政策較公平，但也有一些例外情況。
- 最年輕的受訪者（18-29歲）是對未來經濟狀況最樂觀的年齡組別，但他們對社會政策公平性的評分也最低。
- 非建制派及溫和派支持者對未來經濟狀況觀感相約（分別為4.64分與4.62分），但前者認為社會政策更為不公（分別為1.80分和3.67分）。

表4.1 - Table 4.1 – 所有受訪者 All respondents

	Disagree 不同意	Half-half 一半半	Agree 同意	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
5. The government should participate in the market more proactively to assist the development of selected industries 政府應該更積極參與市場運作，扶持某些經濟產業發展	16.4%	11.9%	68.3%	3.4%	6.57
6. The government should allocate more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone 政府應該運用更多公帑照顧每個人的基本生活所需	15.5%	12.3%	69.9%	2.3%	6.78
7. The government should tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need 政府應該向富裕階層加稅，補貼弱勢社群	16.7%	17.1%	63.3%	2.9%	6.32
8. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in the Mainland 香港應該於中國內地的經濟活動參與更多	40.2%	16.3%	40.9%	2.6%	4.82
9. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in foreign countries 香港應該於外國的經濟活動參與更多	8.5%	14.0%	74.8%	2.8%	7.27

	Worse 變差	Half-half 一半半	Better 變好	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
10. How do you evaluate your financial situation in the coming decade? 未來十年，你估計自己的經濟狀況會比現在變好還是變差？	32.8%	27.2%	36.8%	3.2%	4.76

	Unfair 不公平	Half-half 一半半	Fair 公平	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
11. Generally, how fair is the social policies in Hong Kong? 整體而言，香港的社會政策公不公平呢？	57.9%	16.8%	22.1%	3.2%	3.30

表4.2 - Table 4.2 – 平均分 (按年齡組別) Average score by age

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	≥70	All respondents 所有受訪者
5. The government should participate in the market more proactively to assist the development of selected industries政府應該更積極參與市場運作，扶持某些經濟產業發展	6.19	6.67	6.48	6.29	6.65	7.26	6.57
6. The government should allocate more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone 政府應該運用更多公帑照顧每個人的基本生活所需	7.54	6.81	6.79	6.49	6.19	6.95	6.78
7. The government should tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need 政府應該向富裕階層加稅，補貼弱勢社群	6.83	6.64	6.15	5.51	6.32	6.72	6.32
8. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in the Mainland香港應該於中國內地的經濟活動參與更多	3.39	4.39	4.94	5.60	5.04	5.45	4.82
9. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in foreign countries香港應該於外國的經濟活動參與更多	7.22	7.18	7.45	7.63	6.88	7.18	7.27
10. How do you evaluate your financial situation in the coming decade? 未來十年，你估計自己的經濟狀況會比現在變好還是變差？	5.09	4.84	4.82	4.64	4.51	4.69	4.76
11. Generally, how fair is the social policies in Hong Kong? 整體而言，香港的社會政策公平不公平呢？	2.37	2.83	3.33	3.56	3.52	4.22	3.30

表4.3 - Table 4.3 – 平均分 (按教育程度) Average score by educational attainment

	Primary or below 小學或以下	Junior secondary 初中	Senior secondary 高中	Non-degree tertiary 專上非學位	Bachelor 大學學位	Postgraduate 研究院	All respondents 所有受訪者
5. The government should participate in the market more proactively to assist the development of selected industries政府應該更積極參與市場運作，扶持某些經濟產業發展	6.76	7.09	6.53	6.53	6.47	5.96	6.57
6. The government should allocate more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone 政府應該運用更多公帑照顧每個人的基本生活所需	5.92	6.99	6.80	7.07	6.97	6.53	6.78
7. The government should tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need 政府應該向富裕階層加稅，補貼弱勢社群	6.13	6.14	6.11	6.52	6.63	6.06	6.32
8. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in the Mainland香港應該於中國內地的經濟活動參與更多	5.16	5.35	4.75	4.55	4.59	4.98	4.82
9. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in foreign countries香港應該於外國的經濟活動參與更多	6.44	7.53	7.30	7.15	7.50	7.54	7.27
10. How do you evaluate your financial situation in the coming decade? 未來十年，你估計自己的經濟狀況會比現在變好還是變差？	4.88	4.56	4.56	4.82	4.92	5.11	4.76
11. Generally, how fair is the social policies in Hong Kong? 整體而言，香港的社會政策公平不公平呢？	4.08	3.69	3.01	2.90	3.25	3.40	3.30

表4.4 - Table 4.4 – 平均分（按政治傾向） Average score by political inclination

	Pro-establishment 建制派	Moderates 溫和派	Non- establishment 非建制派	Non-est: Democrats 非建制：民主派	Non-est: Others 非建制：其他	All respondents 所有受訪者
5. The government should participate in the market more proactively to assist the development of selected industries 政府應更積極參與市場運作，扶持某些經濟產業發展	7.07	6.88	5.99	6.14	5.83	6.57
6. The government should allocate more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone 政府應該運用更多公帑照顧每個人的基本生活所需	5.34	6.86	7.35	7.35	7.35	6.78
7. The government should tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need 政府應該向富裕階層加稅，補貼弱勢社群	5.53	6.31	6.74	6.83	6.64	6.32
8. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in the Mainland 香港應該於中國內地的經濟活動參與更多	8.45	5.07	2.88	2.89	2.87	4.82
9. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in foreign countries 香港應該於外國的經濟活動參與更多	7.19	7.07	7.63	7.68	7.58	7.27
10. How do you evaluate your financial situation in the coming decade? 未來十年，你估計自己的經濟狀況會比現在變好還是變差？	6.00	4.62	4.64	4.58	4.70	4.76
11. Generally, how fair is the social policies in Hong Kong? 整體而言，香港的社會政策公平不公平呢？	5.63	3.67	1.80	1.81	1.79	3.30

表4.5 - Table 4.5 – 平均分 (按家庭收入) Average score by household income

	Lower 較低	Lower Middle 中低	Upper Middle 中高	Higher 較高	All respondents 所有受訪者
5. The government should participate in the market more proactively to assist the development of selected industries 政府應該更積極參與市場運作，扶持某些經濟產業發展	7.00	6.78	6.19	6.28	6.57
6. The government should allocate more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone 政府應該運用更多公帑照顧每個人的基本生活所需	6.92	6.97	6.69	6.46	6.78
7. The government should tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need 政府應該向富裕階層加稅，補貼弱勢社群	6.76	6.43	6.13	6.20	6.32
8. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in the Mainland 香港應該於中國內地的經濟活動參與更多	5.15	4.60	4.26	5.68	4.82
9. Hong Kong should participate more in economic activities in foreign countries 香港應該於外國的經濟活動參與更多	6.91	7.39	7.43	7.49	7.27
10. How do you evaluate your financial situation in the coming decade? 未來十年，你估計自己的經濟狀況會比現在變好還是變差？	4.81	4.80	4.60	5.95	4.76
11. Generally, how fair is the social policies in Hong Kong? 整體而言，香港的社會政策公平不公平呢？	3.87	3.06	2.90	3.83	3.30

4.4 Hong Kong's Positioning

- (i) The 1C2S formula is constituted by both "one country" and "two systems"

Hong Kong is the most international city of China, an undisputed fact agreed by an overwhelming majority of the survey respondents. Years of being a colony meant that Chinese and international identities coexist in Hong Kong, complicating the identity politics of the city. Despite the emergence of localist discourse that is sometimes articulated with sinophobic undertones, the majority of respondents believe Hong Kongers should preserve the Chinese historical background and their Chinese identity (72.2%), though the support rate for this is clearly lower than that for multiculturalism and an internationalized identity (94.8%).

While the recognition of the Chinese identity from the pro-establishment supporters is strong as expected, localists also rate this above the median score (5.54). Both identities are not mutually exclusive but are seen as inherently distinct and one cannot be forced to embrace any. In fact, some participants were fully aware of the high satisfaction that mainland Chinese have toward their government. They respected the achievement of the mainland government, but they also pointed out that policymakers should not have false expectations about the system which works on mainland China can also be applied to Hong Kong.

Some older participants spoke knowingly about central government's reaction to any suggestions that would override the "one country" principle and the legitimacy of the Communist party. They tended to emphasize the importance of balance between "one country" and "two systems". On the other hand, as younger participants tended to see 1C2S as protection of the delicate culture of Hong Kong against party influence, they tended to accentuate the differences of "two systems".

Some participants indicated that they do not have an inherent fear for communism as their judgement of China and how 1C2S has been implemented is solely based on performance. To an extent, this implies the responsibility rests with how the HKSAR government handles its relationship with the central government and how it maintains or negotiates its boundary.

4.4 香港定位

- (i) 「一國兩制」是「一國」與「兩制」的有機結合

絕大部分受訪者同意，香港無疑是中國最國際化的城市。中國與國際身份因多年的殖民歷史同時並存，令香港的身分政治更趨複雜。儘管有時帶有「恐中」意味的本土主義冒起，但大多數受訪者相信香港人應保留中國歷史和中華文化身分（72.2%），而對多元文化與國際化身分的認同（94.8%）顯然較高。

建制派支持者對中國身分有強烈認同並不令人意外，但本土派支持者的評分亦超過中位數（5.54）。雖然兩種身分不是互相排斥，但兩者區別鮮明，不能將身分認同強加於任何人身上。事實上，有些受訪者了解內地人對當地政府施政普遍高度滿意，也尊重內地政府的成就。但他們也同時指出，香港的政策制定者不應錯誤地寄望所有在內地成功實施的制度，也能套用到香港之上。

一些較年長的受訪者深明，中央政府將會對任何逾越「一國」原則和共產黨管治合法性的舉動有所反應，所以他們傾向強調「一國」與「兩制」之間的平衡。另一方面，年輕受訪者傾向將「一國兩制」視為保護香港本土文化不受影響的屏障，因此他們更強調「兩制」之別。

有受訪者明言，他們心中並無「恐共」情緒，他們純粹按表現去評價中國和「一國兩制」的落實狀況。這代表市民的評價在一定程度上，建基於特區政府如何處理與中央政府的關係，以及如何維護和商討兩者的界線。

"The two identities ('Chinese' and 'Hong Konger') are two very different identities, we have different culture, even language and currency etc. so we cannot force anyone to embrace a particular one only."

「(『中國人』及『香港人』) 兩個身份是截然不同的，兩個地方有不同的文化，甚至語言、貨幣...不可能逼某些人承認某個身份。」

(Female 女/ 20/ Student 學生)

"We lack a sense of belonging and people talk about emigrating so easily. And the sinophobic attitude is so common, people are fearful of the measures implemented by China... government should avoid introducing policies that would be opposed by the public such as the nationalist education and the mandarin-speaking Chinese lessons... the opposition would naturally quiet down."

「我們沒有太大的歸屬感，整日隨便談移民，再者大家也會有種恐共心態，很擔心中國的措施...政府政策例如在教育上，可能不要再推行一些類似國民教育或者整日要『普教中』...便會沒有這麼多反對聲音。」

(Male 男/ 21/ Student 學生)

"The 50 years period is to prepare (Hong Kongers) to accept China but some people just don't like China so they would not accept (1C2S) whatsoever."

「它(中央政府) 50年內要你(香港市民) 慢慢接受中國。有些人本來根本不喜歡中國，所以不會接受這件事(『一國兩制』)。」

(Female 女/ 53/ Salesperson 銷售員)

"The main point is whether we can find a way to change one's sense of ethnicity, what we have been missing...the truth is that for many, it would be hard to integrate oneself into a Chinese society."

「最主要是有沒有辦法可以改變每一個香港人對自己的民族觀念。香港從前也沒有民族觀念...突然間要一大班人融入一個中國社會，其實很多人接受不了，這是事實。」

(Male 男/ 51/ Trading Manager 貿易經理)

(ii) The future of Hong Kong lies in its involvement in national and international development

Survey results show that despite the difference in proportion, a majority believe Hong Kongers should take a more active role in both China's national development (55.7%) and international and regional development (86.5%). One of the key advantages Hong Kong enjoys is its freedom in cooperating with other foreign countries while participating in other national development alongside. In the past, this interaction facilitated Hong Kong to be the international financial centre that it is. Many participants expected this role to continue should 1C2S continue.

Many participants felt that Hong Kong's positioning is decided by the central government. Hong Kong cannot secure its position as an international financial centre if the central government does not value Hong Kong's judicial independence, lack of which will have tremendous adverse impact on the confidence of international investors. In the approach towards 2047, Hong Kong should quickly identify its national and international values and how to negotiate its standing between the Chinese and international markets so to maximize the benefits to Hong Kong.

(ii) 香港的未來建基於國家及國際發展的參與

電話調查中，大部分受訪者不同程度地相信香港應更主動參與國家發展(55.7%)以及國際和區域發展(86.5%)。香港其中一個最大優勢是能自由地與外國合作，同時又能參與國家發展。過去，香港利用此得天獨厚的優勢成為國際金融中心，很多受訪者期望這角色能與「一國兩制」一同延續。

大部分受訪者亦認為，香港的未來定位將取決於中央政府的決策。假如中央不珍惜香港的司法獨立，國際投資者對香港的信心將會喪失，香港國際金融中心的地位也會終告不保。2047年臨近，香港應儘快明確自身在國際舞台和國家發展的價值，認清在國內外市場可立足之地，為香港尋求最大的益處。

Furthermore, how much the world recognizes Hong Kong as a special region is hugely shaped by how many privileges China is willing to offer to Hong Kong. There is a general consensus among the participants that such special status would never be maintained by becoming independent. Becoming a municipality of China is also infeasible as this will complicate intercity rivalry over all privileges Hong Kong has. The most practical approach would be a thorough revision of 1C2S and identification of what might be needed to better engage the international community and rebuild their trust.

To maintain stability, many cross-border affairs should be handled with sensitivity in the 50-year unchanging period. Some arrangements represent a symbolic barrier between Hong Kong and the Mainland, for instance, separate custom, capital flow, separate currency, traffic flow and border control, etc. These should be maintained. However, after the end of the 50 year period, some alterations might be considered to facilitate economic needs or livelihood convenience given the high degree of integration. That said, some participants also came to the conclusion that the 50-year period is also symbolic and should instead be viewed as a transition period for incremental changes to take place and to prepare Hong Kongers to slowly accommodate these changes.

Many participants expected Hong Kong to have some authority in the process of regional planning as a regional stakeholder, and in the process exercise and safeguard the high degree of autonomy. Recent developments, however, made the participants feel the opposite, instead of being an active part in regional development, there is an overwhelming sense of "being planned".

再者，國際社會認不認可香港的特區地位，很大程度視乎內地賦予香港多少特別權力。受訪者普遍的共識是，若然香港成為一個獨立實體，中央政府必然會褫奪所有特別權力；若然香港成為一個中國直轄市，任何特權只會觸發錯綜複雜的城際競爭，同樣不可能。最務實的做法是徹底檢討「一國兩制」，思考如何加強國際聯繫，從而修補國際社會對香港的信任。

為維持社會穩定，許多跨境事務在「50年不變」期內應小心處理。某些安排具區隔香港與內地的象徵意義，應維持不變，例如獨立關稅區、資金流通、獨立貨幣、交通安排及邊境管制等。兩地若在50年期後高度融合，這些安排則可考慮調整，以促進經濟發展與民生便利。有受訪者認為「50年不變」承諾亦只是個象徵式說法，應視之為一段過渡期，以實行漸進式改變和讓香港人做好適應準備。

很多受訪者期望香港作為持份者，能夠在區域發展中有一定權力參與規劃，從而行使和維護高度自治權。近期事態卻令不少受訪者失望，因為香港在區域發展上不單沒能積極參與，更讓人滿有「被規劃」的觀感。



"We need to balance the amount of foreign and Chinese investment made in Hong Kong, if we completely rely on the Chinese capital then Hong Kong lose its advantage to China."

「我們要從中資及外資間取得平衡，如果中資佔香港比例多的時候，其實中央不需要香港做一個外國資金進出的地方。」

(Male 男/ 21/ Student 學生)

"Hong Kong youth is losing out on competitiveness because we lack knowledge of how the Mainland market is like...(but) how do we make Hong Kong youth interested in knowing more about lives in the Mainland... are we going to invest more on fintech to connect to the international world too, to increase the competitiveness of youth."

「香港年輕一代不是很多人真的了解內地，即使了解內地，但對內地的民生也不會很熟悉... 如何可以令香港年青人更認識內地民生呢？又會不會做多些金融創科，可以接軌國際，令更多香港人可以更有競爭力。」

(Male 男/ 26/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"Eventually, we will have to rely on the central government to take care of (the economy of) Hong Kong."

「最後也是要靠中央政府照顧我們香港（的經濟）。」

(Female 女/ 48/ Accountant 會計師)

"Our travels to Mainland in the future will be like traveling between EU countries...it still means that we are free."

「通關方面，可能我們的身份證不需要過關已經可以自由出入，好像歐盟國家之間那樣...也是自由的。」

(Male 男/ 41/ Engineer 工程師)

(iii) The lack of trust remains the major challenge

Our survey data show that close to 60% of the respondents think that neither Hong Kong nor the central government has the genuine intention to make 1C2S successful. Only the pro-establishment supporters have greater trust in Hong Kong and the central governments (8.52 and 8.68 respectively) over their respective intentions to the success of 1C2S. Together with moderates (3.36 and 3.83 respectively), these two political inclination groups believe the central government has stronger intention than Hong Kong's. The lower-middle (3.16 and 3.06 respectively) and upper-middle (3.12 and 2.83 respectively) income groups rated lower than the lower and higher income groups.

It is a consensus amongst focus group participants that they wanted 1C2S to succeed. The distrust, even paranoia, in authorities is evident in the zero-sum game mentality where 1C2S is analogized to a tug of war between "one country" and "two systems". The 2047 issue is neither perceived as an opportunity, nor a threat, to the people of Hong Kong, as many felt that they remain powerless to resolve this problem over which they have no command. Some participants felt that the "50 years unchanged" promise was made by the predecessors of the current leadership and to which the future leaders are not obliged to honour, though this is not to say that there might be better offers or solutions given to Hong Kongers in the future. The feeling towards strict observance of 1C2S was often mixed.

(iii) 失信於民仍是重大挑戰

電話調查顯示，近60%受訪者不認為特區政府或中央政府有誠意希望「一國兩制」成功實踐。只有建制派支持者信任特區政府和中央政府（分別為8.52分及8.68分）有誠意實踐，加上分別給3.36分及3.83分的溫和派，這兩組政治傾向均認為中央政府比特區政府更有誠意令「一國兩制」成功。低中收入群組（分別給3.16分及3.06分）及高中收入群組（分別3.12分及2.83分）對特區政府及中央政府的給分，低於較低及較高收入群組。

希望「一國兩制」成功是聚焦小組的共識。但部分人對政府徹底不信任，言談間反映著零和思維，將「一國兩制」比喻作「一國」與「兩制」之間的拔河。很多受訪者認為「2047」議題既不是契機，也沒有威脅，因為他們充滿無力感，自覺難有角色處理。有受訪者認為「50年不變」由前人所定，往後的政府領導人不一定會信守承諾，更遑論未來會出現對有利於香港人的方案。受訪者能否嚴格遵循「一國兩制」有不同判斷。

This sense of powerlessness appears particularly prominent in middle-aged participants. Their trust issue with the authorities was different from that of younger cohort. Having experienced the pre- and post-1997 days first-hand, their sense of despair compared with no other group. Their distrust might thus be the most challenging one to tackle compared to other cohorts.

中年受訪者的無力感尤其明顯，惟他們對政府的信任問題有別於青年。親身經歷過回歸前後，他們對2047的討論比其他組別更為絕望。他們對政府的信心危機更大，是最難安撫的一群。

"We would still strive to express our opinions whenever it is reasonable and legal...but there is this sense of powerlessness because they (the authorities) still don't accept our opinion even when we peacefully express ourselves."

「在合情合理合法下，我們也會表達我們可以表達的意見... 只是有一種無力感。我們用一個合法和平的方法表達意見，但（政府）完全不接受。」

(Male 男/ 33/ Financial Planner 財務策劃師)

"The society is very polarized now and everyone hates each other... even when something proposed we all knew would be beneficial to 1C2S or the society, but because of the political stance, one would unconsciously reject the proposal, even if they think that it is good...under this climate, it is hard to facilitate the implementation of 1C2S."

「現在社會越來越分裂，大家很憎恨對方的時候，即使其中一邊提出一些很理性的方案，大家理性地知道其實這東西對『一國兩制』或者對社會有利益，但可能因為政治立場的原因便下意識反對...在社會分裂的時候很難有利『一國兩制』的事。」

(Female 女/ 21/ Student 學生)

"Those in power... the whole government is worsening the societal conflict and polarization. They make us distrust the government and lose confidence in them, they lose our support and make 1C2S difficult to continue...Both the Hong Kong and Mainland powerful have a role in this."

「當權者...現時政府不斷加深香港人與香港人之間的矛盾，令社會分裂，而香港人也不想再相信政府，對政府沒有信心，從而『一國兩制』也沒辦法延續下去...香港跟內地的當權者兩邊也有份造成這個局面。」

(Female 女/ 28/ Baker 烘培師)

"The specifics of the national security law was unknown to even the top government officials before its gazetting...how could you ask Hong Kongers to put their trust in the HKSAR?... does it mean that the central government also don't trust the HKSAR?"

「為何《港區國安法》實施前香港政府高層也沒有看過《國安法》條文?...你讓香港人如何相信香港政府呢?...是否反映香港政府跟中央政府也不信任的關係？」

(Male 男/ 23/ Assistant Arborist 助理樹藝師)

"China has broken many promises and the youngsters demand these (promises to be kept) but couldn't. But the narrative (put forth by) the Chinese government omitted the former part and only emphasized on the happening of the protests."

「中國違背了很多承諾，而很多年青人爭取履行這些承諾，但爭取不到。但（官方論述中）前面部分沒有提及，只講後面有人示威。」

(Male 男/ 59/ Courier 速遞員)

(iv) Mutual understanding can strengthen 1C2S

Survey data indicate that more respondents believe that greater understanding between Hong Kongers and mainlanders will bring positive impact to 1C2S. More of them believe that mainlanders can bring more positive impact if they understand Hong Kong. The younger respondents (aged 18-39), graduates, non-degree graduates, non-establishment supporters and the middle and higher-income groups are the cohorts who think that better understanding of Hong Kongers about the Mainland will have little impact to 1C2S. But all groups agree that better understanding of mainlanders will bring positive impact to 1C2S.

Strengthening mutual understanding was frequently put forward as the key to 1C2S success. The responsibility, however, tended to be placed on the central government. The conclusion might be biased as respondents might not easily admit or be aware of one's own responsibility. Despite the accessibility of an ocean of information about China, there is a lack of interest in understanding them. The inability of the Hong Kong public to accept the need for central government to defend their boundaries of national security only exacerbate the misunderstandings between the people and the authorities and perpetuate the vicious cycle of counteractions arising from distrust.

Some participants traced this to a lack of trust between Hong Kongers, the Hong Kong and central governments and their misunderstanding as stemming from prejudices. One example given is the authorities' inability to appreciate the nuances of localism and immediate equation with Hong Kong independence. Participants rarely displayed affiliation to extreme localism. Most reckoned the damage this could be done to 1C2S. To them, localism meant preserving the traditional way of life, local culture and domestic economy. However, they would appreciate if the central government will respect Hong Kong's local culture more. This demands acceptance to the fact that although a huge part of local culture might be considered as "colonial legacy" or "baggage" it is now embedded in Hong Kongers' daily life and is an integral part of the domestic history and identity. Mutual understanding and acceptance is to accept that neither of the two systems should impose itself on the other, as each has a specific historical, socio-economic identity.

(iv) 互相理解能鞏固「一國兩制」

電話調查結果發現，大部分受訪者同意香港人與內地人如能互相理解，將為「一國兩制」帶來正面影響。較多人認為內地人多認識香港，將更有助落實「一國兩制」。較年輕（18-29歲）、大學學歷、專上非學位、非建制派支持者和中等及較高收入組別認為，即使香港人更了解內地，對「一國兩制」的影響也有限。但所有組別皆同意，內地人更了解香港將對「一國兩制」帶來正面影響。

瞭解對方經常被認為是確保「一國兩制」成功的重要條件，惟大多受訪者認為責任在於中央政府。不過，受訪者可能不便承認或從無意識到自身責任，所以此結論可能偏頗。關於中國的資訊繁多，但市民卻欠缺興趣認識國情。香港市民無法掌握中央政府對維護國家安全的決心，加深了市民與政府的誤解，令兩者捲入不信任的惡性循環中。

有受訪者將香港人、特區政府及中央政府之間的信心危機與誤解歸因於各方的偏見。其中一個例子是政府未能理解本土主義的諸多意涵，便將其等同「港獨」。受訪者甚少同意極端本土主義，反而大多明白極端本土主義對「一國兩制」所造成的傷害。對他們而言，本土主義的內涵是保存原有生活方式、本土文化和經濟。他們希望中央政府能更尊重香港的本土文化，意味著要接納所謂的「殖民遺產」和「包袱」已嵌入香港人的日常生活，是本土歷史和身分的組成部分。雙互了解的意思是要接受任何「一制」也不該強加於另一制度上，因為每個制度均有其特定的歷史和社經背景。



"Localism has a broad meaning...but one that most would agree that it refers to certain value, culture and ideas... (if the policies and measures can respect this) then our sense of security will be greater... and we are more likely to develop a sense of belonging."

「大家對本土的定義很廣...但我覺得比較不同的是大家也覺得是香港人共同的價值、文化、意識等... (如果政策能尊重這些) 大家會比較有安全感及歸屬感。」

(Female 女/ 20/ Student 學生)

"The continuation of 1C2S depends on the Mainland-Hong Kongers relationship, now this is really tense... attempts to mix the legal systems in Hong Kong and Mainland produce something like cultural clash, hence the conflicts. We need to understand each other and improve together and just find ways to co-exist if 1C2S is to continue...there should be more people explaining to us the background to law in China is like as we only have vague understanding of the Chinese law."

「我認為影響『一國兩制』的最大因素是香港本土的人跟中國的關係愈來愈緊...中國跟香港的法律制度很不同，所以當它們兩個互相融合、互相影響的時候，便會有類似文化衝擊的現象發生，導致這麼多的矛盾、辯論...我覺得要互相了解我們的體系，要大家一起進步，要找到並存的方法（『一國兩制』）才能延續下去。要找人向香港人解釋中國那邊的法律是怎樣，要給個更加清晰的背景給香港人，因為中國對我們來說太模糊，太不熟識。」

(Female 女/ 21/ Salesperson 銷售員)

"We (Hong Kong and China) both need to understand each other's systems ...people generally lack freedom but you see that they successfully developed their economy, so it (the system) works in China but they want to copy this (the success formula) to Hong Kong. They need to understand that...what works on one does not mean it would work on others...Hong Kongers have the international perspective and tend to be repelled from understanding the development in Mainland. I have worked in Mainland before and felt these cultural differences first-hand."

「大家（中國及香港）其實也要互相了解大家的制度... 主權很集中，（國民）沒有自由... 這個（制度）在中國成功，可能那裡的人也想影響到香港跟隨（這些成功的制度），複製過去。但要明白那裡的成功不代表這裡也會成功...其中一個元素可能是香港人有國際視野，但也會比較抗拒接觸內地的發展。我自己曾在中國內地工作，也感受到這些文化差異。」

(Male 男/ 26/ Marketing Manager 市場推廣經理)

"(I sympathize with both yellow and blue camps), I despised at the yellow ribbon who take extreme actions but at the same time, I support the students, if not for their selflessness we would not be awaken."

「（藍黃我也理解並有時同意）黃那邊有激進的，我很反感，但我也很支持學生，若不是因為他們的無私，我們不會意識到問題所在。」

(Female 女/ 62/ Care Worker 護理員)

(v) Summary of Survey Data

Respondents generally agree Hong Kongers should preserve both Chinese and international identities

- Preservation of Chinese and international identities receive 72.2% and 94.8% overall support respectively.
- For all age groups, educational levels and income groups, respondents think the international identity be preserved more than the Chinese identity. Youngest cohort displayed the starkest preferential difference on the topic, as they gave an average score of 5.65 in preserving Chinese identity, the lowest across all age group while giving 9.36 to international identity, which is also the highest. The differences decrease with age and increase with education level.
- Unsurprisingly, pro-establishment supporters give the highest score of 9.20 to preserving Chinese identity, also the highest score recorded for the item. The localists also think the Chinese identity should be preserved (5.54).

Respondents generally agree Hong Kong should play a more active role in both China's development and international development

- For all age, education and income groups, respondents agree that Hong Kong should take a more active role in both international development and China's development except for the youngest age group and non-establishment supporters.
- Almost 90% of respondents agree that Hong Kong should play a more active role in international organization while only 55.7% of the respondents think the same should applied to China's national development. This preferential difference is common to almost all subgroups. The differences decrease with age and increase with education level.

Distrust in central and local government's intention for the success of 1C2S

- More than half of the respondents suggest that both the central (57.8%) and HKSAR government (59.2%) have no genuine intention for the success of 1C2S. Predictably, pro-establishment supporters produce the highest average score of 8.68 and 8.52 respectively. On the other hand, localists produce the lowest of only 0.82 and 1.09 respectively.

(v) 電話調查總結

受訪者普遍同意香港人應保持中國及國際身分

- 保持中國及國際身分的支持度分別有72.2%及94.8%。
- 在所有年齡、教育程度及收入組別中，受訪者均同意國際身分比中國身分更需要保持。最年輕的組別對這兩種認同的差別最大，保持中國身分的平均分為5.65分，為所有年齡組別中最低，而保持國際身分則為9.36分，為所有年齡組別中最高。評分差異隨年齡上升而收窄，亦隨教育程度上升而擴大。
- 建制派支持者對保持中國身分的平均分最高，有9.20分。本土派支持者同樣認為應該保持中國身分，有5.54分。

受訪者普遍同意香港應在國家及國際發展中扮演更積極的角色

- 在所有年齡、教育程度及收入組別中，除最年輕組別及非建制派支持者外，受訪者均同意香港應在國家及國際發展中扮演更積極的角色。
- 近90%受訪者同意香港應在國際及區域組織中扮演更積極的角色，至於國家發展大局則有55.7%同意。兩項評分的差異可見於所有組別，隨年齡上升而收窄，並隨教育程度上升而擴大。

不信任中央政府及特區政府有誠意希望「一國兩制」成功實踐

- 超過一半受訪者認為中央政府（57.8%）及香港政府（59.2%）沒有誠意希望「一國兩制」成功實踐。建制派支持者的評分最高，分別為8.68分及8.52分。本土派支持者的評分最低，分別只有0.82分及1.09分。

- Regardless of age, political inclination, education attainment and income level, the average score on both items generally stand below 5, with the exception of pro-establishment group and those aged 70 or above. Interestingly, both of these groups tend to believe more in the central government than the HKSAR government.
- The genuine intention for the success of 1C2S and the education level have a negative relationship except for the postgraduates. In term of income, the distribution presents a V-shape with the middle-income groups being the lowest.

Respondents generally agree Mainlanders should gain more understanding of Hong Kong's situation

- 57.2% of the respondents agree that there will be positive development in 1C2S if Mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong while only 44.0% think the reverse is true. This pattern applies to all groups except pro-establishment supporters who produce very similar average scores of 8.44 and 8.21 respectively.
- For each age group, educational levels and income classes, respondents think Mainlanders should gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong's situation. Most groups also think Hong Kongers should gain a deeper understanding of China's situation except for the youngest age group and tertiary educated respondents (degree and non-degree tertiary). The difference in score between the two items decreases with age and income.
- Pro-establishment respondents tend to believe that there will be more positive impact to 1C2S if Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of the Mainland than the reverse. Non-establishment supporters do not believe that the deeper understanding of the Mainland from Hong Kongers will bring positive impact to 1C2S.

Most respondents are pessimistic toward the future of Hong Kong

- 63.9% of the respondents are pessimistic toward the future of Hong Kong.
- The younger the respondents are, the more pessimistic they are about Hong Kong's future. Generally, higher educated respondents are more pessimistic about Hong Kong's future. The pro-establishment supporters are the only group that is optimistic about Hong Kong's future (6.70). Lower income group is less pessimistic compared to the middle and higher-income groups.

- 除建制派支持者及70歲或以上受訪者外，其他所有組別的分數均低於5分。建制派支持者及70歲或以上受訪者均更傾向相信中央政府，多於特區政府。

- 實踐「一國兩制」的誠意的評分與教育程度有負面關係，除研究生組別外。按收入劃分，分佈呈V形，中等收入組別給分最低。

受訪者普遍同意內地人需更瞭解香港情況

- 57.2%受訪者同意若內地人加深對香港的理解，將有利於「一國兩制」發展。如角色調換，只有44.0%受訪者同意。此規律可見於所有組別，除建制派支持者外。建制派支持者對兩項的評分相約，分別為8.44分及8.21分。
- 在所有年齡、教育程度或收入水平組別中，受訪者均認為內地人應對香港有更深理解。除最年輕和高等教育（學位與大專非學位）組別外，大多數組別認為香港人也應該對國情有更深入的了解。兩項評分的差異，隨年齡及收入水平上升而收窄。
- 建制派支持者傾向相信，若香港人加深對內地的理解，將對「一國兩制」帶來更大的正面影響，比內地人加深對香港的理解為多。非建制派支持者不相信香港人加深對內地的理解，能對「一國兩制」帶來正面影響。

多數受訪者對香港未來感到悲觀

- 63.9%受訪者對香港的未來感到悲觀。
- 越年輕的受訪者對香港未來越悲觀。總括而言，受訪者教育程度越高，對香港未來越悲觀。建制派支持者是唯一對香港未來感到樂觀的組別（6.70）。較低收入組別比中等及較高收入組別對未來較不悲觀。

表5.1 – Table 5.1 – 所有受訪者 All respondents

	Disagree 不同意	Half- half 一半半	Agree 同意	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
12. Hong Kongers should preserve the Chinese historical background and their Chinese identity 香港人應該保持中國歷史和中華文化身分	14.0%	11.1%	72.2%	2.7%	7.14
13. Hong Kongers should preserve multiculturalism and their internationalized identity 香港人應該保持多元文化和國際化身分	1.0%	2.1%	94.8%	2.0%	8.89
14. Hong Kong should play a more active role in China's national development 香港應該於中國內地的發展大局扮演更積極角色	26.6%	14.9%	55.7%	2.7%	5.82
15. Hong Kong should play a more active role in international and regional organizations 香港應該於國際、區域組織扮演更積極角色	5.1%	6.2%	86.5%	2.1%	7.91
16. The central government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 中央政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	57.8%	5.3%	33.1%	3.7%	3.47
17. The HKSAR government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	59.2%	6.8%	30.8%	3.2%	3.43

	Negative 負面	Half-half 一半半	Positive 正面	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
18. Impact on 1C2S if Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of mainland China 香港人更了解國內情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	38.4%	14.2%	44.0%	3.5%	5.06
19. Impact on 1C2S if mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong 內地人更了解香港情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	22.5%	16.7%	57.2%	3.5%	6.13

	Pessimistic 悲觀	Half-half 一半半	Optimistic 樂觀	Don't know 不知道	Average 平均分
20. How do you feel about the future of Hong Kong 你對香港未來前景的感受	63.9%	13.6%	22.0%	0.5%	3.34

表5.2 - Table 5.2 – 平均分 (按年齡組別) Average score by age

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	≥70	All respondents 所有受訪者
12. Hong Kongers should preserve the Chinese historical background and their Chinese identity 香港人應該保持中國歷史和中華文化身分	5.65	6.61	7.18	7.37	7.87	8.21	7.14
13. Hong Kongers should preserve multiculturalism and their internationalized identity 香港人應該保持多元文化和國際化身分	9.36	8.98	8.99	8.87	8.40	8.73	8.89
14. Hong Kong should play a more active role in China's national development 香港應該於中國內地的發展大局扮演更積極角色	4.55	5.09	6.16	6.34	6.06	6.69	5.82
15. Hong Kong should play a more active role in international and regional organizations 香港應該於國際、區域組織扮演更積極角色	7.75	8.08	7.78	8.06	8.06	7.69	7.91
16. The central government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 中央政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	1.70	2.48	3.51	4.41	3.66	5.02	3.47
17. The HKSAR government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 香港政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	1.85	2.64	3.44	4.53	3.74	4.25	3.43
18. Impact on 1C2S if Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of mainland China 香港人更了解國內情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	3.57	4.27	5.05	5.83	5.61	5.99	5.06
19. Impact on 1C2S if mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong 內地人更了解香港情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	5.55	5.39	6.00	6.63	6.72	6.42	6.13
20. How do you feel about the future of Hong Kong 你對香港未來前景的感受	2.61	2.94	3.27	3.58	3.72	3.95	3.34

表5.3 - Table 5.3 – 平均分 (按教育程度) Average score by educational attainment

	Primary or below 小學或以下	Junior secondary 初中	Senior secondary 高中	Non-degree tertiary 專上非學位	Bachelor 大學學位	Postgraduate 研究院	All respondents 所有受訪者
12. Hong Kongers should preserve the Chinese historical background and their Chinese identity 香港人應該保持中國歷史和中華文化身分	7.77	7.44	7.40	6.71	6.68	7.05	7.14
13. Hong Kongers should preserve multiculturalism and their internationalized identity 香港人應該保持多元文化和國際化身分	8.16	8.77	8.75	9.37	9.09	9.19	8.89
14. Hong Kong should play a more active role in China's national development 香港應該於中國內地的發展大局扮演更積極角色	6.65	6.20	5.86	5.66	5.39	5.46	5.82
15. Hong Kong should play a more active role in international and regional organizations 香港應該於國際、區域組織扮演更積極角色	7.72	7.59	8.02	8.28	7.78	8.50	7.91
16. The central government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 中央政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	4.25	4.17	3.68	3.18	2.81	3.17	3.47
17. The HKSAR government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	4.34	4.29	3.56	3.11	2.68	3.55	3.43
18. Impact on 1C2S if Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of mainland China 香港人更了解國內情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	5.75	5.04	5.44	4.75	4.52	5.28	5.06
19. Impact on 1C2S if mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong 內地人更了解香港情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	6.41	6.21	6.32	6.12	5.64	6.92	6.13
20. How do you feel about the future of Hong Kong 你對香港未來前景的感受	4.17	3.47	3.26	3.29	3.02	3.32	3.34

表5.4 - Table 5.4 – 平均分 (按政治傾向) Average score by political inclination

	Pro-establishment 建制派	Moderates 溫和派	Non-establishment 非建制派	Non-est: Democrats 非建制：民主派	Non-est: Others 非建制：其他	All respondents 所有受訪者
12. Hong Kongers should preserve the Chinese historical background and their Chinese identity 香港人應該保持中國歷史和中華文化身分	9.20	7.50	5.79	6.03	5.54	7.14
13. Hong Kongers should preserve multiculturalism and their internationalized identity 香港人應該保持多元文化和國際化身分	8.20	8.82	9.34	9.28	9.40	8.89
14. Hong Kong should play a more active role in China's national development 香港應該於中國內地的發展大局扮演更積極角色	8.33	6.01	4.50	4.60	4.38	5.82
15. Hong Kong should play a more active role in international and regional organizations 香港應該於國際、區域組織扮演更積極角色	7.96	7.77	8.24	8.16	8.33	7.91
16. The central government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 中央政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	8.68	3.83	0.94	1.04	0.82	3.47
17. The HKSAR government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	8.52	3.60	1.33	1.55	1.09	3.43
18. Impact on 1C2S if Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of mainland China 香港人更了解國內情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	8.44	5.42	3.16	3.65	2.64	5.06
19. Impact on 1C2S if mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong 內地人更了解香港情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	8.21	5.99	5.68	6.03	5.30	6.13
20. How do you feel about the future of Hong Kong 你對香港未來前景的感受	6.70	3.39	1.96	1.92	2.00	3.34

表5.5 - Table 5.5 – 平均分（按家庭收入） Average score by household income

	Lower 較低	Lower Middle 中低	Upper Middle 中高	Higher 較高	All respondents 所有受訪者
12. Hong Kongers should preserve the Chinese historical background and their Chinese identity 香港人應該保持中國歷史和中華文化身分	7.65	6.80	6.87	7.16	7.14
13. Hong Kongers should preserve multiculturalism and their internationalized identity 香港人應該保持多元文化和國際化身分	8.86	8.94	8.91	9.22	8.89
14. Hong Kong should play a more active role in China's national development 香港應該於中國內地的發展大局扮演更積極角色	6.28	5.56	5.42	6.16	5.82
15. Hong Kong should play a more active role in international and regional organizations 香港應該於國際、區域組織扮演更積極角色	7.84	7.84	8.13	8.26	7.91
16. The central government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 中央政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	4.50	3.06	2.83	3.26	3.47
17. The HKSAR government has a genuine intention for the success of 1C2S 政府有誠意希望香港的「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐	4.07	3.16	3.12	3.45	3.43
18. Impact on 1C2S if Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of mainland China 香港人更了解國內情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	5.50	4.86	4.74	4.78	5.06
19. Impact on 1C2S if mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of Hong Kong 內地人更了解香港情況後對「一國兩制」的影響	6.64	5.76	6.23	5.78	6.13
20. How do you feel about the future of Hong Kong 你對香港未來前景的感受	3.96	3.17	2.99	3.04	3.34

政策啓示及建議

Policy Implications and Recommendations



政策啓示及建議

Policy Implications and Recommendations

(i) General

As in our study in relation to the 1C2S Index, people tend to equate governance issues generally with issues relating to 1C2S. In evaluating information and data herein it is important not to forget that a considerable amount of views herein can be associated solely or largely with the performance of the SAR government and therefore not necessarily crucial to the consideration of continuation or otherwise of the 1C2S. Nevertheless, they all form part of the overall picture that is of the real situation on the ground in Hong Kong and have a bearing on how people view the implementation of the 1C2S.

The second important consideration is that not an insignificant measure of distrust gives the impression that they are based on misinformation. Although this may not be obvious from the survey, it can be gleaned from the views expressed in the focus group discussions that the more sided the views the more likely the examples they gave are factually incorrect. Misinformation around our social problems has been circulating in Hong Kong for as long as the system was in place with political leaders constantly reciting it in support of their political agenda. And yet, the government has never been able to rectify such misinformation. This glaring deficiency applies to a whole host of issues impacting on the 1C2S issues throughout the history of post-handover era. Indeed, one may consider this is the other most important element other than the performance of the SAR government in influencing people's perception as to the success or otherwise of the 1C2S.

The third important consideration is there is rarely a central government angle in the focus group discussions or the survey. Everything is viewed from a Hong Konger perspective. This is inevitable in this stage of the study but also part of the objective of the study, which sets out to gauge the public view and expectation of a future that they are a key part of. We will only point this out to remind the reader that this study is not complete without considering the issue from the central government's perspective which will be most difficult to gain insight on. We intend to directly confront this issue in the next phase of our study on the possible continuation of 1C2S beyond 2047.

(i) 概觀

民主思路的《「一國兩制」指數》早已指出，市民慣常把管治問題與「一國兩制」混為一談。檢視本報告的資料及數據前，宜考慮不少意見其實反映市民對特區政府表現的評價，與「一國兩制」應否延續不一定有直接關係。不過，這些意見共同構成香港的現況，對理解市民對「一國兩制」落實的評價有莫大幫助。

其次，不為少數的信任問題予人建基於虛假資訊的印象。雖然在民意調查中並不明顯，但是在聚焦小組的訪談中偶有拾之，通常愈主觀的見解愈是從失實例子而來。香港的社會問題充斥著虛假資訊並非新鮮事，政治領袖為宣傳其政治主張，亦經常重複這些訊息。然而，政府多年來未能糾正這種風氣，此缺失由回歸至今一直削弱市民對「一國兩制」的信心。可說是政府表現之外，最影響市民評價「一國兩制」成功與否的因素。

再者，本報告由市民的視角出發，無論是民意調查或聚焦小組訪談，均沒有陳述中央政府的觀點。在目前的研究階段實在無可厚非，因為本報告旨在聽取市民聲音及他們對未來的期望。藉此提醒讀者，中央政府對「2047」的意見不易揣度，是項研究仍有待補完。我們計劃在下一階段填補此不足之處，為「一國兩制」於2047年後延續與否提供更全面的答案。

(ii) Anticipation of change by 2047 and aspiration for deeper involvement in a hoped-for negotiation

The “remain unchanged for 50 years” promise has been taken by many participants to heart and presents one of the few criteria one could judge the implementation of 1C2S by. They realized that a window for negotiation will be open approaching the end of the 50-year timeframe. Thus, the anticipation of changes in 2047 was shared by all participants. It is of most people’s understanding that the continuation of 1C2S is not definitive. Speculations were made on what these changes might be. Some participants were more pessimistic, some optimistic while others were apathetic. Nonetheless, participants generally support the continuation of 1C2S.

Those who were optimistic anticipated there would be negotiations in some shape or form and perceive this as an opportunity to better position Hong Kong within China. Some reported feeling powerless and anxious of the approach of 2047 as it would mean gradually tightening freedoms they once enjoyed. Even given there might be new negotiations, they would likely be between authorities and the outcome of such negotiations would most likely be tailored for the interests of investors rather than the general public. All in all, the majority of the public welcome the idea of getting Hong Kongers or broadly recognized representatives involved in the 2047 negotiation process.

(iii) Futureproofing and resilience: consolidating economic competitiveness and international confidence to increase bargaining power of Hong Kong in potential negotiation

Survey results suggest that over half of the respondents do not think that the SAR or the central government has any genuine intent in making 1C2S successful. There is a list of criteria that needs to be fulfilled for the respondents to consider 1C2S as successful and they tended to think that continuation is only worthwhile when all or most of such criteria were met. Considering the politico-socio happenings lately, it is thus unsurprising that almost two-third of the respondents are pessimistic toward the future of Hong Kong. Clear patterns arose from the survey shows that younger, more educated and higher income respondents tend to be more pessimistic while only pro-establishment supporters display optimism toward the future of Hong Kong.

(ii) 預期2047年前有所改變，願意深入參與討論

「50年不變」深入人心，市民大多以此為評價「一國兩制」成功與否的準則之一。他們預期趨近50年完結前將會出現商討的時機，所以所有受訪者共同認為2047年將會有所改變。大部分人更相信「一國兩制」不必然會延續，亦因此有各樣推測。悲觀的有，樂觀的有，漠不關心的也有，但普遍也支持「一國兩制」延續。

樂觀的人預期討論將會以某種形式出現，能藉此機會為香港在中國之內尋找更好的定位。有人眼見2047年迫近，香港的自由將會收得更緊，因而感到無力及焦慮。儘管有討論的可能，但他們認為過程極有可能只停留在決策者的層面，結果也可能只顧及投資者而非社會大眾的利益。總括而言，如果將來有一場關乎2047年的討論，多數人歡迎讓香港市民或具廣泛代表性的人士參與。

(iii) 前瞻未來和抗逆力：鞏固經濟競爭力及國際投資者信心，加強香港遊說籌碼

民意調查中，過半受訪者不認為特區政府或中央政府有誠意落實「一國兩制」。市民通常有一套既定標準，只有滿足所有或大多數條件後，延續一國兩制才變得有意義。考慮現時的政經狀況，約三分之二受訪者對香港未來感到悲觀並不教人意外。調查結果發現較年輕、教育程度較高及收入較高的受訪者偏向悲觀，而建制派支持者是唯一對香港未來感到樂觀的組別。

Even though many focus group participants agreed that the future of Hong Kong will be dependent on the central government's decision, they identified factors that would impact this decision, namely, economic competitiveness of and international confidence in Hong Kong. Pessimistic they may be, most still proposed that Hong Kong should work to further develop and consolidate these two aspects so as to equip the city with more bargaining power and to convince China of its uniqueness and irreplaceability as an international financial centre. Many participants were confident in the resilience of capitalism practiced in contemporary Hong Kong. Success in this area will place Hong Kong in a prime bargaining position to negotiate the continuation of 1C2S.

(iv) Polarization erodes 1C2S at its core and signals inadequacies in safeguarding freedom and rights

All focus group participants recognized the plurality of the society and many recognized the damage polarization brought to the implementation of 1C2S as well as the future of Hong Kong. The participants were worried that political polarization put the Hong Kong-Mainland relationship under stress and would invite backfire that harms the prospects of 1C2S. Political polarization was sometimes cited as the cause for deterioration of 1C2S just as politicization of court harmed judicial independence. Some other referred the phenomenon of polarization as effect of neglected social problems such as income disparity.

Nonetheless, most participants condemned actions threatening privacy, personal safety and encouraging discriminations, especially among fellow Hong Kongers. Such conducts which appeared to be relatively prevalent signal inadequacies in maintaining internal autonomy of HKSAR and the government's lack of means to effectively contain these conflicts, whether by mending societal fissure or putting more effort in safeguarding these rights. Another worrying issue is the general perception that some professional groups were found violating their professional standards by deliberately leaking sensitive personal information to facilitate the aforementioned conducts.

儘管大部分聚焦小組參加者均認同香港的未來將由中央政府決定，不過他們能夠點出兩項足以影響中央考量的因素：香港的經濟競爭力及國際社會的信心。縱使悲觀，他們依然建議香港應發展及鞏固上述兩方面，遊說中央政府去保持香港作為國際金融中心的獨特性及不可取替性。出於對香港資本主義制度的抗逆力有信心，他們認為只要在這方面的成果，便能在商討「一國兩制」的延續時，成為保障香港利益的議價基礎。

(iv) 社會兩極化蠶食一國兩制核心，揭示自由與權利保障有缺失

所有聚焦小組參加者認同多元社會對落實「一國兩制」及香港未來的重要性，多數更會指出社會兩極化對此所帶來的傷害。他們擔心社會兩極化會令內地與香港關係受到挑戰，惹來反彈，禍及「一國兩制」前景。有人認為社會兩極化是「一國兩制」倒退的原因之一，正如法庭被政治化也損害了司法獨立，也有人認為是收入不均等久被忽略的社會問題所導致。

絕大部分受訪者譴責侵犯個人私隱、危害人身安全及鼓吹歧視的行為，尤其是針對香港人的事例。此等行為近來更趨常見，反映特區的高度自治難以維持，以及政府無論在修補社會裂痕還是在維護權利方面均缺乏有效手段。另一需要警覺的是，不少人相信某些專業團體罔顧專業守則，故意洩露敏感的個人資料以促成上述行為。



(v) Political, social and economic reforms needed to strengthen successful internal autonomy

There was a deep desire among both the focus group participants and survey respondents for some kind of reforms to take place, be that political, social or economic.

While not all focus group participants longed for democratization, two-third from public survey want a much faster pace of democratization. Now that the Hong Kong National Security Law has been introduced and radicalism in Hong Kong has calmed down somewhat, they strongly urge the HKSAR government to pick up the challenge of re-opening dialogue with the central government on political reform and offer short to mid-term timetables. A roadmap detailing the timeline can at least show the public that the authorities are determined to realize this promise in the remaining time of the 50-year timeframe.

Regarding growing social disparity, a majority of the focus group participants hoped that the government would shoulder greater responsibility to improve fairness in social policies. A majority of respondents in the public survey support the deepening of government expenditure, tax responsibility and government's role in the market.

Governance capacity was deemed by focus group participants to be a critical criterion of how successful the high degree of autonomy can be achieved. The delivery of everyday government function will affect their evaluation of the overarching governance structure. Some participants indicated that their judgement of how 1C2S has been implemented is solely based on its performance without political prejudice. Fair and competitive elections and good quality public services are important indicators to them. Their low rating for government policies in satisfying the needs and interests of all parties in the society might reflect the lack of transparency and consultation in policymaking.

(vi) Deeper mutual understanding and respect: alleviating tension caused by felt negligence

When it comes to maintaining Hong Kong's uniqueness, a strong sense of boundary is displayed by our participants to spell out the systemic difference between Hong Kong and the Mainland. At the core of this uniqueness are the freedom and rights guaranteed by 1C2S and the defence of national interest. For participants who spoke knowingly about the central government, they tended to strike the balance between "one country" and "two systems". On the other hand, participants who saw 1C2S as protection of the delicate Hong Kong culture against party influence tended to accentuate the differences of "two systems".

(v) 內部自治急需政治、社會、經濟改革

無論是電話調查或聚焦小組的受訪者，均深切渴望政治、社會或經濟任何方面的改革。

加快民主化步伐雖然並非所有聚焦小組受訪者的追求，卻於電話調查中得到三分之二的市民支持。隨著《港區國安法》生效及激進主義稍事冷靜，市民期望特區政府儘快就政制發展與中央政府重啟對話，並落實中短期時間表，讓他們相信中央及特區政府有決心在「五十年不變」完結前履行《基本法》的承諾。

大部分聚焦小組受訪者希望政府能為社會不公現象肩負更大責任，努力改善民生政策的公平性。從電話調查中可見，大部分市民支持政府提高公共開支、審視稅務責任及深化其市場角色。

要評價高度自治的成敗，不少聚焦小組受訪者以特區政府的管治能力為關鍵指標。能否履行日常政府功能，將會影響他們對宏觀管治制度的評價。有人明言他們只會按實際表現去評價「一國兩制」，而非基於政治立場。公平公正的選舉和優秀的公共服務水平是重要的考慮因素。對於政府政策能否切合社會各界的需要及利益，市民評分不高，反映政策制定過程及公眾諮詢缺乏透明度。

(vi) 互相瞭解及尊重，修補忽略感及矛盾

談到保持香港的獨特性，受訪者往往有清晰的界線去強調兩制之別。此界線處於「一國兩制」所承諾的自由和權利，以及維護國家利益的能力。對中央政府展現出一定了解的受訪者，偏向給予「一國」和「兩制」同等重視。視「一國兩制」能保護香港文化免於共產黨影響的受訪者，則偏重突顯「兩制」之間的分別。

From our survey, respondents believe greater understanding between Hong Kongers and mainlanders brings positive impact to 1C2S, and most of them believe that mainlanders can bring more positive impact to 1C2S if they understand Hong Kong. This conclusion might be biased as respondents might not easily admit or be aware of one's own responsibility. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that more mutual understanding is crucial to the success of 1C2S.

Other examples of high degree of autonomy not being upheld, as provided by the participants, include a feeling of stronger presence of Chinese capital in the commercial scene which creates the impression of an altered level-playing field as well as compromising Hong Kongers' need for fitting into larger national development plan. A desire to return to the "old ways of doing things" was mentioned from time to time, as a way to redirect 1C2S to "how it used to be".

This foregrounds the mismatch of expectations on 1C2S between Hong Kongers and the authorities where, on the one hand, "the old way" does not necessarily refer to the colonial system, but one that Hong Kongers have developed, evolved and embodied over the years and which is emblematic of the Hong Konger's identity. On the other hand, some participants who insisted on the "original way of life" appeared to have overlooked the fact that "way of life" would inevitably evolved with time and that some changes were organic rather than necessarily imposed by outside force. The responsibility of upholding the "original way of life", a key condition promised of 1C2S thus lie with both the authorities as much as the people to adjust and manage their expectations of what this "original way of life" entails.

(vii) Maintaining Hong Kong's core value: the dual presence of national and international horizons and sowing of multicultural identity

Participants embraced the co-existence of Chinese and international identities. The importance of upholding Hong Kong's international position is almost unanimous. As for the relationship with China, our survey gauges the support for 4 areas, namely the preservation of the Chinese identity, deeper understanding of China, more participation of economic activities in the Mainland and greater role in national development. The preservation of the Chinese identity ranks first by a margin in the survey. Even the localists, who are known to be critical to China, rate this above the median score. Therefore, it is safe to say that China's cultural soft power is persuasive to many. Its effective promotion could be helpful to remove the impediment of strengthening Hong Kongers' dual identity.

電話調查發現，受訪者不懷疑若內地市民與香港市民互相加深了解，對「一國兩制」將會帶來正面影響，有助於行穩致遠。當中大部分人相信由內地市民加深對香港的認識，比香港市民加深對內地的認識，更能帶來正面影響。此結論可能因為受訪者不易承認或意識到自身的責任，而有所偏頗。不過無庸置疑的是，加強兩地互相瞭解總是「一國兩制」的成功關鍵。

若要為高度自治未有完全落實提出例子，有受訪者談及內地資本在商界的佔比愈來愈大，形成公平競爭環境有所扭曲，以及為配合國家發展而犧牲港人需要的印象。因此，受訪者常提及他們希望尋回從前的辦事作風，令「一國兩制」重返過去的模樣。

這正好說明香港市民與特區政府對「一國兩制」有著不同的期望。一方面，「舊有方式」不一定意指殖民時期的管治模式，而應被理解為一套在歷史中不斷發展、演變、構建而成的香港人身份。另一方面，堅持恢復原有生活方式的受訪者，似乎忽略了生活方式在回歸後已產生不少變化，而不少變化乃隨著時代變遷的自然改變，並非外來因素。維持原有生活方式固然是「一國兩制」的核心承諾，惟其責任既落在特區政府之上，又需要市民去調整及管理他們對「原有生活方式」的期望。

(vii) 維護香港核心價值：國家及國際雙重視野、培養多元文化身份

受訪者擁護國家及國際雙重身份，而維持香港的國際地位更是得到一致認同。為探討香港市民的國家觀念，本報告向受訪者查詢是否支持以下四項議題：香港人應否保持中國文化身份、香港人應否加深對國內情況的瞭解、香港應否參與更多內地的經濟活動，以及香港應否於國家發展大局擔當更重要的角色。保持中國文化身份大幅拋離其他三項評分，即使對中國批評較為嚴厲的本土派支持者也表示同意，平均評分超過中位數5分。結果證明中國文化的軟實力普遍得到大眾接受，推而廣之可能是培養香港人雙重身份認同的有效方法。

At the intersection of the domestic and international arena, it is evident to many focus group participants that Hong Kong could never be independent from the US-China relationship. Given the escalating tension, Hong Kong will continue to feature in various political narrative and the international power struggle. The impact on Hong Kong will not be limited to economic but the reputation of Hong Kong as a special administrative region and 1C2S itself will also come under attack. The challenge therefore lies in balancing Hong Kong's role to lobby both sides and to maximize its position as some sort of "middle-man". The future development of Hong Kong lies in its ability to remain an international city of China, which is in part related to one's national and international identity. This must accompany acceptance and openness to differences, as political stability and certain solidarity is crucial to achieving such goal.

周旋於國內及國際事務，聚焦小組受訪者明白香港不能身於中美關係下獨善其身。隨著矛盾升溫，香港無可避免地捲入各種政治論述及國際風波之中，不但蒙受經濟損失，也會波及特別行政區的地位以至「一國兩制」本身。因此，香港現在最大的挑戰是如何遊走於與內地及國際社會的勢力平衡。如何演繹中間人的遊說角色，如何維持中國國際都會的地位，將會主宰香港的未來發展，箇中又與市民的國家及國際雙重身份息息相關。沒有求同存異的包容及開放態度，便難以營造實現此目標所需要的政治穩定與社會團結。



(viii) Community education and treatment of misinformation

This study shows considerable obstacle to the continuation of 1C2S lies in misinformation and misunderstanding. Such obstacle may not be completely removable but attempt must be made to eradicate such obstacle. Sadly, no government since 1997 has been able to focus on this very important issue. Large scale community education is not easy to achieve without bringing on at the same time perceived "brain-washing". The same problem arises with proper management of misinformation which no doubt will bring on accusations of erosion of freedom of the press as well as that of expression. A way has to be found to confront this issue head on without harming the associated rights and freedoms.

(viii) 社區教育及應對虛假資訊

虛假資訊與誤解阻礙「一國兩制」延續，雖難根治，但必須嘗試消除。可是回歸以來，未有一屆政府能夠認真處理，糾正問題。大規模的社區教育及妥善管理虛假資訊並不容易，過程必然蒙上「洗腦」及蠶食新聞和言論自由的污名。我們必須思索既能兼顧相關自由與權利，又能正視問題癥結的解決方法。

結語

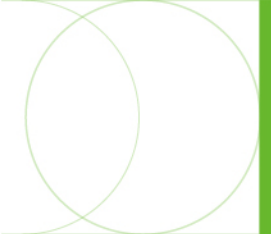
Concluding Remarks





結語

Concluding Remarks



Our study deploys sentiment analytics, public survey and focus group discussion hoping to gain a higher resolution of the mass sentiment at this particular period when the implementation of 1C2S is saturated with doubts. This research originates with ominous questions about 2047 that hung over the anti-extradition movement. Rapid evolution of public events, such as the coronavirus pandemic, introduction of the Hong Kong National Security Law, debate around the separation of powers and an executive-led system and the postponement of LegCo election, has impacted citizens' evaluation of 1C2S during the study period and been reflected in the report accordingly.

It must be noted that observations made from the general public might be limited to their personal experiences but they nonetheless are important. As the anti-extradition movement showed, while public sentiments might be populist in nature and might develop to erode social cohesion if kept unattended, they could also be useful indicators of the government's governance capacity. Public discontent, anger and anxiety are sometimes just as important to the future of a governing body as governance capacity is. We have learnt from the 2019 social unrest that desperation could halt a city and place it in a vulnerable position. Public sentiments cannot be framed by moral framework and need to be gauged and responded to.

This study shows that there is a strong expectation from the public of some form of structural change and societal reform to effectively address the looming problem of income disparity and housing shortages. At a time of political turmoil and economic hardship, the opinion reflected in this study is inevitably negative, but when global situation improves and with determination to reform, public opinion can change quickly. There might also be new development that alters people's understanding of the circumstances. We should never lose faith in 1C2S, keep our hopes high and be prepared to tackle these challenges with courage, persistence and informed decision making.

正藉「一國兩制」經歷最沉重的信心危機時，我們利用輿情分析、電話調查及聚焦小組勘察民情。本研究源起於探討在修例風波中揮之不去的2047前途問題，緊接的一連串事件，包括新冠肺炎、《港區國安法》、行政主導與三權分立的討論、延遲立法會選舉等議題先後於研究期間發生，毫無疑問影響了市民對「一國兩制」的感受，所以我們將之納入並反映於研究結果中。

讀者宜僅記市民的觀察大多從自身經歷出發，有其限制但仍然重要。從修例風波中我們可以明白，民情或許有民粹傾向，一不留心更會令社會凝聚力瓦解。不過，民情也是了解政府管治能力的有用指標。不滿、憤怒、憂慮等大眾的負面情緒，可以說與管治能力同等重要，影響政府上下的未來。2019年的社會運動給予我們沉痛教訓：絕望能夠癱瘓一個城市，使其脆弱得不堪一擊。民情難以用道德規範論斷，只能精確衡量與謹慎應對。

我們發現市民渴望不同形式的結構性轉變和社會改革，以有效地回應困擾多時的貧富懸殊、房屋短缺等問題。在政治不穩及經濟下滑的情況下，市民的觀感無疑傾向負面，假若全球環境復甦及政府展示改革決心，民意相信也會隨之轉變。當然，我們亦不能排除有新發展的出現，可能改變市民對局勢的理解。我們斷不能對「一國兩制」失去信心，反倒應寄予厚望、昂首闊步、堅韌不拔、運籌帷幄，拆解將來的挑戰。

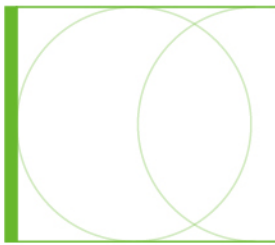
To achieve a balance view toward the future of Hong Kong, further studies of Hong Kong's future may invite experts, professional groups and other stakeholders to share their viewpoints. A periodic survey will also be useful to compare sentiment over time, especially when negotiation of 2047 draws near and the public have expressed a deep intent to participate in some kind of negotiation. More importantly, as 2047 issue becomes increasingly embedded in mundane lives of citizens, the government should seek to engage with the public as early as possible to set the agenda and prepare for a potential 2047 talk. This could take the form of consultation or deliberation, in formal or informal settings, held by governmental units or independent entities or both. The way forward is there. We only need to find it in time.

為了更全面地呈現社會各界的意見，關於香港未來的研究可以進一步訪問專家、專業團體及其他持份者。隨著2047年臨近，定期調查能比較過程中的民意變化。如市民所求，有助加強潛在談判中的參與感。再者，香港前途的討論日漸普及，無論以諮詢或商討方式，正式或非正式渠道，由官方機構、民間組織或兩者攜手帶領，政府也應盡早接觸市民，為2047可能發生的事情討論取得共識。未來前路近在咫尺，我們只須待時而動。

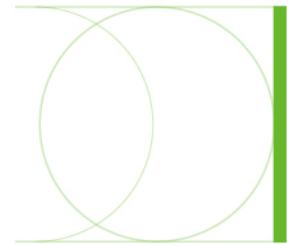


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附錄
Appendices



附錄

Appendices

(i) News article and word count 新聞文章及字數統計

Newspaper 報章	Number of articles 文章數目
A Daily A 報	1
am730	386
Apple Daily 蘋果日報	1,964
Headline Daily 頭條日報	177
Hong Kong Commercial Daily 香港商報	588
Hong Kong Daily News 新報	487
Hong Kong Economic Journal 信報	1,868
Hong Kong Economic Times 經濟日報	548
Hong Kong Globe 公正報	3
Lion Rock Daily 香港仔	22
Metro Daily 都市日報	175
Ming Pao Daily News 明報	1,834
Oriental Daily News 東方日報	1,242
Sharp Daily 爽報	44
Sing Pao 成報	588
Sing Tao Daily 星島日報	1,189
Sky Post 晴報	82
Ta Kung Pao 大公報	1,512
The Sun 太陽報	863
Tin Tin Daily News 天天日報	41
Wen Wei Po 文匯報	1,402
Total 總數	15,016

Year 年份	Number of words 字數
1998 - 2000	148,109
2001	170,151
2002	185,581
2003	187,433
2004	300,688
2005	219,387
2006	194,499
2007	323,185
2008	160,049
2009	176,664
2010	193,539
2011	157,469
2012	343,584
2013	305,280
2014	401,852
2015	385,589
2016	715,046
2017	374,565
2018	284,864
2019	353,293
2020 (Jan -Sep)	133,653
Total 總數	5,714,480

(ii) List of top search words 熱門關鍵字清單

Ranking 排名

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
1	香港	100,104	HK
2	中國	24,019	CHN
3	問題	22,254	COM
4	一個	17,953	-
5	基本法	16,771	1C2S
6	一國兩制	16,113	1C2S
7	沒有	15,478	-
8	政府	15,474	COM
9	政治	15,213	POL
10	發展	15,028	COM
11	社會	15,007	SE
12	可以	14,361	-
13	國家	13,503	CHN
14	中央	13,133	CHN
15	他們	12,524	-
16	我們	11,930	-
17	經濟	11,592	SE
18	港人	11,411	HK
19	認為	11,354	-
20	內地	11,158	CHN
21	回歸	11,158	1C2S
22	自己	10,440	-
23	不變	8,941	1C2S
24	民主	8,804	POL
25	不是	8,720	-
26	制度	8,702	COM
27	就是	8,683	-
28	香港人	8,518	HK
29	可能	8,395	-
30	立法會	7,940	HK
31	因為	7,733	-
32	五十年	7,622	1C2S
33	前途	7,591	1C2S
34	表示	7,503	COM

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
35	這個	7,381	-
36	選舉	7,180	POL
37	英國	7,084	INTL
38	普選	7,070	POL
39	港獨	7,067	POL
40	支持	7,011	COM
41	如果	6,992	-
42	政策	6,836	COM
43	特首	6,791	HK
44	議員	6,757	COM
45	提出	6,726	-
46	市民	6,695	COM
47	不會	6,557	-
48	美國	6,534	INTL
49	成為	6,511	COM
50	法律	6,427	LAW
51	北京	6,308	CHN
52	希望	6,279	COM
53	不能	6,277	-
54	包括	5,915	-
55	國際	5,673	INTL
56	歷史	5,486	COM
57	這些	5,442	-
58	需要	5,434	COM
59	有關	5,427	-
60	學生	5,375	COM
61	決定	5,375	COM
62	工作	5,325	COM
63	出現	5,304	-
64	未來	5,268	1C2S
65	必須	5,201	-
66	是否	5,167	-
67	重要	5,158	COM
68	已經	5,150	-

Ranking 排名

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
69	不同	5,110	-
70	只是	4,960	-
71	如何	4,942	-
72	自由	4,932	LAW
73	繼續	4,917	COM
74	影響	4,891	COM
75	現在	4,863	COM
76	相信	4,827	COM
77	獨立	4,762	POL
78	特區政府	4,761	HK
79	要求	4,719	COM
80	指出	4,710	-
81	甚至	4,707	-
82	主席	4,693	COM
83	生活	4,683	SE
84	台灣	4,676	INTL
85	這是	4,601	-
86	一些	4,578	-
87	討論	4,575	COM
88	中共	4,498	CHN
89	不過	4,463	-
90	什麼	4,444	-
91	鄧小平	4,425	CHN
92	不少	4,421	-
93	開始	4,381	COM
94	關係	4,362	COM
95	其實	4,344	-
96	所以	4,314	-
97	當時	4,311	COM
98	應該	4,257	-
99	情況	4,241	COM
100	人士	4,192	-
101	過去	4,171	COM
102	土地	4,147	SE
103	因此	4,141	-

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
104	大家	4,126	-
105	行政長官	4,114	HK
106	自治	4,094	1C2S
107	接受	4,074	COM
108	有人	4,067	-
109	作為	4,049	-
110	強調	4,034	COM
111	方式	3,983	COM
112	改變	3,981	COM
113	任何	3,963	-
114	反對派	3,933	HK
115	以及	3,903	-
116	立法	3,901	LAW
117	文化	3,892	SE
118	政改	3,866	POL
119	委員會	3,856	COM
120	之後	3,813	-
121	穩定	3,808	SE
122	這樣	3,806	-
123	大陸	3,770	CHN
124	自決	3,748	POL
125	其他	3,702	-
126	代表	3,698	COM
127	時間	3,697	COM
128	進行	3,675	COM
129	當年	3,662	COM
130	參與	3,637	COM
131	世界	3,632	INTL
132	特別	3,626	COM
133	規定	3,620	COM
134	只有	3,618	-
135	市場	3,615	SE
136	今天	3,613	COM
137	記者	3,585	COM
138	雖然	3,583	-

Ranking 排名

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
139	反對	3,581	COM
140	這種	3,570	-
141	一直	3,565	-
142	還是	3,554	-
143	本土	3,534	HK
144	特區	3,519	HK
145	主權	3,513	COM
146	管治	3,508	POL
147	解決	3,497	COM
148	對於	3,494	-
149	一定	3,487	-
150	所謂	3,487	-
151	通過	3,484	COM
152	利益	3,421	COM
153	方案	3,418	COM
154	梁振英	3,413	HK
155	很多	3,389	-
156	本港	3,369	HK
157	爭取	3,332	COM
158	法治	3,322	LAW
159	實行	3,315	COM
160	事件	3,306	COM
161	主要	3,306	COM
162	行政	3,304	1C2S
163	高度	3,302	1C2S
164	運動	3,291	COM
165	處理	3,289	COM
166	面對	3,289	COM
167	同時	3,281	-
168	其中	3,280	-
169	機會	3,270	SE
170	當然	3,263	-
171	甚麼	3,248	-
172	教育	3,240	SE
173	年輕人	3,229	COM

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
174	資本主義	3,160	1C2S
175	地方	3,149	COM
176	知道	3,145	-
177	完全	3,141	COM
178	人民	3,138	CHN
179	中央政府	3,135	CHN
180	結果	3,133	COM
181	考慮	3,102	COM
182	現時	3,099	COM
183	談判	3,093	COM
184	方面	3,072	COM
185	不斷	3,064	-
186	成功	3,048	COM
187	權力	3,009	COM
188	一國	2,951	1C2S
189	部分	2,950	-
190	保持	2,939	COM
191	研究	2,939	COM
192	建議	2,931	COM
193	最後	2,906	-
194	批評	2,900	COM
195	憲法	2,878	LAW
196	原則	2,873	COM
197	作出	2,861	COM
198	政制	2,859	POL
199	居民	2,852	COM
200	昨日	2,843	COM
201	而且	2,833	-
202	而是	2,797	-
203	今年	2,793	COM
204	價值	2,790	COM
205	意見	2,767	COM
206	關注	2,765	COM
207	組織	2,761	COM
208	目前	2,743	COM

Ranking 排名

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
209	由於	2,740	-
210	聯合聲明	2,729	1C2S
211	認同	2,718	COM
212	即使	2,704	-
213	官員	2,681	COM
214	地位	2,676	COM
215	全面	2,671	COM
216	覺得	2,653	-
217	兩個	2,652	-
218	根據	2,651	COM
219	提供	2,631	COM
220	繁榮	2,612	SE
221	行動	2,600	COM
222	筆者	2,600	-
223	例如	2,591	-
224	泛民	2,587	HK
225	發生	2,584	COM
226	公司	2,583	COM
227	承諾	2,567	COM
228	澳門	2,564	COM
229	選擇	2,562	COM
230	一樣	2,550	-
231	變成	2,544	-
232	成立	2,538	COM
233	還有	2,523	-
234	維護	2,515	COM
235	投資	2,514	SE
236	去年	2,495	COM
237	佔中	2,475	HK
238	最終	2,467	-
239	所有	2,461	-
240	能夠	2,452	-
241	新界	2,450	HK
242	並非	2,450	-
243	除了	2,420	-

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
244	以來	2,410	-
245	大學	2,403	COM
246	活動	2,403	COM
247	香港特別行政區	2,399	HK
248	保障	2,397	COM
249	至於	2,391	-
250	落責	2,390	COM
251	城市	2,384	COM
252	然而	2,379	-
253	提名	2,378	COM
254	時代	2,362	COM
255	一種	2,353	-
256	發表	2,351	COM
257	解釋	2,340	COM
258	安全	2,325	LAW
259	公投	2,317	POL
260	得到	2,314	-
261	言論	2,310	LAW
262	傳媒	2,307	COM
263	改革	2,307	COM
264	基本	2,292	COM
265	實施	2,285	COM
266	港府	2,281	HK
267	產生	2,278	COM
268	如此	2,274	-
269	計劃	2,273	COM
270	安排	2,264	COM
271	非常	2,252	-
272	推動	2,251	COM
273	時候	2,249	-
274	勢力	2,248	COM
275	信心	2,245	COM
276	回應	2,244	COM
277	了解	2,241	COM
278	參選	2,236	LAW

Ranking 排名

Rank 排名	Keyword 關鍵字	Count 頻數	Cat. 類別
279	堅持	2,234	COM
280	根本	2,232	-
281	公民	2,227	COM
282	擔心	2,224	COM
283	主張	2,210	COM
284	不要	2,203	-
285	存在	2,202	-
286	年代	2,201	COM
287	反映	2,201	-
288	維持	2,196	COM
289	只要	2,196	-
290	成員	2,193	COM
291	兩制	2,188	1C2S
292	港人治港	2,188	1C2S
293	真正	2,163	COM
294	一次	2,158	-
295	最大	2,151	-
296	個人	2,144	-
297	事務	2,142	COM
298	仍然	2,133	-
299	環境	2,130	COM
300	出來	2,129	-



Categories 分類

HK: Hong Kong

POL: Governance and political systems

CHN: China

1C2S: One Country Two Systems

SE: Socio-economic conditions

COM: Common words

LAW: Rule of law and freedom

INTL: International community

HK：香港

POL：管治與政治體制

CHN：中國

1C2S：一國兩制

SE：社會經濟狀況

COM：通用詞

LAW：法治及自由

INTL：國際社群

(iii) Questionnaire for telephone survey 電話調查問卷

Survey questions 調查問題

1. Which of the following freedom and right do you think need the greatest degree of preservation if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? If 1 represents very unnecessary and 7 very necessary, how much would you rate the following items?
你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」你覺得以下自由和權利有幾需要有更大概保障呢？假如1代表非常不需要，7代表非常需要，你的評分將會係？
 - a) One can freely and openly express one's view and publish
可以自由公開發表意見同出版
 - b) Lives and safety are fully protected
生命同人身安全得到充分保障
 - c) One enjoying the freedom of assembly and association
可以自由參與遊行示威同組織社會團體
 - d) One enjoying the freedom to practise any religion of one's choice
可以自由選擇宗教信仰
 - e) One enjoying the freedom from being discriminated
免於被歧視
 - f) One enjoying the freedom of movement
可以自由移居同出入境
 - g) One enjoying academic freedom and the freedom to engage in creative expressions
可以自由進行學術研究同文藝創作
 - h) One acquiring the right to be treated equally and justly before the law
法律面前受到平等對待
 - i) One's right to privacy is protected
個人私隱得到充分保障
2. Which of the following political systems do you think needs to be improved if 1C2S is to be successfully implemented? If 1 represents very unnecessary and 7 very necessary, how much would you rate the following items?
你認為要成功實踐「一國兩制」，你覺得以下項目有幾需要改善呢？假如1代表非常不需要，7代表非常需要，你的評分將會係？
 - a) if the government abuses power, the judiciary has the means to protect the citizens
如果政府濫權，司法機構能夠保護市民
 - b) the legislative branch acquires the capacity to monitor the government
立法機關能夠監察政府
 - c) the government acquires the capacity to provide quality public services
政府提供良好嘅公共服務
 - d) the government acquires the capacity to enforce laws and maintain the order of the society
政府能夠執行法律同維護社會秩序
 - e) citizens can elect the leaders of the government through fair and just elections
市民經過自由公平嘅選舉選出政府領導人
 - f) different political parties can compete with one another under fair conditions in elections
唔同政黨可以喺選舉中公平競爭

3. Generally, do you think the SAR government's policy fulfil the needs and interest of different cohort in the society? If 1 represents 'absolutely not fulfilling' and 7 'absolutely fulfilling', what score will you give?
整體嚟講，你覺得特區政府嘅政策有幾切合唔同人士嘅需要同利益呢？假如1代表非常不切合，7代表非常切合，你的評分將會係？
4. The Basic Law stipulates that the selection of the Chief Executive and the Legislative Council shall be executed by universal suffrage in accordance with the principle of gradual and orderly progress. Do you think the future democratization of Hong Kong will be faster or slower? If 1 represents 'very slow' and 7 'very quick', what score will you give?
基本法承諾以循序漸進嘅原則，普選產生行政長官同立法會，你認為未來香港嘅民主化進程應該更快定更慢呢？假如1代表非常慢，7代表非常快，你的評分將會係？
5. The SAR government should more proactively intervene with the operation of the market to assist the development of the certain industries, how much do you agree with this statement? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
特區政府應該更積極咁參與市場運作，去扶持某啲經濟產業發展，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
6. The SAR government should devote more public expenditure to take care of the basic needs of everyone, how much do you agree with this statement? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
特區政府應該運用更多公帑去照顧每個人嘅基本生活所需，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
7. The SAR government should tax the wealthy more to subsidize those in need, how much do you agree with this statement? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
特區政府應該向富裕階層加稅去補貼弱勢社群，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
8. Hong Kong should participate in more of mainland's economic activities, how much do you agree? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
香港應該參與更多嘅中國內地嘅經濟活動，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
9. Hong Kong should participate in more of foreign countries' economic activities, how much do you agree? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
香港應該參與更多嘅外國嘅經濟活動，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
10. Do you think your financial situation will better or worsen in the coming decade? If 1 represents 'very bad' and 7 'very good'. What score will you give?
嚟未來十年，你估計自己嘅經濟狀況會比現在變好定係變差？假如1代表非常差，7代表非常好，你的評分將會係？
11. Generally, how fair is the social policies in Hong Kong? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
整體嚟講，香港嘅社會政策有幾公平呢？假如1代表非常不公平，7代表非常公平，你的評分將會係？
12. Hong Kongers should preserve Chinese histories and their Chinese identity, how much do you agree? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
香港人應該保持中國歷史同中華文化身分，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
13. Hong Kongers should observe multiculturalism and preserve their internationalized identity, how much do you agree? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
香港人應該保持多元文化同國際化身分，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？

14. Hong Kong should play a bigger role in mainland's wider development scheme, how much do you agree? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
香港應該喺中國內地嘅發展大局扮演更積極嘅角色，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
15. Hong Kong should play a bigger role in international and regional organizations, how much do you agree? If 1 represents 'strongly disagree' and 7 'strongly agree', what score will you give?
香港應該喺國際、區域組織扮演更積極嘅角色，你有幾同意呢？假如1代表非常不同意，7代表非常同意，你的評分將會係？
16. How much do you agree that 'the central government hopes for the success of 1C2S'? If 1 represents 'very insincere' and 7 'very sincere', what score will you give?
你覺得中央政府有幾大誠意希望香港嘅「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐呢？假如1代表非常無誠意，7代表非常有誠意，你的評分將會係？
17. How much do you agree that 'the SAR government hopes for the success of 1C2S'? If 1 represents 'very insincere' and 7 'very sincere', what score will you give?
你覺得特區政府有幾大誠意希望香港嘅「一國兩制」能夠成功實踐呢？假如1代表非常無誠意，7代表非常有誠意，你的評分將會係？
18. If Hong Kongers gain a deeper understanding of contemporary China, do you think this will have a positive or negative impact on the development of 1C2S? If 1 represents 'very negative' and 7 'very positive', what score will you give?
如果香港人更加了解中國情況，「一國兩制」將會有更正面定係更負面嘅發展呢？假如1代表非常負面，7代表非常正面，你的評分將會係？
19. If mainlanders gain a deeper understanding of contemporary Hong Kong, do you think this will have a positive or negative impact on the development of 1C2S? If 1 represents 'very negative' and 7 'very positive', what score will you give?
如果內地人更加了解香港嘅情況，「一國兩制」將會有更正面定係更負面嘅發展呢？假如1代表非常負面，7代表非常正面，你的評分將會係？
20. Do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the future of Hong Kong? 1 represents 'very pessimistic' and 7 'very optimistic', what score will you give?
你對香港嘅未來前景感到樂觀定悲觀呢？假如1代表非常悲觀，7代表非常樂觀，你的評分將會係？

Basic Information 基本資料

21. What political camp will you classify yourself as?

講到你嘅政治傾向時，你覺得自己傾向以下邊個陣營呢？

Pro-establishment 建制派

Localist 本土派

Moderates 中間派

Others (Please specify) 其他（請註明）

Democrats 民主派

Self-determinist 自決派

No political inclinations 無任何政治傾向

Don't know / Hard to say 唔知道／好難講

22. What is your educational attainment?

你嘅教育程度去到邊呢？

Primary or below 小學或以下

Secondary (F.4-F.7) 高中(中四至中七/預科)

Bachelor's degree 大學學位

Secondary (F.1-F.3) 初中(中一至中三)

Non-degree tertiary (including diplomas, associate degrees, IVE, etc.)

專上非學位(包括文憑/副學士/IVE等)

Postgraduate degree (including master's and doctoral degree)

研究院(包括碩士/博士等)

23. Are you currently an employed person? If not employed, are you currently a student, retired or seeking employment?

你目前係唔係在職人士呢？如非在職，咁你係學生、主理家務、退休，定係待業人士呢？

Employed 在職人士

Unemployed: Homemaker 非在職:主理家務

Unemployed: Job seeking 非在職:待業/ 正找工作/失業

Unemployed: Student 非在職:學生

Unemployed: Retired 非在職:退休

Unemployed: Others 非在職:其他

24. Which income group does your household belong to?

請問你屋企每個月嘅全家總收入大約有幾多呢？

2.5k or below/ no income 二萬五千以下/沒有收入

50k to under 100k 五萬至十萬以下

2.5k to under 50k 二萬五千至五萬以下

100k or above 十萬或以上

25. Which age group do you belong to?

你屬於以下邊個年齡組別呢？

18-29

40-49

60-69

30-39

50-59

≥ 70

26. Respondent's gender

受訪者性別

Male 男

Female 女

(iv) Weighting method for telephone survey

The telephone survey uses a dual-frame sampling design. It randomly selects phone numbers from a combined sample of residential landline and mobile phone numbers. As a standard practice, survey data will be weighted by population distribution in Hong Kong. Given many individuals may own both landline and mobile phone numbers, two steps were added in the weighting method to avoid estimation inaccuracy caused by double-counting or other unknown factors.

Telephone ownership

Since each individual owns a different amount of landline and mobile numbers, each has a different probability of selection as respondents. To eliminate over-representation of any individual, the first step is to approximate 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 those in the territory. Weighting factor 1 (WT1i) is calculated by the inverse of probability of selection of individual $WT1i = \pi_i^{-1}$.

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

當中 i = i-th person selected

n_L = amount of sample's landline numbers

N_L = amount of population's landline numbers

t_i^L = amount of i-th person's landline numbers

e_i^L = amount of eligible respondents in the household

n_m = amount of sample's mobile numbers

N_m = amount of population's mobile numbers

t_i^m = amount of i-th person's mobile numbers

Population estimates

To better represent the distribution of the Hong Kong population, all data were weighted by the proportion of gender and age of people aged 18 or above (excluding foreign domestic helpers) according to the mid-year population for 2019 released by the Census and Statistics Department. Weighting factor 2 (WT2) is calculated by dividing the population estimates of a gender and age group by the sample size of the corresponding group adjusted by weighting factor 1.

(iv) 電話調查加權方法

電話調查部分採用雙框抽樣設計，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。依照標準做法，數據在進行分析時依香港的人口分佈作加權處理。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，加權方法將按兩個步驟調整。

電話號碼擁有量

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及手機號碼數目，對比全港家居固網電話及手機號碼總數。加權因子 1 (WT1i) 之計算方式為受訪者 i 被抽中訪問的逆向機會率，即 $WT1i = \pi_i^{-1}$ 。

當中 i = 第 i 名被抽中的人士

n_L = 家居固網電話號碼樣本數目

N_L = 全部家居固網電話號碼總數

t_i^L = 家中擁有的固網電話號碼數目

e_i^L = 住戶中合資格受訪人數

n_m = 手機號碼樣本數目

N_m = 全部手機號碼總數

t_i^m = 個人擁有的手機號碼數目

人口估算

為了保證調查數據更能反映香港人口分佈的真實情況，數據在進行分析時依香港統計處公佈的 2019 年年中 18 歲或以上性別及年齡分佈（扣除外籍家庭傭工）。加權因子 2 (WT2) 的計算方法，是把人口統計中性別和年齡組別的人口估計，除以經過加權因子 1 加權後的調查中對應組別的人口樣本。

	Mid-2019 Population Estimates 2019年年中人口估算		Sample Distribution adjusted by Weighting Factor 1 (WT1) 經加權因子1(WT1) 加權處理後的人 口分佈		Weighting Factor 2 (WT2) 加權因子2 (WT2)	
	Male 男 (A)	Female 女 (B)	Male 男 (C)	Female 女 (D)	Male 男 (A÷C)	Female 女 (B÷D)
18 - 29	497,000	485,600	977,178	965,525	0.509	0.503
30 - 39	465,100	546,300	838,027	658,133	0.555	0.830
40 - 49	468,100	589,400	802,065	860,441	0.584	0.685
50 - 59	560,500	643,500	906,329	607,062	0.618	1.060
60 - 69	500,600	513,900	528,941	367,348	0.946	1.399
≥70	398,500	479,400	388,938	251,855	1.025	1.903

Final Step

The final weighting factor is calculated by the following formula.

$$WT_F = WT1 * WT2$$

Where WT_F = Final weighting factor
WT1 = Weighting factor 1
WT2 = Weighting factor 2

最後步驟

最終加權因子的計算方法如下：

當中 WT_F = 最後加權因子
WT1 = 加權因子1
WT2 = 加權因子2

(v) Discussion questions for focus groups 聚焦小組討論問題

- Does 1C2S at the current state meet your expectations?
您認為現時的「一國兩制」，能不能夠符合您的期望呢？
- Should 1C2S continue after 2047?
您認為2047年後，「一國兩制」應不應該延續呢？
- Are there any factors that affect the continuation of 1C2S?
您認為現時香港存在甚麼因素，影響「一國兩制」的延續呢？
- Are there any areas of improvements from the social and economic perspectives?
在社會與經濟方面，您認為有沒有需要改變的地方？
- How do you envision Hong Kong's future beyond 2047?
您對香港於2047年後的未來有甚麼願景？

(vi) List of focus group participants 聚焦小組受訪者名單

No. 編號	Gender 性別	Age 年齡	Occupation 職業
1	M 男	20	Student 學生
2	M 男	20	Student 學生
3	F 女	20	Student 學生
4	F 女	20	Student 學生
5	M 男	20	Student 學生
6	F 女	20	Student 學生
7	F 女	20	Student 學生
8	M 男	21	Student 學生
9	F 女	21	Student 學生
10	F 女	21	Student 學生
11	F 女	21	Salesperson 售貨員
12	M 男	21	Student 學生
13	F 女	21	Student 學生
14	M 男	22	Student 學生
15	M 男	22	Electrical technician 電子技工
16	M 男	23	Assistant Arborist 助理樹藝師
17	M 男	23	Student 學生
18	M 男	24	Customer service officer 客戶服務主任
19	M 男	26	Marketing manager 市場推廣經理
20	F 女	28	Baker 烘培師
21	F 女	29	Flight attendant 空中服務員
22	F 女	31	Journalist 記者
23	M 男	31	Marketing manager 市場推廣經理
24	M 男	32	Waiter 服務員
25	F 女	32	Procurement Officer 採購主任
26	M 男	33	Financial planner 財務策劃師
27	F 男	34	Bank manager 銀行經理
28	M 男	35	Clerk 文員
29	F 女	38	Shop assistant 店鋪助理
30	M 男	41	Engineer 工程師
31	M 男	42	Business analyst 商業分析員
32	F 女	42	Homemaker 家庭主婦
33	M 男	44	Photographer 攝影師
34	F 女	45	Clerk 文員
35	M 男	46	Salesperson 售貨員
36	F 女	48	Accountant 會計師
37	M 男	51	Trading manager 貿易經理
38	F 女	53	Salesperson 售貨員
39	F 女	53	Homemaker 家庭主婦
40	F 女	54	Clerk 文員
41	M 男	54	Customer service officer 客戶服務主任
42	F 女	59	Clerk 文員
43	M 男	59	Courier 速遞員
44	F 女	61	Clerk 文員
45	F 女	61	Homemaker 家庭主婦
46	F 女	62	Care worker 護理員
47	M 男	64	Shop manager 店鋪經理
48	M 男	67	Retired 退休
49	M 男	68	Retired 退休
50	M 男	72	Retired 退休

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