

年青一代所面對的機會結構： 轉變及其含意

導言

2

- 1997後的焦慮
- 但要區分感覺與社會狀況
- 認真瞭解問題的性質
 - ▣ 下流社會？

社會環境的變化

3

- 由全面擴張到增長放緩
- 以往是「條條大路通羅馬」，現在是一個相對地較為單一的機會結構

1961-1991年間勞動人口按職業之分佈及增減 (,000人)

職業\年份	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961-71 (%)	1971-81 (%)	1981-91 (%)
專業	60.9	79.9	143.7	237.2	31.3	84.7	65.1
行政、 經理	36.6	37.5	64.1	139.1	2.6	70.6	117.1
文員	69.6	128.6	293.9	504.4	84.7	128.5	71.6
銷售	162.9	163.8	247.9	313.1	0.5	51.3	26.3
服務	179.7	229.5	374.1	506.9	27.7	63.0	35.5
農、漁 民	87.5	59.4	50.6	24.8	-32.1	-14.8	-50.9
生產	580.4	808.2	1,212.5	981.7	39.3	50.0	-19.0
其他	13.1	39.7	17.1	7.5	201.1	-56.9	-55.9
總計	1,191.1	1,546.9	2,404.1	2,715.1	29.9	55.4	12.9
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Working Population x Occupations: 1991-2006

Occupation	1991 (%)	1996 (%)	2001 (%)	2006 (%)	Δ 1991-2001 (%)	Δ 1996-2001 (%)	Δ 2001-2006 (%)
Managers & Admin	249,247 (9.2)	369,323 (12.1)	349,637 (10.7)	361,891 (10.8)	40.3	- 5.3	3.5
Profession als	99,331 (3.7)	151,591 (5.0)	179,825 (5.5)	205,435 (6.1)	81.0	18.6	14.2
Associate Profession als	279,909 (10.3)	369,132 (12.1)	498,671 (15.3)	542,309 (16.1)	78.2	35.1	8.8
Clerical Workers	431,651 (15.9)	512,719 (16.8)	529,992 (16.3)	567,964 (16.9)	22.8	3.4	7.2
Service Workers & Sales	359,319 (13.2)	419,721 (13.8)	488,961 (15.0)	550,855 (16.4)	36.1	16.5	12.7
Craft & Related	397,992 (14.7)	373,143 (12.3)	321,000 (9.9)	286,007 (8.5)	- 19.4	- 14.0	-10.9
Machine Operators	365,826 (13.5)	259,909 (8.5)	238,666 (7.3)	208,409 (6.2)	- 34.8	- 8.2	-12.7
Elementary Occupation	503,832 (18.5)	564,682 (18.6)	635,393 (19.5)	633,227 (18.8)	26.1	12.5	-0.3
Others	27,996 (1.0)	23,478 (0.8)	10,561 (0.3)	9,639 (0.3)	- 62.3	- 55.0	-8.7
Total	2,715,103 (100.0)	3,043,698 (100.0)	3,252,706 (100.0)	3,365,736 (100.0)	19.8	6.9	3.5

中產消失？

6

- 中產消失？
 - ▣ 絕對的減少？
 - ▣ 相對地所佔比例減少？
- 是下流還是其他問題？
- 當經濟還有增長時，出現下流現象的機會會減少

階級結構的變化

7-floded Class	Brief Description	1992#		2006		2006	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Born in or before 1965	Born in or after 1966
I	Upper Service Class	12.1	5.7	7.8	7.2	6.2	9.0
II	Lower Service Class	8.3	14.9	12.7	14.3	10.4	16.7
III	Routine Non-manual Employees	17.2	40.7	7.1	28.8	12.1	22.0
IVa	Small Employers	15.4	3.6	14.7	7.2	4.1	2.0
IVb	Petty Bourgeoisie					10.9	5.1
V	Technicians and Supervisors	10.1	1.6	22.2	18.3	16.4	26.0
VI+VII	Manual Workers	36.9	33.5	35.5	24.2	39.9	19.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Changing Class Structure

Fr \ Res	I & II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
I & II	Immobile	Downward	Downward	Downward	Downward	Downward	
III	Upward	Immobile	Horizontal	Horizontal	Downward	Downward	
IV	Upward	Horizontal	Immobile	Horizontal	Downward	Downward	
V	Upward	Horizontal	Horizontal	Immobile	Downward	Downward	
VI	Upward	Upward	Upward	Upward	Immobile	Horizontal	
VII	Upward	Upward	Upward	Upward	Horizontal	Immobile	
Total							

2006年社會流動調查

Father \ All Respondents	I & II	III	IV	V	VI & VII	Total (N)
I & II	23.0 45.2	9.8 8.3	19.7 10.7	23.0 17.9	24.5 17.9	100.0 (61) 100.0 (84)
III	32.4 31.9	16.3 20.8	12.5 11.1	16.3 13.9	22.5 22.2	100.0 (80) 99.9 (72)
IV	19.6 21.9	17.4 8.4	11.9 17.1	16.7 14.7	34.4 37.8	100.0 (270) 99.9 (251)
V	34.6 28.3	15.4 10.4	7.7 10.4	34.6 17.9	7.7 32.9	100.0 (26) 99.9 (67)
VI & VII	18.4 12.6	17.3 9.0	10.7 11.2	21.9 17.6	31.7 49.6	100.0 (429) 100.0 (278)
Total	20.9 22.6	16.6 10.0	11.8 13.0	20.2 16.4	30.5 38.0	100.0 (866) 100.0 (752)

Outflow Mobility of Those Who were Born in or Before 1965

Father \ All Respondents	I & II	III	IV	V	VI & VII	Total
I & II	6 (20.0)	2 (6.7)	7 (23.3)	3 (10.0)	12 (40.0)	30 (100.0)
III	11 (25.0)	5 (11.4)	9 (20.5)	5 (11.4)	14 (31.8)	44 (100.1)
IV	19 (11.2)	25 (14.7)	25 (14.7)	25 (14.7)	76 (44.7)	170 (100.0)
V	2 (14.3)	3 (21.4)	2 (14.3)	5 (11.4)	2 (14.3)	14 (100.0)
VI & VII	37 (16.4)	25 (11.1)	34 (15.0)	39 (17.3)	91 (40.3)	226 (100.1)

Source: 2006 Survey

Note: Percentages in brackets

N=484

Outflow Mobility of Those Who were Born in 1966 or After

Father \ All Respondents	I & II	III	IV	V	VI & VII	Total
I & II	8 (25.8)	4 (12.9)	5 (16.1)	11 (35.5)	3 (9.7)	31 (100.0)
III	12 (37.5)	7 (21.9)	1 (3.1)	8 (25.0)	4 (12.5)	32 (100.0)
IV	32 (33.7)	22 (23.2)	5 (5.3)	19 (20.0)	17 (17.9)	95 (100.1)
V	7 (58.3)	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	4 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	12 (99.9)
VI & VII	38 (19.7)	47 (24.4)	12 (6.2)	54 (28.0)	42 (21.8)	193 (100.1)

Source: 2006 Survey

Note: Percentages in brackets

N=363

Education by Class among those Respondents who were born in 1965 or Before (in Percentages)

Class \ Education Level	Junior Secondary or Below	Senior Secondary	Postsecondary	University
I	10.3	7.7	12.8	69.2
II	6.1	48.5	15.2	30.3
III	39.5	56.6	1.3	2.6
IV	60.0	25.3	4.2	10.5
V	36.5	51.9	5.8	5.8
VI & II	78.6	19.0	1.6	0.8

Chi Square=344.047

df=15

p<0.001

Source: 2006 Survey

Education by Class among those Respondents who were born in 1966 or After (in Percentages)

Class \ Education Level	Junior Secondary or Below	Senior Secondary	Postsecondary	University
I	2.3	4.5	4.5	88.6
II	6.1	23.2	18.3	52.4
III	13.9	61.1	6.5	18.5
IV	32.4	41.2	5.9	20.6
V	16.4	56.3	10.9	16.4
VI & II	50.0	42.6	6.4	1.1

Chi Square=222.482
Source: 2006 Survey

df=15

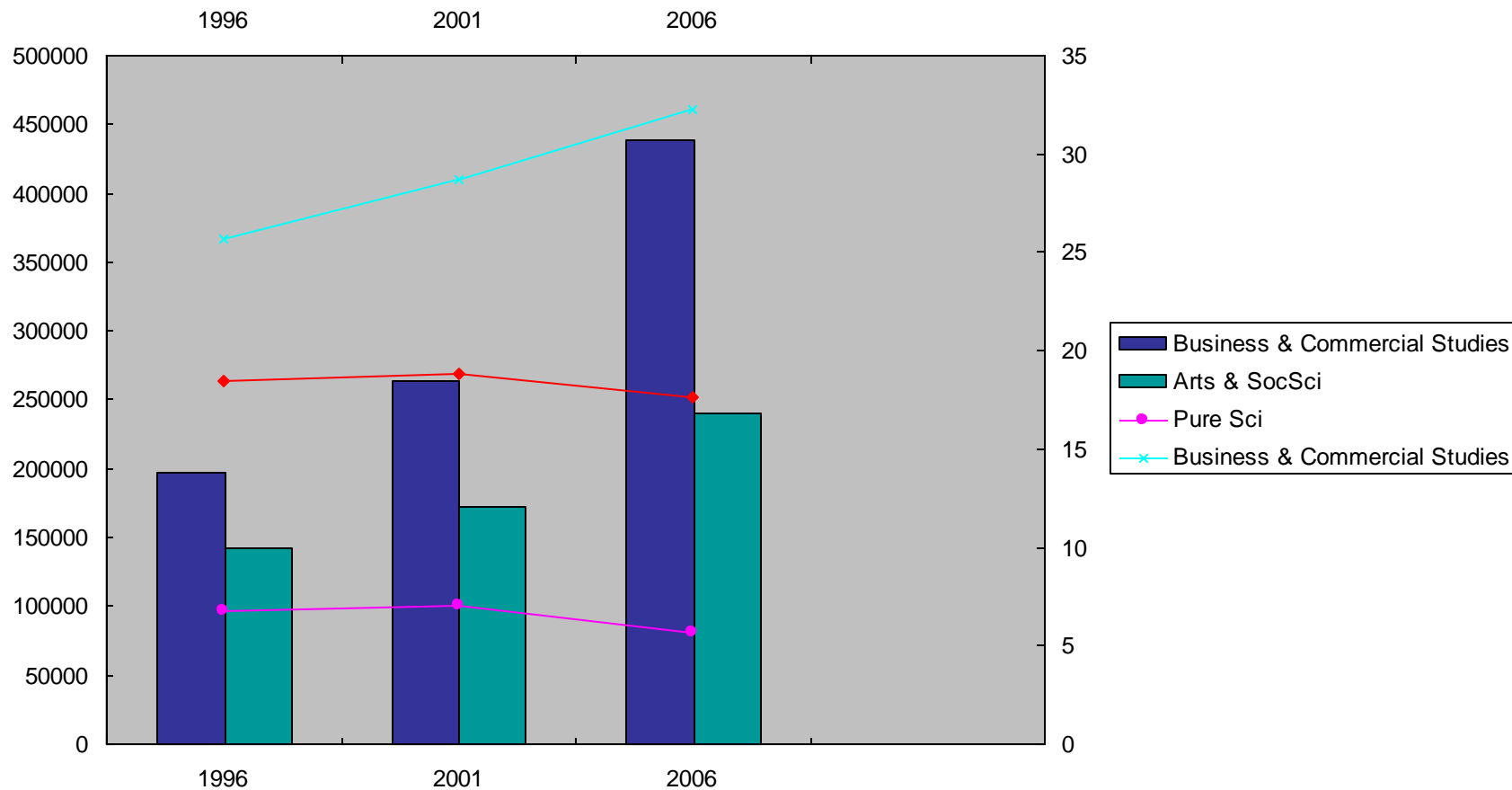
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社會流動策略

14

- 教育作為一種「位置對比的物品」(positional goods)
- 工具主義的策略思維(instrumentalism)
- 社會擁擠(social congestion)
- 焦慮不安

1996-2006年15歲及以上曾受專上教育人口中修讀科目

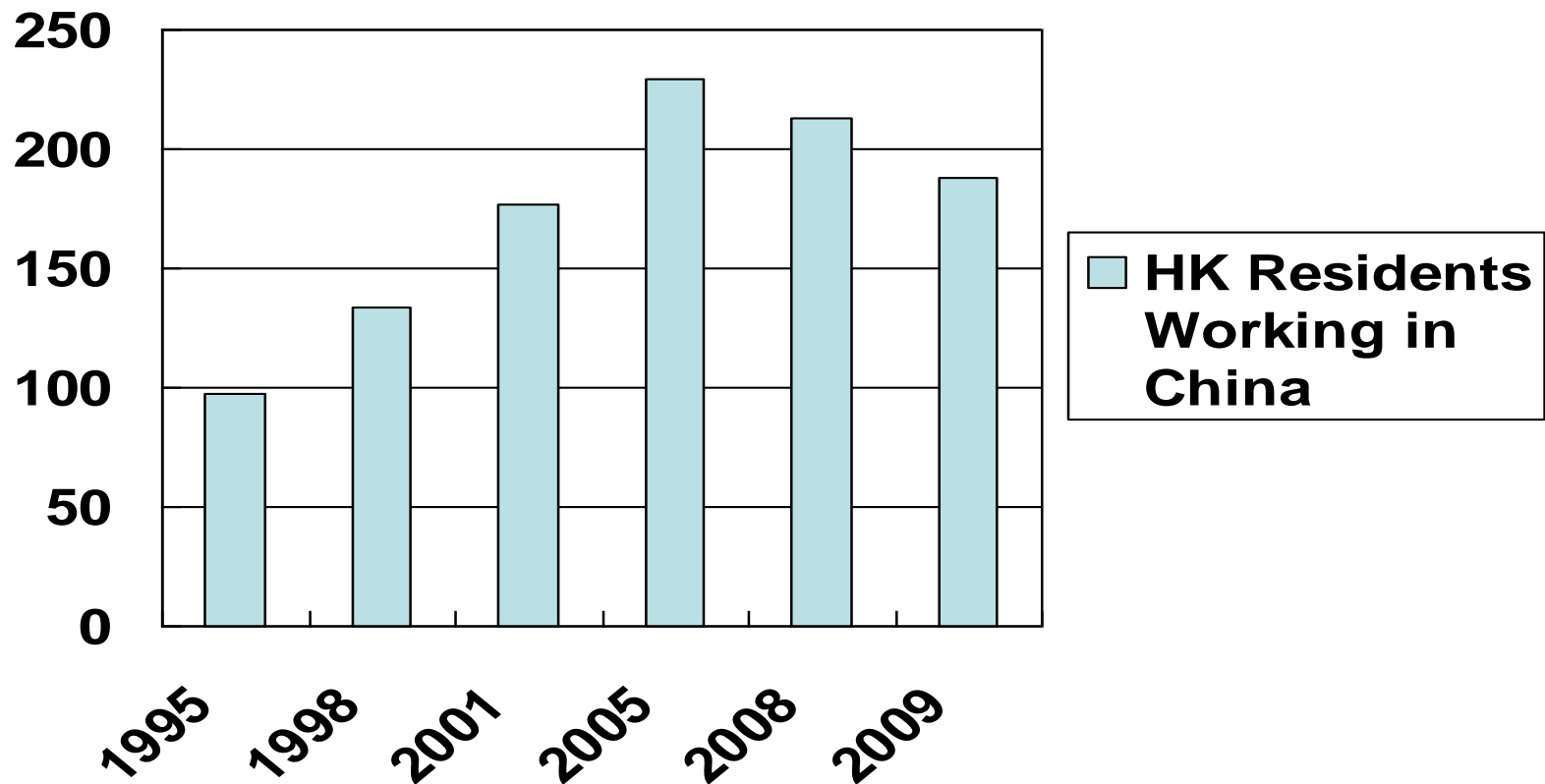


中國機會？

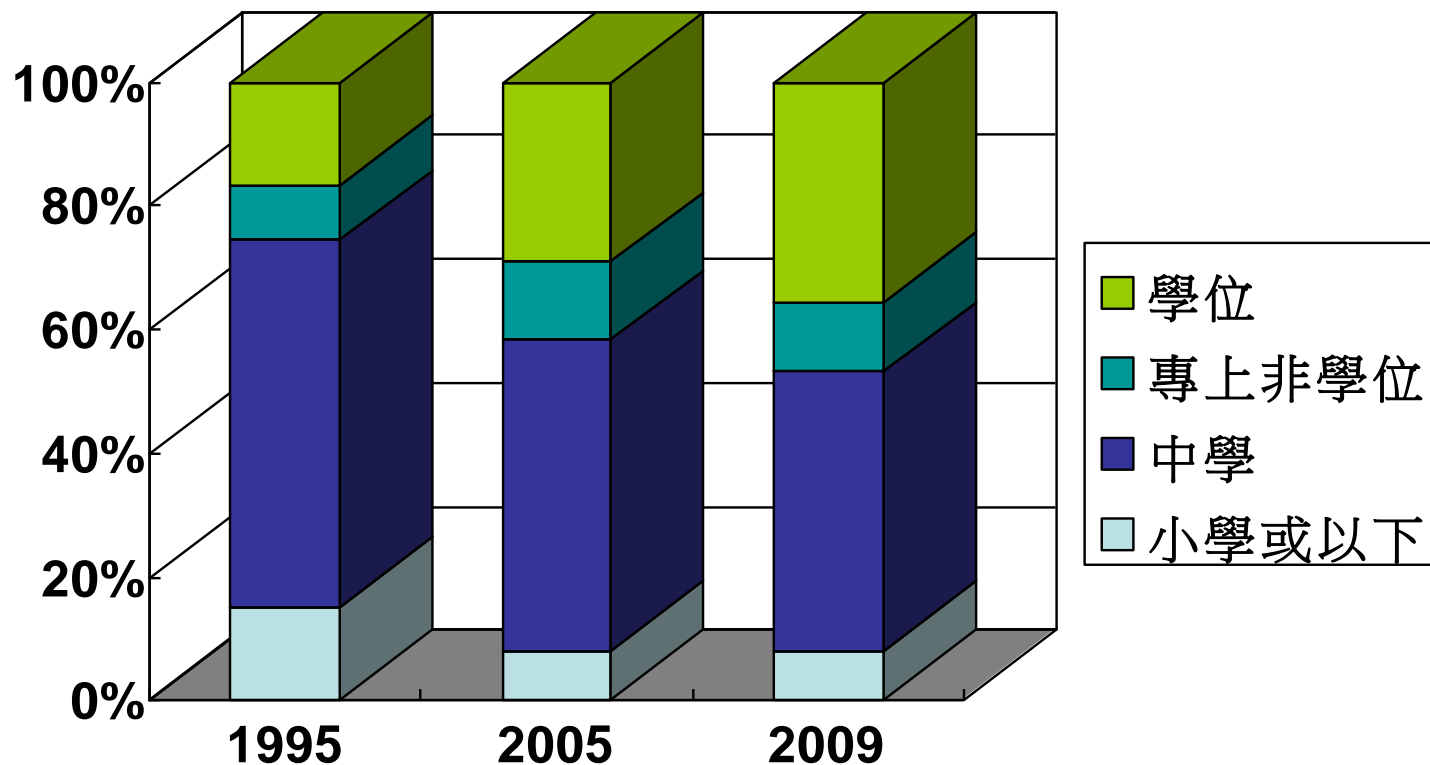
16

- 機會的分配？
- 如何將宏觀的條件轉變為個人的機會？

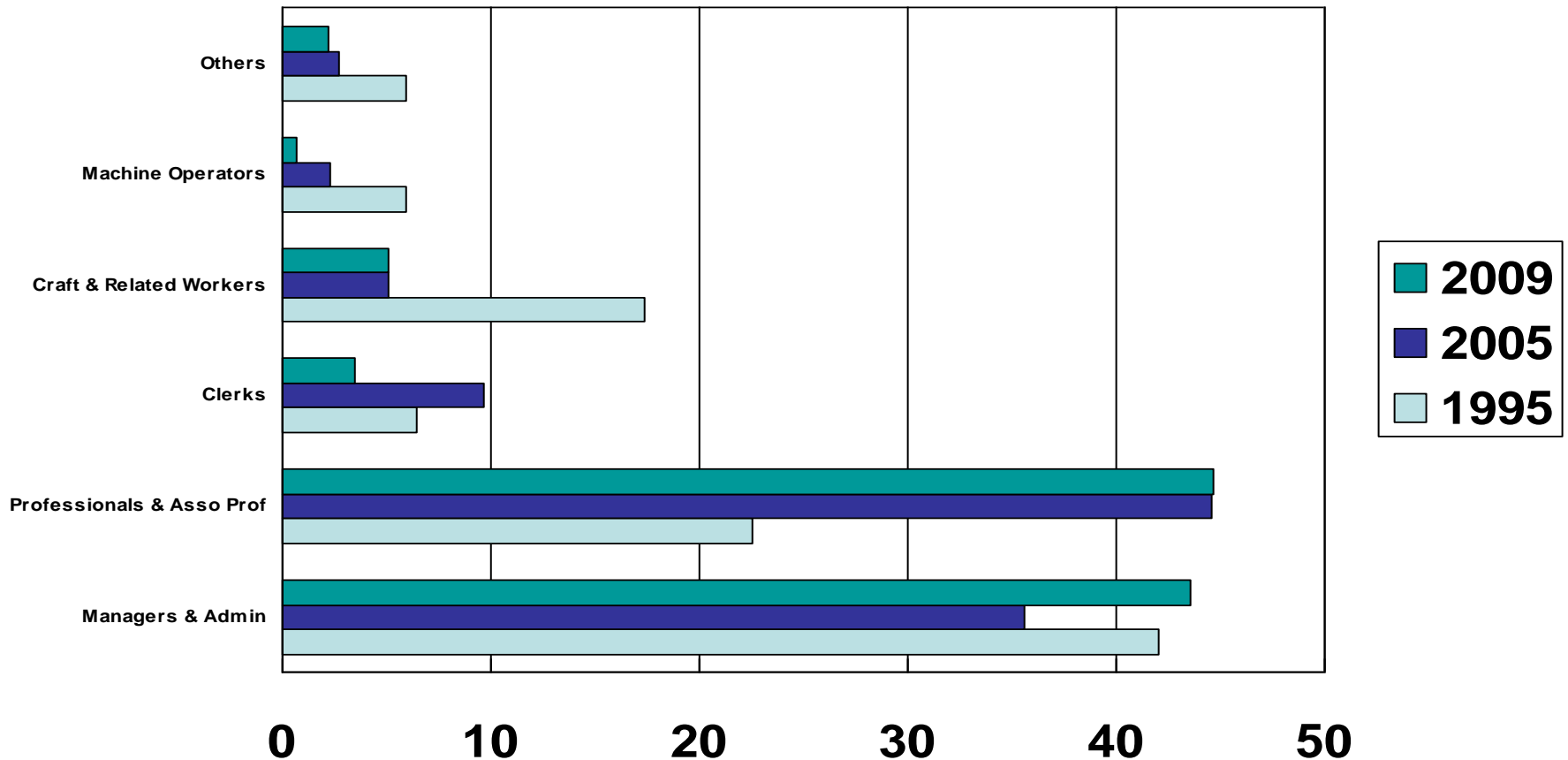
HK Residents Working in the Mainland, 1995-2009 (,000 persons)



Education Background of HK Residents Working in China



Distribution of HK Residents Working in China According to Occupation



內地訪港遊客

	No. of Incoming Visitors (,000)			
年份	自由行	非自由行	總數	佔總遊客(%)
2002	NA	NA	6,825	41.2
2003	667	7,800	8,467	54.5
2004	4,260	7,986	12,246	56.2
2005	5,550	6,991	12,541	53.7
2006	6,673	6,918	13,591	53.9
2007	8,593	6,893	16,900	55.0
2008	9,633	7,267	16,900	57.3
2009	10,590	7,370	17,960	60.7

內地訪港遊客

21

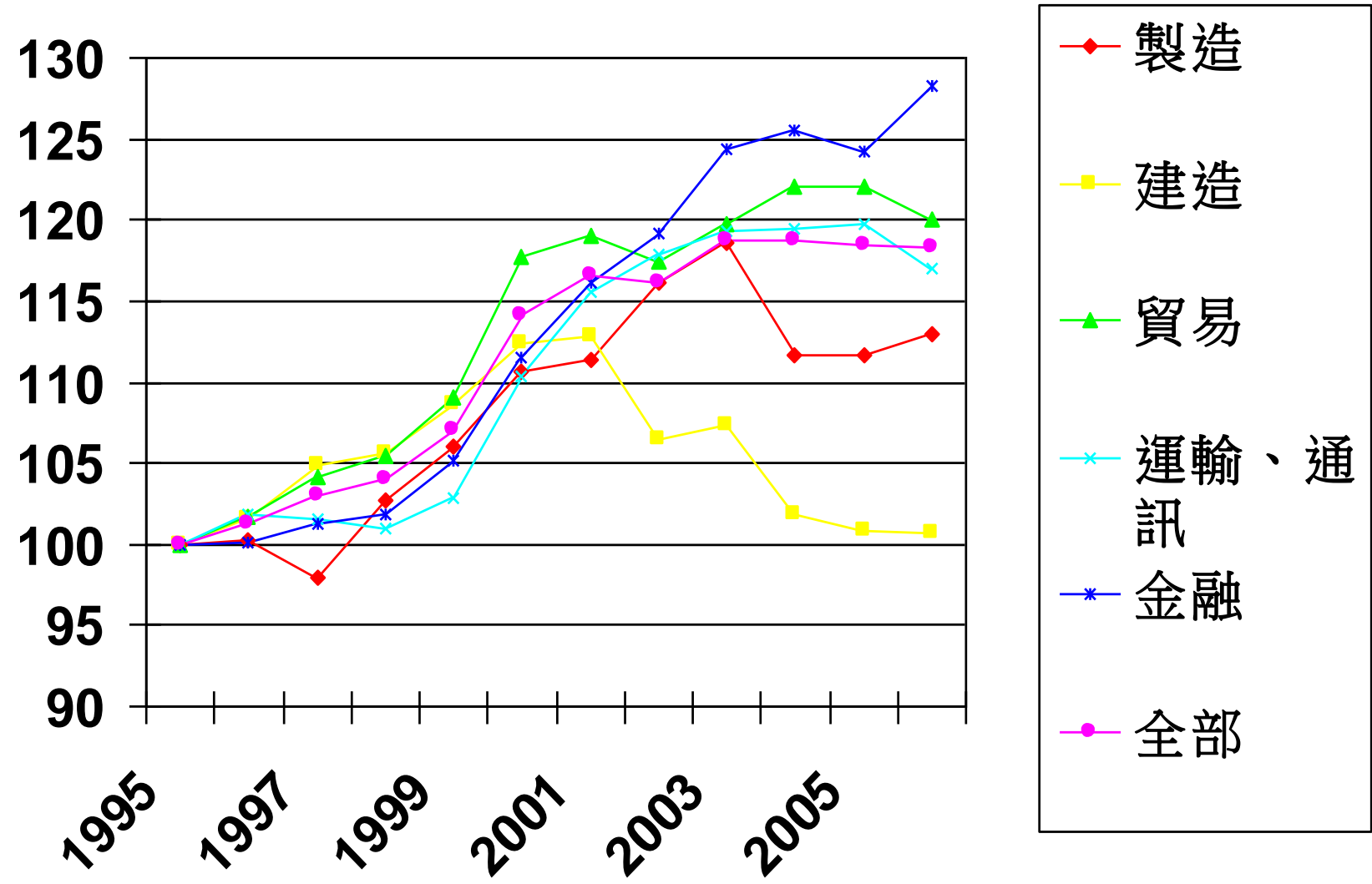
- 2010年農曆新年
 - ▣ 573,014
- 2011年農曆新年
 - ▣ 662,928 (+15.7%)
 - ▣ 新年初二至初六，每天超過10萬人來訪
- 2011年全年自由行約2,800萬
 - ▣ 當中1,500萬即日來回

分化的中產

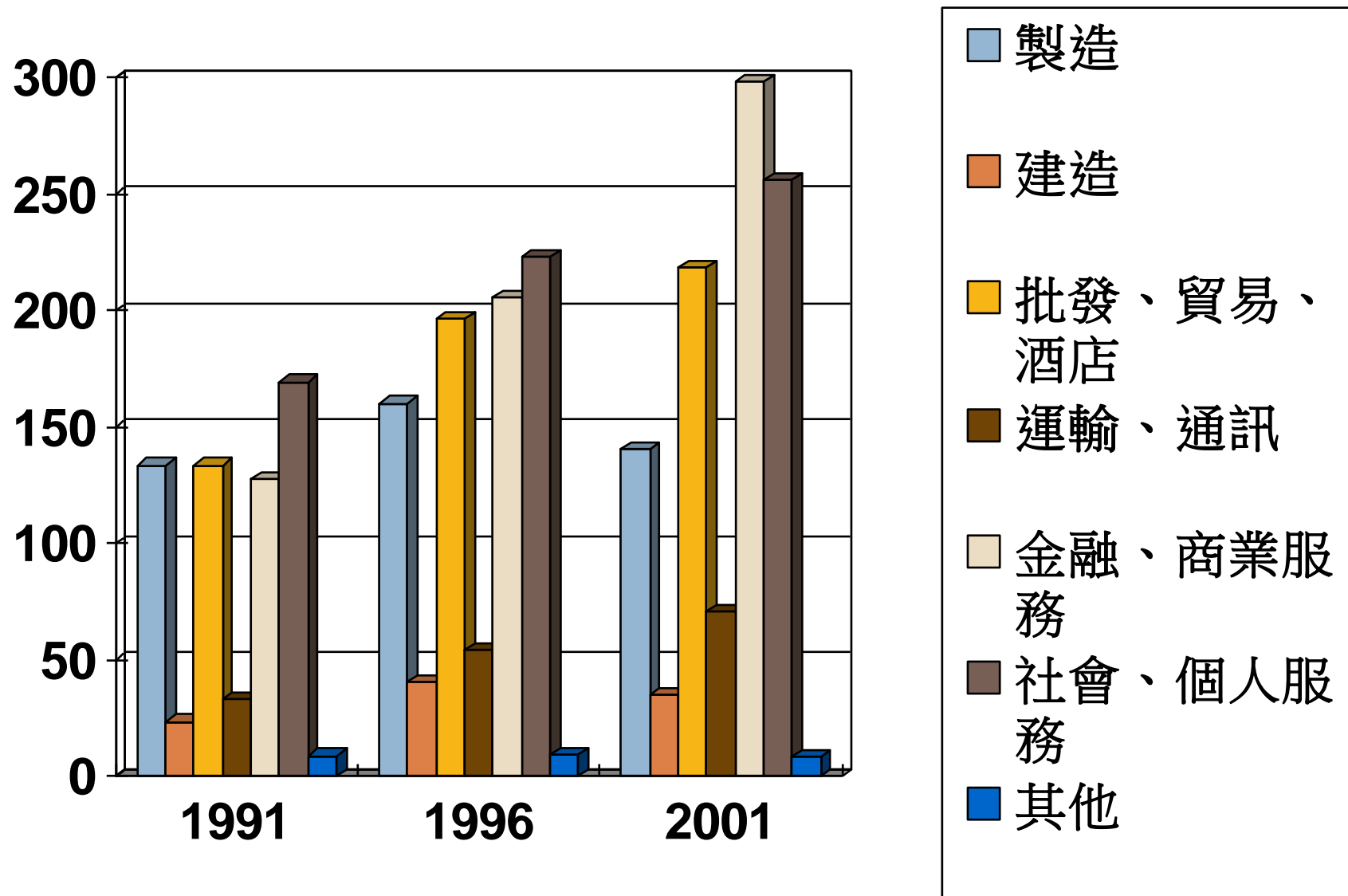
22

- 在地的(embedded)
- 流動的(mobile)
- 看階級，同時也要看行業
- 就算是專業，不同專業亦有差異

Real Salary Index (A) by Major Economic Sector 1995-2006



Managers, Professionals & Associate Professionals by Industry, 1991, 1996 & 2001 (persons ,000)



收入差距

25

- 對 “中間層” 的理解
 - ▣ 中間收入群的處境

- 堅尼系數 (Gini Coefficients) (住戶收入計算):
 - 1971: 0.430
 - 1981: 0.451
 - 1991: 0.476
 - 1996: 0.518
 - 2001: 0.525
 - 2006: 0.533

收入差距

26

- 堅尼系數 (個人收入計算):
 - ▣ 1996: 0.483
 - ▣ 2001: 0.488
 - ▣ 2006: 0.500
- 收入中位數 (2006年6月為價格參考)
 - ▣ 1996: HK\$9,348
 - ▣ 2001: HK\$9,700
 - ▣ 2006: HK\$10,000

Decile Groups	Median Monthly Income from Main Employment (at constant price [June 2006])			Ratio
	1996	2001	2006	2006:1996
1st(Lowest)	3,149	3,395	3,200	1.02
2 nd	4,920	4,850	4,500	0.91
3 rd	6,396	6,790	6,300	0.98
4 th	7,380	7,760	7,700	1.04
5 th	8,364	9,700	9,000	1.08
6 th	9,840	10,913	10,500	1.07
7 th	11,808	13,580	13,000	1.10
8 th	14,760	17,460	17,000	1.15
9 th	19,680	23,038	23,750	1.21
10 th (Highest)	36,900	43,650	45,000	1.22
Overall	9,348	9,700	10,000	1.07
Ratio: 10 th :1 st	11.7	12.9	14.1	27
Ratio: 5 th :1 st	2.7	2.9	2.8	
Ratio: 10 th :5 th	4.4	4.5	5.0	

青年出路

28

- 香港成為了服務型經濟
 - ▣ 但服務型經濟≠知識型經濟
- 香港作為全球城市也跟隨這類城市一樣，發展出一個二元化的經濟結構
 - ▣ 高端的財經金融及商業服務
 - ▣ 低端的勞動密集服務工種
- 香港不是沒有經濟增長，也不是沒有社會流動的機會，但流動的形態有所改變
 - ▣ 學歷門檻
- 繼續存在中產階級，但中產內部分裂

青年出路

29

- 二元結構底下的新處境
 - ▣ 勞動密集的服務業工種的機會
 - 中或低學歷青年的機會
 - 該類工種的勞動市場分層(labour market segmentation)
 - 前線
 - 辦公室
 - 如何為年青人提供橋樑？
- 香港的重新定位？