

2023 年 6 月 28 日 新聞公報

香港民研以「民情指數 25 年」總結「一國兩制中期民情總結系列」

特別宣佈

香港民意研究所（香港民研）在去年六月啟動「一國兩制 25 周年中期民情總結」，連同今日發表的「民情指數 25 年」，一共 25 份報告，經已全部完成，香港民研為一國兩制前半發展留下歷史數據的任務亦告結束。七月開始，民研會加強二次數據的開發和應用，深化多媒體公民教育的工作。

民研早前已經宣佈，會減少自費收集數據的工作，和把部份調查系列轉作學術研究、內部參考和付費服務，不作公開發表。民研會盡快制定各種指引和價目表，回應社會對有關調查的需求。

此外，七月之後，民研會修訂「民情指數」的量化方法和發放方式，以涵蓋現任特首的任期，和量化不同市民群組對香港社會的情緒反應，請留意七月份的公布。

目的及基本概念

香港民研在 2012 年制定「民情指數」(PSI)，目的在於量化香港市民對香港社會的情緒反應，以解釋及預視社會出現集體行動的可能性。民情指數包涵了「政通」和「人和」兩個概念，分別以「政評數值 (GA)」和「社評數值 (SA)」顯示。政評數值泛指市民對整體政府管治的表現評價，而社評數值則泛指市民對整體社會狀況的評價。

民情指數由十項民意數字組合而成，數據來源始於 1992 年 7 月，累積數據超過 30 年。在「政通」方面，政評數值涵蓋 4 條具指標作用的問題，分別為：

- GA1： 請你對港督彭定康／特首董建華／特首曾蔭權／特首梁振英／特首林鄭月娥嘅支持程度給予評分，0 分代表絕對唔支持，100 分代表絕對支持，50 分代表一半半，你會畀幾多分港督彭定康／特首董建華／特首曾蔭權／特首梁振英／特首林鄭月娥？
- GA2： 假設明天選舉特首，而你又有權投票，你會唔會選董建華／曾蔭權／梁振英／林鄭月娥做特首？
- GA3： 你對特區政府嘅整體表現滿唔滿意？（追問程度）
- GA4： 整體嚟講，你信唔信任香港政府／香港特區政府？（追問程度）

在「人和」方面，社評數值涵蓋另外 6 條具指標作用的問題，分別為：

- SA1： 整體嚟講，你對香港而家嘅政治狀況有幾滿意或者不滿？（追問程度）
- SA2： 整體嚟講，你對香港而家嘅經濟狀況有幾滿意或者不滿？（追問程度）

- SA3： 整體嚟講，你對香港而家嘅社會／民生狀況有幾滿意或者不滿？（追問程度）
- SA4-1： 請你用 0 至 10 分評價政治狀況對你滿唔滿意香港社會整體狀況有幾重要，0 分代表完全唔重要，10 分代表十分重要，5 分代表一般重要。你畀幾多分政治狀況嘅重要程度？
- SA4-2： 請你用 0 至 10 分評價經濟狀況對你滿唔滿意香港社會整體狀況有幾重要，0 分代表完全唔重要，10 分代表十分重要，5 分代表一般重要。你畀幾多分經濟狀況嘅重要程度？
- SA4-3： 請你用 0 至 10 分評價民生狀況對你滿唔滿意香港社會整體狀況有幾重要，0 分代表完全唔重要，10 分代表十分重要，5 分代表一般重要。你畀幾多分民生狀況嘅重要程度？

計算方法

首先，將 10 條問題所得數據以下述方式各自轉化成為單一數字：

- GA1： 計算樣本中有效評分之平均值
- GA2： 將回答「會」之百分比，減去回答「不會」之百分比，得出支持率淨值
- GA3、GA4、SA1、SA2、SA3：
將五等量尺答案按照正面程度，以 1 分最低、5 分最高量化成為 1、2、3、4、5 分，再計算樣本平均值
- SA4-1、SA4-2、SA4-3：
先各自計算樣本中有效評分之平均值，再將數字除以三個平均值之總和，即最後數字總和為 1

準備好上述數據後，便可以開始計算某個時期之政評數值和社評數值。由於各項民意數字之數據形式不同，香港民研於是先把歷年來得出之政評數值和社評數值初值「標準化」，然後計算政評數值和社評數值之平均值，作為「民情指數」之初值，然後再把數值標準化，得出「民情指數」。以下是比較詳細之解釋：

政評數值：先計算各項民意數字（最多包括 GA1、GA2、GA3 和 GA4）之樣本平均值，然後把各項數據標準化（設定平均值為 100，標準差為 15，最低數值為 0，最高數值為 200），再計算四項數字之平均值得出原始政評數值，然後把原始政評數值再一次標準化以得出政評數值。

社評數值：先計算各項民意數字（包括 SA1、SA2 和 SA3）之樣本平均值，然後把各項數據標準化，再按照 SA4-1、SA4-2 和 SA4-3 之結果計算三項數字之加權平均值得出原始社評數值¹，然後把原始社評數值再一次標準化以得出社評數值。

民情指數：計算政評數值和社評數值之平均值，得出原始民情指數，然後將所得數據按相同設定再一次標準化，得出民情指數。

缺數處理和數據年份

由於部分調查項目在 1992 年尚未開展，這些調查項目在缺數階段會被撇除，而 SA4 部分則會在缺數階段全部假設為三分之一。在有關調查項目開始後，如果相關民意數字在計算指數時沒有更新，香港民研會採用最近一次已公佈之數字替代。至於各項數據之標準化過程，香港民研

[1] 2012 年或之前，如果社評數值之 6 項基礎民意數字均沒有更新，香港民研會取用同期之政評數值，經過簡單線性迴歸分析得出社評數值。2013 年起，此方法已經停用，改為直接採用最近一次已公佈之數字。

基本上以 1992 年 7 月為起點，然後以特首任期為標準化數據庫的轉接期。以下數表簡略說明本報告中，各個階段的「民情指數」所採用的標準化數據庫的不同年份和相關年期：

特首及任期	民情指數計算時期	標準化數據庫涵蓋年份	標準化數據庫涵蓋年期
董建華 (1997-2005)	1997 年 7 月至 2005 年 3 月 ^[2]	1992 年 7 月至 2012 年 6 月	20 年
曾蔭權 (2005-2012)	2005 年 6 月至 2012 年 6 月 ^[2]	1992 年 7 月至 2012 年 6 月	20 年
梁振英 (2012-2017)	2012 年 7 月至 2017 年 6 月	1992 年 7 月至 2012 年 6 月	20 年
林鄭月娥 (2017-2022)	2017 年 7 月至 2022 年 6 月	1992 年 7 月至 2017 年 6 月	25 年

^[2] 由於民情指數在 2012 年才開始使用，這些早期數值需要以追溯形式運算出來。

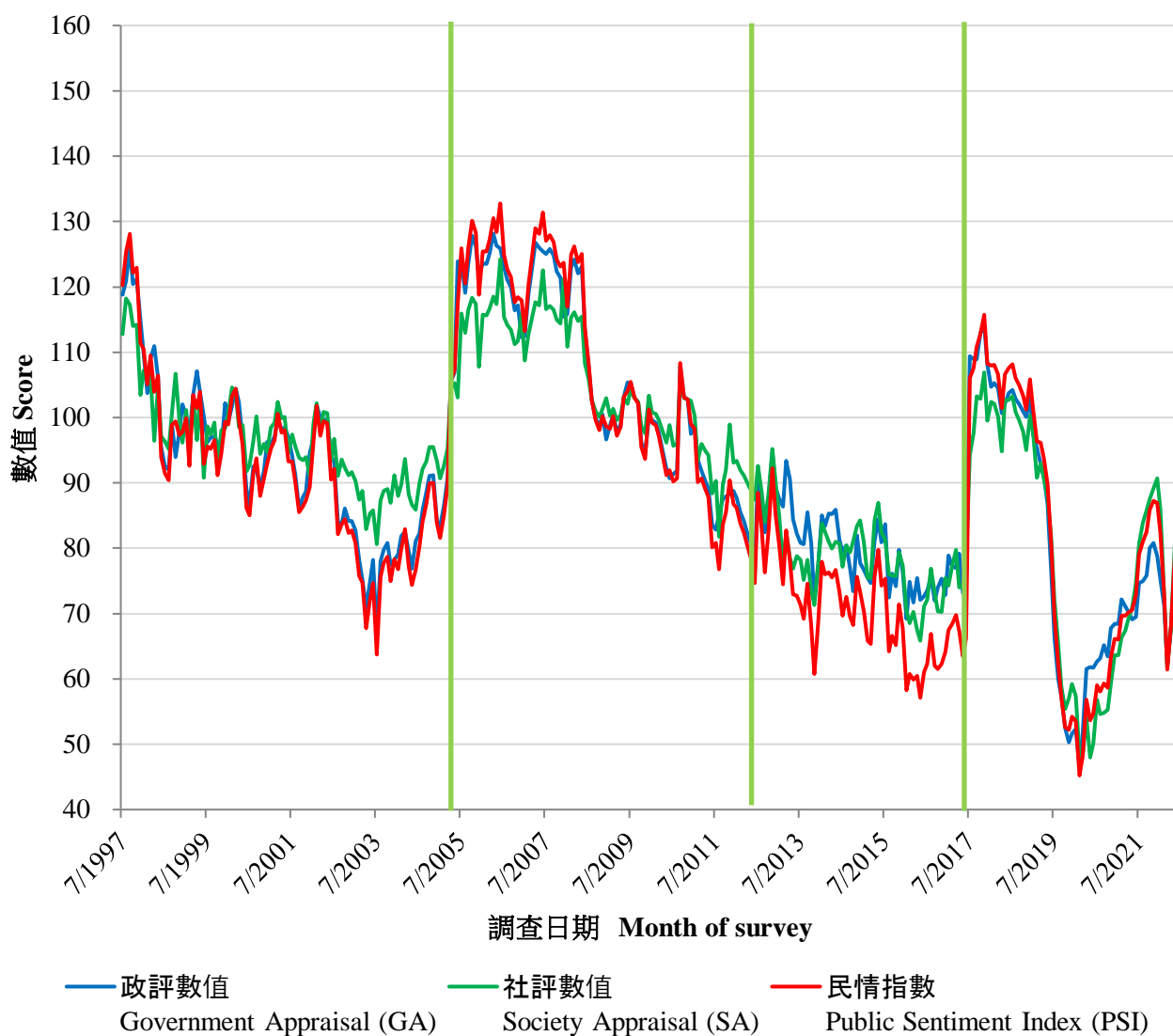
理解指數數值

民情指數、政評數值及社評數值均為介乎 0 至 200 的標準化數字，數字愈低，代表民情愈差，數字愈高，則代表民情愈佳，中間正常水平則為 100。具體數值可按下表理解：

指數數值	百分位數	指數數值	百分位數
140-200	最高 1%	0-60	最低 1%
125	最高 5%	75	最低 5%
120	最高 10%	80	最低 10%
110	最高 25%	90	最低 25%
100 為正常數值，即半數在上，半數在下			

民情指數 25 年總結

作為「一國兩制 25 周年中期民情總結」的最後一個報告，香港民研聚焦分析了 1997 年 7 月至 2022 年 6 月的數據，亦即撇除了彭定康年代和李家超上任後的數據，只集中分析四任特首，即董建華、曾蔭權、梁振英和林鄭月娥任內的數據，製作了以下 25 年來民情指數、政評數值及社評數值的按月走勢圖：



綜合過去 25 年來數字，可見民情指數於 2006 年 6 月處於最高點，2020 年 2 月則處於最低點。此外，民情指數於 1997 年中剛剛回歸後、2005 年中至 2008 年中、以及 2017 年底都較經常處於高位（即 110 點或以上）。相反，民情指數在 2003 年中、2013 年中至 2017 年中，以及 2019 年中至 2021 年中都經常處於低位（即 75 點或以下），這些都是香港社會最不安的時候。

1997 年 7 月至 2022 年 6 月期間剛好經歷四個特首完整任期，包括董建華、曾蔭權、梁振英和林鄭月娥，按歷屆特首任期分析，以下為四段時期各自的平均民情指數、政評數值及社評數值，以及各自最高和最低的民情指數：

特首及任期	政評數值	社評數值	民情指數				
	平均值	平均值	平均值	最高月份	最高數值	最低月份	最低數值
董建華 (1997-2005)	93.5	96.4	92.1	9/1997	128.1	7/2003	63.8
曾蔭權 (2005-2012)	107.0	106.6	107.0	6/2006	132.8	6/2012	74.7
梁振英 (2012-2017)	79.8	78.4	70.8	11/2012	92.2	5/2016	57.1
林鄭月娥 (2017-2022)	80.3	79.3	81.4	11/2017	115.7	2/2020	45.2

分析結果顯示，曾蔭權任內的民情指數平均值為四位特首當中最高，為 107.0 點。其次是董建華，平均得 92.1 點，然後是林鄭月娥 81.4 點，最後是梁振英，得 70.8 點。曾蔭權是唯一一位平均值獲 100 點以上的特首，在位期間民情指數在 2006 年 6 月最高，2012 年 6 月則最低。至於董建華任特首期間，民情指數在 1997 年 9 月最高，2003 年 7 月最低，而林鄭月娥在位期間的民情指數就在 2017 年 11 月最高，2020 年 2 月最低。最後，梁振英任特首期間所錄得的民情指數全數在 100 點以下，最高和最低指數分別出現在 2012 年 11 月和 2016 年 5 月。

下月新聞發佈活動 (暫定)

- 7 月 27 日（星期四）下午三時新聞發佈會：特區首長和和政府民望
- 在沒有新聞發佈會的星期：每星期在網上發放新聞公報和更新數據，七月份的主項為民情指數



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Press Release on June 28, 2023

HKPORI wraps up “One Country Two Systems Mid-term Review Series” with “25 Years of Public Sentiment Index (PSI)”

Special Announcements

The Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (HKPORI) launched its “One Country Two Systems 25-year Mid-term Review” in June last year. Including this “25 Years of Public Sentiment Index (PSI)” released today, a total of 25 wrap-ups have been completed, and HKPORI’s mission to preserve the historical data of the first half of “one country, two systems” is thereby completed. Starting from July, we will step up our development and application of secondary data analysis, and deepen our work in multi-media civic education.

We have already announced our plan to reduce our self-funded data collection activities, as well as turning several survey series into internal reference, academic research and commissioned services instead of free releases. We will formulate various guidelines and price lists in due course, to cater for societal demand for these studies.

Moreover, after July, we will revise the quantification and release methods of our Public Sentiment Index (PSI) to cover the term of the incumbent Chief Executive, as well as to quantify the sentiments of different population groups. Please stay tuned for the announcement in July.

Objectives and Basic Concepts

HKPORI compiled the “Public Sentiment Index (PSI)” with an aim to quantify Hong Kong people’s sentiments, in order to explain and predict the likelihood of mass movements. PSI comprises 2 components: one being Government Appraisal (GA) Score and the other being Society Appraisal (SA) Score. GA refers to people’s appraisal of society’s governance while SA refers to people’s appraisal of the social environment.

PSI comprises 10 public opinion indicators, with data collected since July 1992, meaning over 30 years of accumulated data. For “Government Appraisal”, there are these 4 indicator questions:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| GA1 : | Please use a scale of 0-100 to rate your extent of support to Governor Chris Patten / Chief Executive (CE) Tung Chee-hwa / CE Donald Tsang / CE Leung Chun-ying / CE Carrie Lam, with 0 indicating absolutely not supportive, 100 indicating absolutely supportive and 50 indicating half-half. How would you rate the Governor Chris Patten / Chief Executive (CE) Tung Chee-hwa / CE Donald Tsang / CE Leung Chun-ying / CE Carrie Lam? |
| GA2 : | If a general election of the Governor / Chief Executive were to be held tomorrow, and you had the right to vote, would you vote for Chris Patten / Tung Chee-hwa / Donald Tsang / Leung Chun-ying / Carrie Lam? |

- GA3 : Are you satisfied with the performance of the HKSAR government? (Interviewer to probe intensity)
- GA4 : On the whole, do you trust the Hong Kong/Hong Kong SAR government? (Interviewer to probe intensity)

For “Society Appraisal”, there are these 6 indicator questions:

- SA1 : Generally speaking, how much are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the current **political** condition in Hong Kong? (Interviewer to probe intensity)
- SA2 : Generally speaking, how much are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the current **economic** condition in Hong Kong? (Interviewer to probe intensity)
- SA3 : Generally speaking, how much are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the current **livelihood** condition in Hong Kong? (Interviewer to probe intensity)
- SA4-1 : Please rate on the scale of 0-10 the importance of **political** condition in your overall satisfaction with Hong Kong’s societal condition, with 0 meaning absolutely not important, 10 meaning absolutely important, 5 meaning moderately important. How would you rate the importance of **political** condition?
- SA4-2 : Please rate on the scale of 0-10 the importance of **economic** condition in your overall satisfaction with Hong Kong’s societal condition, with 0 meaning absolutely not important, 10 meaning absolutely important, 5 meaning moderately important. How would you rate the importance of **economic** condition?
- SA4-3 : Please rate on the scale of 0-10 the importance of **livelihood** condition in your overall satisfaction with Hong Kong’s societal condition, with 0 meaning absolutely not important, 10 meaning absolutely important, 5 meaning moderately important. How would you rate to the importance of **livelihood** condition?

Computation Method

Firstly, data from the 10 questions is converted into singular numbers using the following methods:

- GA1 : Calculate the mean value of all valid data.
- GA2 : Subtract the “No” percentage from the “Yes” percentage to obtain the net support value.
- GA3 、 GA4 、 SA1 、 SA2 、 SA3:
Quantify the individual responses into 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 marks according to their degree of positive level, where 1 is the lowest and 5 the highest, and then calculate the sample mean.
- SA4-1 、 SA4-2 、 SA4-3 :
First calculate the mean values of valid ratings separately, then divide them by the sum of the three mean values, with the total sum of the final results being 1.

After preparing these data, the GA and SA of a certain time period can be calculated. Due to the different formats of different public opinion data, HKPORI would first standardize the initial GA and SA values obtained over the years, then calculate the averages of GA and SA values to become initial PSI values, then standardize their values again to obtain the final PSI values. A more detailed explanation is provided below:

GA: First calculate the sample means of various public opinion figures (at most including GA1, GA2, GA3 and GA4), then standardize each calculated figure (setting the mean value at 100, standard deviation at 15, minimum value at 0 and maximum value at 200) and then take the average among them to obtain the raw GA value, then standardize the raw GA value again to obtain the final GA value.

SA: First calculate the sample means of various public opinion figures (including SA1, SA2 and SA3), then standardize each calculated figure, and then take the weighted average of them according to the result of SA4-1, SA4-2 and SA4-3 to obtain the raw SA value¹, then standardize the raw SA value again to obtain the final SA value.

PSI: Calculate the mean value of GA and SA values to obtain the raw PSI, then standardize the calculated figure to obtain the final PSI.

[1] Prior to 2012, if the 6 indicators of SA had not been updated, HKPORI would use the GA value of the same time period, using simple linear regression to extrapolate the SA value. Starting from 2013, this method has been replaced by the direct adoption of the most recent announced data instead.

Handling of missing data and data periods

Since some survey series were not yet started in 1992, those series would be excluded during the periods of missing data, while the values of SA4 would be assumed to be one-third throughout periods of missing data. After the commencement of these related survey series, if the concerned public opinion data has not been updated when calculating the indices, HKPORI would replace it with the most recently released data. As for the standardization processes of various data, HKPORI basically uses July 1992 as a starting point, then takes each CE's term of office as the transition period for the standardization database. The following table briefly shows the respective years and periods of standardization database used for different stages of PSI in this report:

Chief Executive and term time	Period of PSI calculation	Covered period of standardization database	Length of years covered in standardization database
Tung Chee-hwa (1997-2005)	July 1997 to March 2005 ^[2]	July 1992 to June 2012	20 years
Donald Tsang (2005-2012)	June 2005 to June 2012 ^[2]	July 1992 to June 2012	20 years
Leung Chun-ying (2012-2017)	July 2012 to June 2017	July 1992 to June 2012	20 years
Carrie Lam (2017-2022)	July 2017 to June 2022	July 1992 to June 2017	25 years

^[2] As the PSI was used only after 2012, the earlier values need to be computed in retrospect.

Understanding the index values

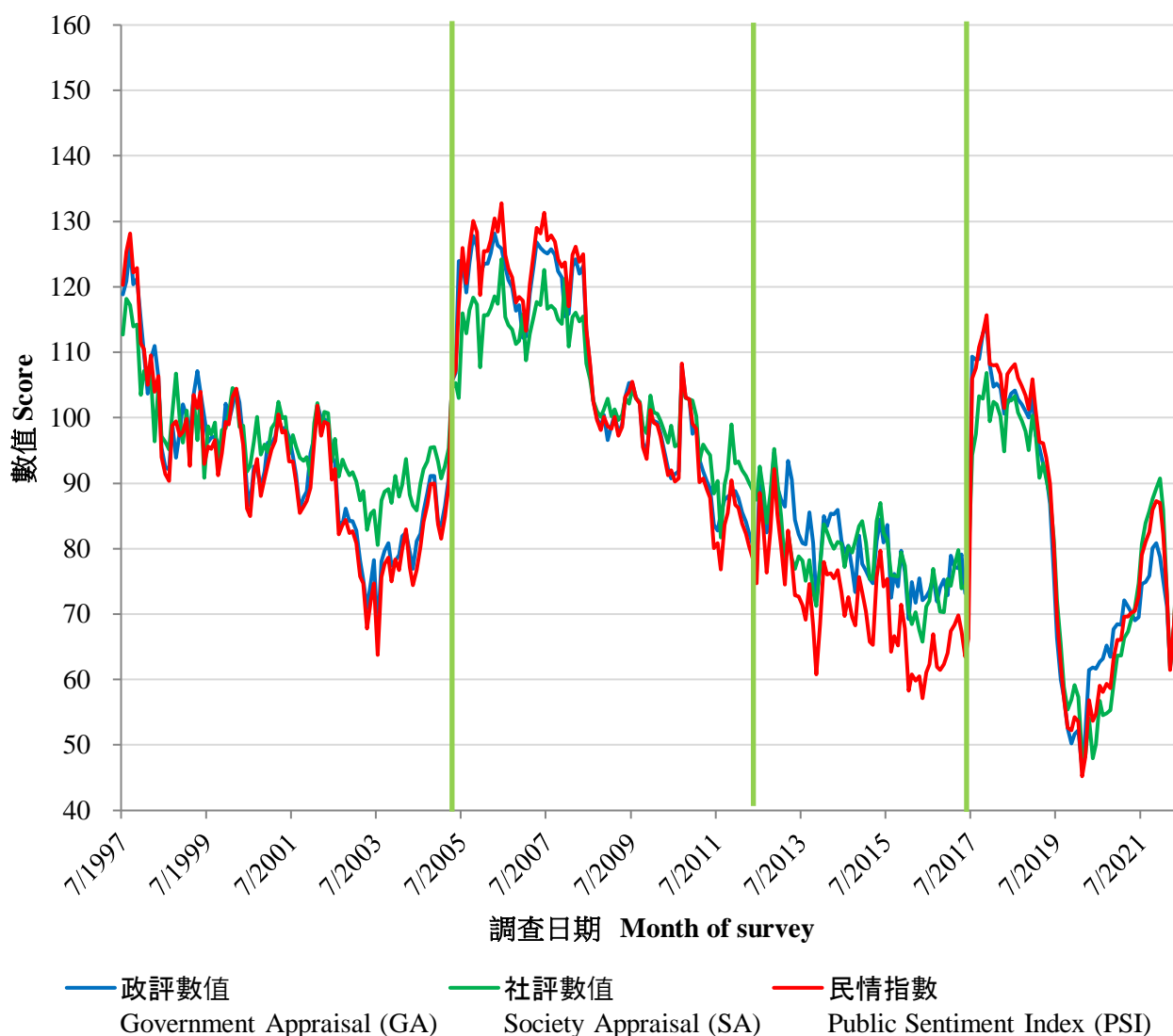
PSI, GA and SA values are all standardized to range between 0 and 200, and the lower the value, the worse the public sentiment. The higher the value, the better the public sentiment, and the median level is 100. Specific values can be interpreted using the table below:

Value	Percentile	Value	Percentile
140-200	Maximum 1%	0-60	Minimum 1%
125	Maximum 5%	75	Minimum 5%
120	Maximum 10%	80	Minimum 10%

110	Maximum 25%	90	Minimum 25%
100 being normal level, meaning half above half below			

Wrap up on 25 years of PSI

As the final report of the “One Country Two Systems 25-year Mid-term Review”, HKPORI focused on analyzing the data collected from July 1997 to June 2022. In other words, data concerning the periods of Chris Patten and John Lee’s term of office were removed, while only focusing on 4 Chief Executives, namely Tung Chee-hwa, Donald Tsang, Leung Chun-ying and Carrie Lam. The following chart shows the monthly trend of PSI, GA and SA values over the past 25 years:



Summing up the figures over the past 25 years, the PSI was at its highest point in June 2006 and at its lowest in February 2020. Besides, the PSI stood at a high level (i.e. 110 points or above) more frequently right after the handover in mid-1997, from mid-2005 to mid-2008, and at the end of 2017. On the contrary, the PSI often stayed at a low level (i.e. 75 points or below) in mid-2003, from mid-2013 to mid-2017, and from mid-2019 to mid-2021, which are the times of greatest social unrest in Hong Kong.

The period from July 1997 to June 2022 coincides with four full terms of the Chief Executives, including Tung Chee-hwa, Donald Tsang, Leung Chun-ying and Carrie Lam. Analysed by term of office, the following table shows the average PSI, GA and SA values for each of the four periods, as

well as their respective highest and lowest PSI:

Chief executive and term time	GA	SA	PSI				
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Highest month	Highest value	Lowest month	Lowest value
Tung Chee-hwa (1997-2005)	93.5	96.4	92.1	9/1997	128.1	7/2003	63.8
Donald Tsang (2005-2012)	107.0	106.6	107.0	6/2006	132.8	6/2012	74.7
Leung Chun-ying (2012-2017)	79.8	78.4	70.8	11/2012	92.2	5/2016	57.1
Carrie Lam (2017-2022)	80.3	79.3	81.4	11/2017	115.7	2/2020	45.2

Our analysis shows that Donald Tsang’s PSI is the highest among all four CEs, with an average of 107.0 points. He was followed by Tung Chee-hwa with an average of 92.1 points, then Carrie Lam with 81.4 points, and lastly Leung Chun-ying with 70.8 points. Donald Tsang is the only CE with an average PSI value above 100 points. His PSI was highest in June 2006 and lowest in June 2012. As for Tung Chee-hwa’s term, his PSI reached the highest in September 1997 and lowest in July 2003, while that of Carrie Lam was highest in November 2017 and lowest in February 2020. Finally, all PSI values recorded during Leung Chun-ying’s term were below 100 points, with the highest and lowest points recorded in November 2012 and May 2016 respectively.

Upcoming Press Events (Tentative)

- July 27 (Thursday) at 15:00, press conference: Popularity of CE and SAR Government
- During the weeks without any press conference: One online press release and data update per week, with PSI being the main focus of our July releases