香港亞太研究所

香港亞太研究所成立於一九九零年九月，旨在促進及協調有關社會、政治和經濟發展的社會科學科際研究。研究重點爲香港在亞太區的角色，和亞太區發展與香港的相互影響。

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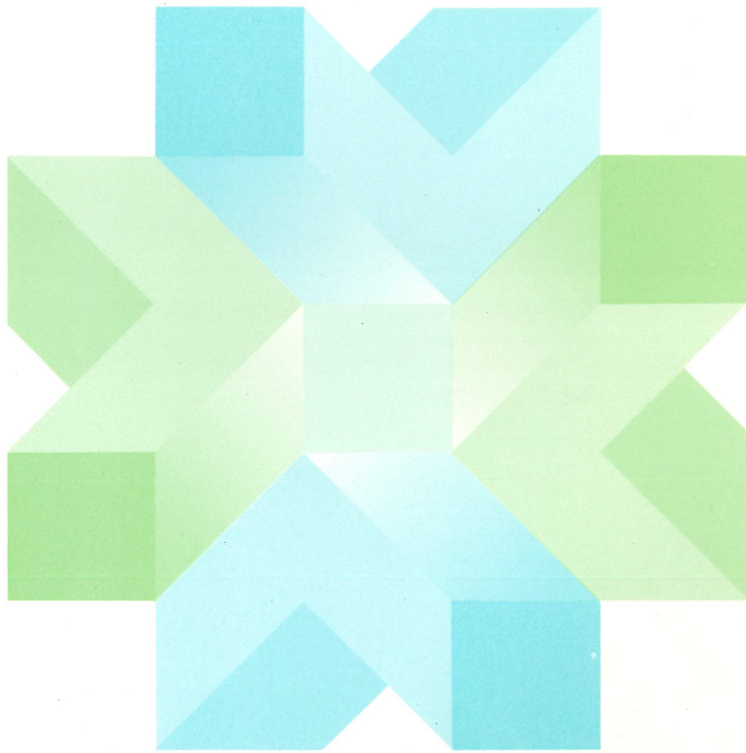

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序言

香港社會指標的研究，較諸中國大陸及台灣而言，發軔時間遲了很多，而且到目前為止還未能形成體系，未能夠就社會指標問題引發理論性之探討，亦難以以社會指標之數據為基礎帶動有關香港社會發展的分析。然而，香港社會指標的資料搜集工作，畢竟已經展開；雖然規模仍然有限，但發展的潛力，卻是不可以忽視的。

一九八五年，當時的香港中文大學香港研究中心首先成立了香港主觀社會指標研究計劃，並於一九八六年在劉兆佳與尹寶珊的主持下在觀塘地區進行了試驗性的資料搜集工作。後來中文大學更與香港大學及香港理工學院進行合作，把資料搜集工作擴展至全港範圍。一九九〇年香港中文大學香港亞太研究所成立後，香港社會指標研究更被該所列為重點研究項目之一，而研究範疇更是主觀與客觀社會指標並重。再者，中大、港大及理工在合作方面逐步加強，而參與研究的學者的人數及研究項目不斷增加。

促使社會指標研究在香港興起的誘因，主要是香港在一九九七年主權轉移及由此而引發的種種問題。九七問題的冒現，標誌着香港社會已經進入一個嶄新的社會發展階段，因

此過往對香港社會的認識，可能要作出修正或全新估量。諸般社會問題的湧現，為香港帶來了不安和不穩定的因素。對於香港未來所要面對的變數及問題的認識與測量，是一件急不容緩的事情，而本地的社會科學工作者，更是覺得責無旁貸。因此，香港的社會指標研究，是由一種社會危機意識所激發的學術行動。因為這個緣故，香港的社會指標研究，首要任務為發掘及分析香港現存的及將要面對的重大社會現象及問題，從而體系的建立及理論層面的探討反而成為枝葉事項。尤有進者，由於九七問題的主體為政治問題，而很多社會問題究其實為政治問題的衍生現象，所以政治及法律問題的分析，在香港社會指標的研究中，佔有很重要的位置。

由於香港社會指標研究仍處起步階段，很有必要參考其他地方的同類型研究經驗，特別是其他華人社會的研究經驗。中國大陸及台灣的社會指標研究，已經為時甚久，並且累積了不少的資料及經驗，實堪為香港借鏡。雖然中、港、台三地的社會指標研究在很多方面有很大的差異，尤其是香港政府在這方面所扮演的角色遠比中、台兩地政府為低，但因為大家都屬於華人社會的緣故，中、台的社會指標研究肯定對香港此類研究有很重要的參考價值。透過三地的社會指標資料的比較分析，最終亦必然有助於發展一些有關華人社會發展形態的理論。

為了促進三地社會指標研究的學術交流，中文大學香港亞太研究所、香港大學社會科學研究中心及香港理工學院應用社會科學系於一九九〇年十二月六日至七日聯合舉辦了一個名為「華人社會之社會指標研究」的研討會，邀請了中、港、台三地的學者參加。這個研討會乃係日後一系列同類型研討活動的前奏。

本書收集的是這個研討會中各參與者提交的論文。本文

集的出版，蒙中文大學香港亞太研究所資助，謹此表示謝意。在文集編訂的過程中，莫錦華先生及陳蒨君女士做了大量的校對工作，我們亦在此一併致謝。

劉兆佳
尹寶珊
李明堃
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一九九一年六月

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台灣的社會指標：回顧與展望

蕭新煌

Ｉ. 1980年以前的台灣社會指標：醞釀階級

社會統計在台灣，已有相當長的歷史，即使是在官方統計體系裏，也一直有其固定的地位。但是，社會指標卻仍是新生的「事業」，如以《台灣地區重要社會指標月報》（1978）的編製（行政院主計處）與《中華民國六十八年社會指標統計》（1980）的發佈（行政院主計處），以及中央研究院召開的「第一次社會指標會議」（1980年6月）來做爲台灣的政府與學術界對社會指標正式給予重視與定位的起點，那麼，迄今不過是十年餘的時間。

就算再往前推，由行政院經建會自1975年編印的《社會福利指標》算起，視爲台灣官方對「非經濟指標」重視其收集及編製之開端，也不過是十五年。在這十五年當中，有關社會指標在台灣的發展過程，大致上又可觀察到下面幾個階段性的分

期，而且每個分期裏，社會指標的定義、受重視的原因與背景、推動力量的來源，以及具體成果等亦各具特色：

1. 1975年以前

在1975年之前，有關社會指標的瞭解，相當模糊。雖然在美國的「社會指標運動」（Social Indicators Movement）已經歷了十年的歷史。但在台灣，卻並未引起當時社會學界的重視，即使是極少數介紹OECD和美國的1969、1974社會指標報告的文章，也都不是出自社會學家。在1973年到1975年之間，反而是官方的經濟規劃單位（當時的經濟設計委員會）和經濟學界對「非經濟指標」開始給予注意。而其背後的力量則是聯合國在1973年3月對各國所建議的以八類二十四項統計指標來衡量整體社會發展的狀況。因此，在這種外來的國際組織所引介的「社會發展指標」概念下，經濟設計委員會（經設會）乃參考了前述聯合國的建議，斟酌台灣現有的官方統計資料系統，編製了爲數八類（人口、衛生保健、住宅與交通、營養、教育與文化、就業與社會安全、國民所得、以及國民消費）四十六項的「社會發展指標」（初稿）一份。在用問卷方式徵詢各界專家、學者對這些指標之適當性與表現方式的意見之後，乃改名稱爲「社會福利指標」。並於1975年8月編製完成台灣第一份「類似」社會指標的統計資料彙編，其內容包括八大類，共三十五種統計資料表。此一「社會福利指標」自1975年開始編印，且每年發佈一份。

2. 1975年－1980年

1975年到1980年，可以說是台灣社會指標觀念的啟蒙期和推動期。自社會福利指標公佈之後，官方的經建規劃機構和經

濟學界乃更加注意此類指標（統計）資料與傳統經濟指標（統計）資料的分野，以及其背後所能指涉或描述整體社會中「非經濟狀況」的變化趨勢。同時，亦開始對GNP做較批判性的重新評估，一時之間，不少針對GNP指標的修正而提出的國外經濟福利指標概念及其測度，乃分別被引介到台灣，如MEW（Measure of Economic Welfare，由Nordhaus 與Tobia提出），NEW（Net Economic Welfare，由Samuelson改稱MEW而來），NNW（Net National Welfare，由日本經濟企劃廳建立）、OECD及UNRISD所提出的發展指標及生活水準測定指標等，均有專文做深淺不一的介紹，並建議台灣官方亦應朝此方向推動一套更能表現經濟成長眞實面貌的指標（統計）體系。

在那幾年當中，從檢討GNP到修正GNP，並提出經濟及社會福利的測度必要性之外，另一個重要的新概念亦被介紹到台灣，那就是「生活品質」（Quality of Life），並刻意凸顯它的「非經濟測度面相」，將經濟生產與成長視爲過程而已，其終極目的應爲「人民生活品質的提升」。在1970年代末年，國家發展的目的取向，終於從「生產」轉進到「福利」和「生活品質」，而此一轉變，亦同時宣告傳統狹隘的經濟指標必須讓位給「不僅知多少，更要知多好」的「非經濟指標」，並要求應有另一種能夠眞正提供社會變遷訊息之指標的建構與推廣。

也因此，眞正以「社會指標」爲主題的評介文章開始出現，最常被提及有美國海外發展協會（Overseas Development Council）所建構的PQOL（Physical Quality of Life）指標，以及美國中西部研究所發展出來的生活品質指標體系。在愈多國外相關訊息的刺激和本地社會科學家的呼籲之下，官方的社會指標行動在1978年之後，逐有下述兩個新的發展：

一是前一階段所編製的「社會福利指標」一再做修訂，由原

來的八大項三十五種，修正爲經濟狀況、個人發展、社會均等、生活環境、教育文化、社會安全與福利、和衛生保健等七大類，二十六項次類，共 110 個指標。同時亦將基本的指標統計資料給予正、負指標之認定，而且注意到時間上不同年份該指標之變化，編成「指數」。至於該指標之建立，亦從爲了「瞭解經濟發展過程中社會福利的促進」爲目的，轉變直接是爲了「衡量經濟發展過程中，國民生活品質之進步」。

二是由行政院主計處自1978年開始編製《台灣地區重要社會指標・月報》，首次在官方統計體系啟用了「社會指標」之概念，並於1980年正式編印《社會指標統計》年度報告，在「前言」中揭示其目的爲讓「各界及國際人士對我國社會進步及人民生活素質之不斷提高能有深刻而具體之認識」。年報所編錄的既有「公務統計」分成人口與家庭、經濟狀況、就業、教育、醫療保健、交通運輸、生活環境、公共安全、社會保障、文化與休閒、社會參與及大衆意向等十二類共206項社會指標統計資料。同時各指標之數列資料追溯至1961年，逐年羅列，以利於做比較對照。正負指標之認定、各指標之權數、類指標與總指標之編定則說明仍有困難未能獲得理論與方法上的共識，暫從缺。同時，所列指標統計資料含攝整個台灣地區的整體統計，地區性指標（區域性指標）亦未到成熟公佈之階段，故未列出。

Ⅱ. 1980年代台灣社會指標：發展階段

1980年以後，社會指標在台灣的發展可以說進入了另一態勢。大致說來，在過去十年裏，台灣的社會指標經歷了下面三個並行的成長經驗：

1. 官方社會指標體系的「制度化」與「普及化」

年度《社會指標統計》自1980年編印發行以來，已日趨專業化，由行政院主計處第三局統籌負責編製，該局有專業的統計工作人員組成常設之社會指標工作小組，由局長主其事。同時，自1984年開始，並正式設置「社會指標統計評審委員會」，爲行政院主計處的正式委員會之一，委員成員除由中央相關部會（如內政部、教育部、衛生署、經建會、研考會、農委會、環保署等）的代表官員外，並邀請社會學、經濟學、統計學的學術界人士擔任委員。該委員會的任務有：社會指標體系之審議、社會指標統計名詞定義、指標項目之研訂與評審、社會指標調查方案及調查結果之審議、社會指標統計結果之評審、以及社會指標統計理論之引介及查編方式之評議等項。此外，該委員會還另聘請若干國內外專家爲兼任顧問。此一制度化的趨勢，甚值得重視。近年來該年度指標統計，不論在質與量方面均有值得肯定的進步。

以《1988年社會指標統計》爲例，指標含攝的內容包括有人口與家庭、經濟狀況、就業、教育與研究、醫學保健、交通運輸、生活環境、公共安全、社會福利、文化與休閒、及社會參與等十一大類，將原來的大衆意向數據（亦即主觀意向調查資料）分別歸列於上述十一類之中，共編製130個統計表。此外，對於爭論依舊甚多的指標正、負值及其權數、以及整體「社會指標體系」（Social Indicators System）亦在上述評審委員會與該局工作人員共同合作下，刻在編製之中。已試編兩次「社會指標綜合指數」，並多次修正較具規模以及有理論基礎之「社會指標體系」，以脫離和提升原有單純統計表列之形式與水平。此一體系內涵的建立，已相當程度與既有社會指標統計內容有所不同，類屬亦從十一類更改爲九類「關切領域」（concern areas），亦即1.家庭狀況、2.生命健康、3.教育、4.就業與工作生活品質、5.所得與物質、6.居住生活環境、7.個人安全、8.社會環境、9.文化與休閒，共列有63個指標，另有主觀（意向）指標31個。此一體系之修訂，尚未完成，自1985年開始至今已歷時五年。

到目前爲止，除了社會指標統計年度報告之外，前已提及的社會福利指標仍持續發行；中央政府機構編製的社會指標統計即以此兩種爲代表。但在地方政府方面亦在過去十年中有普及化的趨勢，同時亦有制度化的編製模規。已知者包括有台灣省政府社會處自1983年開始依年編製的《台灣省社會福利指標》，其指標之選擇完全以社會福利事業項目爲焦點，包括有1.人口與就業、2.社會救助與安全、3.勞工福利、4.老人福利、5.殘障與兒童福利、6.婦女福利、7.社會結構、8.醫療保健等八大類，凡26表，共一百餘項指標。台北縣政府則是所有縣級地方政府中率先編印《重要經濟社會指標》者，該刋爲月報性質，概屬客觀且官方統計資料之彙編。嚴格說來，只是以縣爲單位之重要經社統計而已，但亦不失爲未來編製地方、地區性社會指標之素材與依據。

2.主觀性社會指標的「推動化」

在1970年代後半期台灣社會指標的建立芻議及1980年初期官方社會指標統計的彙編努力過程裏，亦開始注意到客觀與主觀社會指標的齊步編製。此一具體的新方向，亦凸顯了台灣的社會指標事業另一性格，亦即開始體認到主客觀社會指標的分野及其個別存在的獨立性和「不可輕易相互推論」之本質。在主觀社會指標的編製中，第一手經驗調查資料的收集便成爲首要條件，就以官方機構所推動的這類調查工作爲例，自1980年以來，其重要者有：

（1）行政院主計處：首次標示大衆對當前生活品質之主觀意向可做爲政府施政之依據，於是在1980年代頭幾年即展開兩次爲收集生活品質主觀指標資料之調查工作。第一次爲「國民對家庭生活與社會環境意向調查」（1982年7月出版），調查項目包括有：對一般生活現況和目前工作狀況之滿意程度；對美滿生活各要素重要性、已婚子女與父母分住、退休後生活方式、子女受教育期望等之態度及意見；對居住環境、工作狀況、休閒活動、社會參與、犯罪侵害之評價與認知；以及對各政府各從業人員之信賴程度和對政府各項措施辦理緩急程度之判斷等。

而第二次的主觀社會指標之調查則直接標示出「國民生活主觀意向」（1985年4月出版），其調查範圍則以前述「社會指標統計」所列之十類領域爲對象，透過問卷調查了解並彙集主觀之評價及滿意程度，並且也收集了與那十類社會指標領域有關之社會生活現象資料，如就醫習慣、法律及司法知識自我評價、選擇工作之考慮因素、男女兩性工作平等之評估、租稅負擔之意見、對廣告可靠性之滿意程度、對環保與經濟利益相對重要性之看法、各類保險參與之情況、選舉活動之參與、時間利用（time use）、休閒活動之類型、以及對生活幸福之重要因素和生活整體滿意程度之自我評估等。

這兩次主觀社會指標資料之收集，雖沒有明顯標明是爲生活品質整體指標之建立而做，但就其涉及範圍之廣，主觀意向資料類別之豐富，倒可做爲未來建構生活品質主觀指標體系之基礎。

（2）行政院經建會住宅及都市發展處：1981年7月至8月該處所進行之「台灣地區國民福祉與實質環境之調查研究」（1983年10月出版），與前述主計處所做之兩次調查，其內容

相雷同，實有相比較之價值，對提供主觀社會指標之素材亦均有同樣之功能。

（3）其他如台灣省主計處也於1981年舉辦「台灣省民衆休閒活動概況調查」、民政廳亦於1984年從事「本省民衆生活情況及意見調查」、台北市政府則自1981年起舉辦了幾次「市民對市政建設意向專案調查」、高雄市政府新聞處也於1984年印行調查之「高雄市民生活素質調查研究」。雖然這些調查的品質及理論水平參差不齊，也未必明確了解所調查之項目是否有構成生活品質指標之效度及理論依據。但是，單就收集地區性及具體生活內容主觀意向資料此一功能來說，未嘗不是有意義之工作。

3.社會指標研究的「社會學化」與「落實化」

1980年代社會指標在台灣的發展亦目睹了社會學者積極投入與參與推動以及落實經驗研究的兩個現象。在1970年代的社會指標啟蒙期及引介期裏，社會學家的介入乏善可陳。但自1980年以後，由於社會學界新生代學者人數的增加，並且甚多係由美國獲得學位返台，因此對於自1960年代在美國興起之「社會指標運動」及後繼之社會指標研究亦多有較深一層之了解，同時對於本土社會研究之落實亦有更深一層之體認與認同。於是乎，在1980年代這過去十年裏，即產生了一連串極富開創意義的社會指標社會學研究本土化的推動步調。

（1）社會指標的「社會學化」：自1980年開始，由中央研究院三民主義研究所、民族學研究所、東海大學社會學研究所和台大農推系共同主辦了三次年度性的「社會指標研討會」，（1980，1981和1983年）。尤其是第一次社會指標研討會，更是由清一色的社會學者撰寫論文，而且相當程度的界定了社會指標建構過程中社會學的重要功能與角色，同時對於美國社會指標運動與各國社會指標報告之內容，亦做了進一層的社會學評析與檢討。也從那次研討會之後，台灣官方在社會指標推動工作上，才更明確的了解到社會指標必須要有社會學者之參與。行政院主計處的積極反應，即爲明證。也至此，社會指標才開始認定其指標體系必須更强化其社會學理論及研究之色彩與性格，並逐漸降低其經濟學性格。第二次和第三次社會指標研討會在範圍上則擴展到社會學以外之學科，但發表的論文則依然都能掌握到社會指標之「社會性格」，或是其內涵亦能凸顯出社會學的意義，不管論文撰寫者之背景爲經濟學家、政治學家或是公共衞生及地理學者。

（2）本土社會指標研究的「多樣化」和「落實化」：另一有趣的新趨勢是除了1980年，有一項研究是針對「生活素質指標制度」而從事之社會學經驗研究（黃，1980）之外，陸續由社會學者進行之社會指標研究，卻大多並不在建立整體社會指標體系此一主題上做研究，而是轉向更基礎性的本土社會經驗研究資料之建立及累積上下功夫。換言之，自上述三次社會指標研討會之後，社會學者對台灣社會指標研究的興趣，已從廣泛的社會指標評介及推動工作，進一步推到本土經驗性社會資料的第一手收集工作。雖也不明言那些本土社會研究與台灣社會指標體系建立之直接關係，但卻隱含著要從落實經驗性社會研究著手，以做爲將來建構更具社會學理論意義之社會指標體系的舖路和基礎。此一研究意識之轉向是很值得注意的現象。原因是從那三次研討會的經驗裏，已明顯的讓社會學者了解到，沒有紮實而豐富的社會研究資料及成果，就不可能建立既有社會學理論意義又能經得起方法論考慮的社會指標體系。同時，在評介及推動階段裏，也一再讓社會學家意識到當前本土社會資料的欠缺和嚴重不足。基於上述兩種原因，從1984年之後，台灣

的社會指標研究乃從「泛論」轉進到「落實研究」和「建立經驗資料」這兩項重點。而在建立社會指標體系此一目的上，則交由行政院主計處之官方統計機構專業人員主其事，社會學者的角色則是透過參與到前述之「社會指標統計審議委員會」之中，提供專業之指導意見。在過去幾年來，由該處主持之「社會指標綜合指數」及「社會指標體系」工作中，即有極明顯的社會學取向，這種官方和民間社會學家在社會指標研究上的分工與合作，更是1980年代後半期台灣社會指標發展歷程的另一重要特色。

在落實社會研究及深化本土社會資料之建立上面，有以下幾項已完成或刻在進行之大規模研究計劃，甚值得一提：

A. 已完成之研究成果及研討會：(a)《台灣社會與文化變遷》（上、下册，共21篇文章），由中央研究院民族學研究所出版（1986）。此兩册的內容，係一研討會的論文收集而成，有極豐富的台灣社會文化本土資料之舖陳和討論，其中「人口與生育行為的變遷」（三篇論文），「工業化與都市化」（三篇論文）、「社會階層的變遷」（二篇論文），「社會心理的變遷」（六篇論文）和「宗教與犯罪行為的變遷」（二篇論文）均相當程度能與社會指標研究相結合，更可提供未來在闡釋社會指標意義時之社會文化背景。(b)《台灣社會現象的分析：家庭、人口、政策與階層》（一册，共17篇文章，由中央研究院三民主義研究所出版（1989）。本書亦可說是包括了社會學家近年相關經驗社會研究之成果之一，其內容中對家庭結構、人口、老人福利、夫婦權力、親子關係、婦女、生育行為、嬰兒死亡率、所得分配、階層結構、職業聲旺以及社會流動等主題之論文，更提供最新的經驗研究資料，而這些領域亦與社會指標體系所可能含攝之領域有密切的關係。(c)有關環境意識（環境認知及態度）及環境價值之經驗研究可說是另一個頗有豐富成果的

領域（蕭，1986，1988）。這對提供主觀社會指標及生活品質指標中環境指標所需之素材亦應有其價值才對。

B. 持續進行之「台灣地區社會變遷基本調查」及「台灣地區社會意向調查」：前一項大規模的經驗社會調查研究計劃由中央研究院民族學研究所統籌規劃與主持，後一項則由中山人文及社會科學研究所（原三民主義研究所）主持。前者已於1984年完成第一次調查工作，1990年1月完成第二次調查工作。第一次的調查結果並召開了大型成果研討會，會後出版《變遷中的台灣社會：第一次社會變遷基本調查資料的分析》（1988年出版，中央研究院民族學研究所）。此項社會調查係台灣首次舉辦之大規模經驗研究工作，企圖建立台灣社會變遷趨勢之時間序列基本資料，含蓋的範圍相當廣，包括有：基本狀況、教育狀況、職業狀況、宗教信仰、家庭組成與生活、宗教行為與態度、居住環境、人際關係與溝通、生活品質，傳播態度與行為、經濟態度、社會問題、成就期望、政治態度、政治評估、休閒活動、教育價值與態度、家庭特徵與態度、教養方式、個人態度（個人現代性）、生活態度（疏離感）、道德觀念、價值取向、心理需求、心理衛生、醫療態度與行為等二十餘大項主題，資料亦極為豐富。目前第一次調查結果已編成電腦檔，可公開供國內外學術界使用。第二次調查的資料則刻在整理分析之中。

後者之「社會意向調查」係由前者演變而來，旨在探討台灣民衆對當時較特定之社會事務之意向，已在1990年1月、5月、及8月進行了三次調查，分別以治安與選舉、國事與經濟、社會與生活品質、社會問題、法律態度、省籍問題、移民現象、及弱勢團體等具體事務及議題做為主題，以了解民衆在面對當前台灣變局中的諸多現象有如何的民意傾向及反應。

以上這兩種定期而持續進行之經驗調查計劃，均採取大樣

本（每次均有1,500到4,500樣本），而且嚴格地做抽樣及信度、效度品質管制。所能夠收集到台灣本土社會資料，亦均爲第一手的經驗素材。相信不論是在充實既有之社會指標統計、解釋官方社會統計之深層意義、或是做爲建構社會指標體系之另一種基礎資料，都應該有其一定而不可磨滅的功能與貢獻。

Ⅲ. 對社會指標的共識：演進的結果

就過去十餘年來，社會指標從概念引介、推廣、到官方接納並制度化、以及學術界（尤其是社會學界）大力落實經驗性社會研究，累積本土社會指標資料與素材的生命史看來，台灣的社會指標發展還算是平穩而順利的過程。同時，若干共識亦已形成，下述是綜合性的幾點觀察：

1．一般說來，社會指標已被視爲是有別於（但不必然全無關係於）傳統經濟指標系統，以時間系列統計測量數據之方式出現，以描述社會中令人關切的層面，並據以顯示和說明社會眞相及其變遷趨勢。

2．社會指標的類別有客觀指標與主觀指標，前者用以描述不同時間內社會和外在物質條件的變化，後者藉以探知民衆對所經驗到的生活內容或社會條件所採取的態度與感受。這兩種社會指標各有其獨立的理論內涵和功能，兩者也都具有同樣的地位且彼此不能輕易的相互取代或任意推論所指涉的社會眞相及其意涵。

3．社會指標既是以測量、描述、與分析社會眞相及其變遷趨勢爲主旨，但何謂社會眞相？在台灣，被界定爲關切領域的社會面相主要是「福利」與「生活品質」這兩個終極範疇。「福利」是指社會中個人與羣體各項生存資料和需要的滿足，「生活

品質」則是綜合該社會人羣對部份或全部生活範疇及經驗的滿意。因此，社會指標不只是泛泛的社會統計數字和資料而已，而應是能自成體系，能顯示更多、更眞實有關國民福利和生活品質的指標。同時它還應該能夠呈現既存社會問題的徵象，以引起民衆和政府的關切和注意。因此，再推論下去，社會指標在台灣已被賦予下述三個社會功能：

一是測量社會中國民福利與生活品質的現況及其變化；

二是凸顯及發掘社會現存或潛在的社會問題；

三是提供社會改革及制度改善之社會事實依據。

4．社會指標的數據基礎不能只靠官方統計系統所彙集的資料，必須廣泛而有目的地去重新找尋第一手經驗性的本土社會資料。因此，民間學術機構在落實經驗性本土社會資料的努力，就非常有關鍵性的價值。但是，官方的專職社會指標編製單位亦必須制度化，做長期而有系統的研擬、編製、發行社會指標報告。官方社會指標編製單位和民間學界的合作程度當是構成台灣社會指標能夠步上軌道和是否有進一步發展的要件。

5．對於社會指標的解釋權，也是台灣社會學界所關心的另一課題。已有的共識是，此一「權」的使用，不能只屬官方，甚至應該將「解釋權」交給民間公正的社會指標研究單位或學者。如此才不致使社會指標淪爲官方用以片面辯護既有政策或歌功頌德當權者之政治工具。

Ⅳ.「社會指標體系」的建立：尚待解決的課題

在現有的官方「社會指標統計」以及「社會福利指標」、或是民間社會學界所努力深化於社會資料的收集及建構中，或許已經提供了不少寶貴的社會福利及生活品質現況及變化的訊息。

但畢竟是停留在單項(至多是類別、領域)資訊的建構,在舖陳社會眞相(面相)上是達到了若干的作用,但在掌握整體福利及生活品質變化的「綜觀」或「社會會計」(social accounting)的功能上,則仍屬粗糙與分散。因此,在台灣,官方與民間學界自1980年代以來亦努力在建構一套比較嚴謹、精簡的「社會指標體系」,用以更準確的勾勒出台灣在不同時序裏,國民福利及生活品質的綜合指向(指數化爲一可行作法)及其變化。

在「社會指標統計審議委員會」的社會學成員的協助下,行政院主計處的社會指標工作小組自1985年以來即嘗試建構此一體系,就十一領域,248個指標編製體系架構,並計算其各領域之綜合指數及整體之總指數。同時,試編了1982年至1986年這五年之間,各年之領域指數及總指數。但是,在編審製作過程中,亦遭遇不少尙待解決的問題。最主要的便是理論依據、指標品質(包括素材之數與質),以及方法論上的諸等問題。到目前爲止,再次修訂的方向是更嚴謹的扣住前述共識基礎,並對指標之選定依據下述幾個標準來建構台灣的社會指標體系:

1. 指標必須爲最終的福利指標(亦即生活品質之產出指標(output indicators)),將原有之投入指標(input indicators)刪除,如「每萬人口警員數」等,如此才能有效衡量台灣社會中福利與生活品質的最終結果。

2. 指標必須具備有效性:亦即指標要能有效的反映所欲測度的現象或觀念才行,經過效度檢定後,若干指標便也被刪除,如「每萬學生受罰人次」等。

3. 指標必須要有規範性的功能:指標必須明確解釋或勾勒某一福利領域或生活品質內涵水準之上升或下降才行。否則便不予考慮,如「工作流動率」。對於仍具爭議性的指標亦暫予

刪除在體系建構之外,如「離婚率」等。

4. 指標應具備反應性及辨別力:亦即指標必須具有敏感反映社會變遷的狀況,對於某些現象已普遍化、缺乏辨別力則應予刪除如「用電普及率」、「廚房自有率」等,在台灣已達某種穩定水準,因此便已失去反映福利及生活品質變動之功能。

同時,此一體系建構的重心尙只能集中在客觀指標的彙編製訂上,對於主觀指標,則單獨處理,不列於體系之中,而以「對照指標」之形式對待。以目前社會指標體系建構之理論及方法進展水準來看,亦不失爲一可行的暫行辦法。或許將來可以再編製另一套對照之主觀指標體系(counter subjective indicators system)以與前述客觀指標體系做比較,以了解福利及生活品質水準變化的另一層意義。

修訂後的台灣社會指標體系共有九領域,64個指標(見附錄一)。但此一體系仍然是試編性質,不能視爲最後之體系版本。同時,此一體系雖已建構,原有之社會指標序列仍有存在價值,兩者不必視爲互斥或可相互取代,至少目前是如此。

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附錄一

台灣新社會指標體系架構表

		客觀性指標	主觀意識指標
領域	社會關懷	指標	對一般生活之滿意程度
一、家庭狀況	(一)家庭功能	1. 單親家庭佔總戶數比率 2. 65歲以上老年人與子女同住比率	1. 對家庭生活之滿意程度 2. 對婚姻生活之滿意程度 3. 對親子關係之滿意程度 4. 對管教子女之態度
	(二)親子關係	1. 青少幼年犯罪人口率 2. 棄兒比率 3. 非婚生子女比率	
二、生命健康	(一)壽命	1. 零歲平均餘命 2. 嬰兒死亡率	1. 對健康狀況之滿意程度 2. 對醫療品質之滿意程度
	(二)健康的生命	1. 平均傷病期間 2. 平均住院日數 3. 每萬人殘障人數	
三、教育	(一)教育機會	1. 國中教育淨在學率 2. 國中畢業生升學率 3. 高中畢業生升學率	1. 對自己受教育之滿意程度 2. 對子女受教育之期望 3. 對老師處理學生過失之態度
	(二)教育水準	1. 30歲以上受教育人口之平均受教育年數 2. 完成大專以上教育程度者佔25歲以上人口比率	

四、就業與工作生活品質	(一)就業機會	1. 粗就業率 2. 未適當運用就業人力之比率	1. 對工作狀況之滿意程度 2. 對工作環境之滿意程度 3. 對工作收入之滿意程度 4. 對工作保障之滿意程度 5. 對工作陞遷之滿意程度 6. 對工作福利之滿意程度 7. 對理想工作考慮條件
	(二)工作環境	1. 受僱員工平均實質薪資 2. 勞工職業災害率 3. 受僱員工每人每月平均工作時數 4. 通勤時間 5. 每人每年給薪假日 6. 不良工作環境就業者之比率 7. 適用勞基法受僱員工之比率	
五、所得與物價	(一)所得水準	1. 平均每人實質國民所得	1. 對財務狀況之滿意程度 2. 對投資理財之態度 3. 對政府處理經濟事物之態度
	(二)所得分配	1. 可支配所得之吉尼係數	
	(三)低所得家戶	1. 平均可支配所得水準三分之一以下家戶所佔比率	
	(四)物價	1. 消費者物價指數	
六、居住生活環境	(一)住宅內環境	1. 每戶居住坪數 2. 15年內所建住宅佔總戶數比率 3. 自來水普及率 4. 瓦斯熱水器普及率 5. 電話機普及率 6. 洗衣機普及率 7. 冷暖氣機普及率	1. 對居住環境之滿意程度 2. 對交通狀況之滿意程度 3. 對公害陳情案件處理之態度 4. 對政府保護環境措施之態度與信心
	(二)住宅外環境	1. 休閒地區面積佔全國面積之比率 2. 住屋近五年內曾遭淹水戶數比率 3. 飲用水水質檢驗合格率 4. PSI>100日數佔測定日數比率 5. 主要河川嚴重污染長度比率 6. 噪音超出65分貝次數佔監測次數比率	
七、個人安全	(一)安全之威脅	1. 人身傷害受害人口率 2. 人身傷害犯罪人口率 3. 財產犯罪犯罪人口率 4. 犯罪之實質財產損失 5. 每萬人交通事故死傷人數 6. 每萬人火災死傷人數 7. 火災實質財物損失	1. 對社會治安之評價 2. 對執法人員之評價 3. 對治安惡化原因之評估
	(二)安全之保障	1. 刑案破獲率	
八、社會環境	(一)社會情感	1. 每萬人自殺死亡人數	1. 對親友關係之滿意程度 2. 對社會運動了解及支持程度
	(二)社團參與	1. 每萬人參加職業團體人數 2. 每萬人參加社會團體人數	
九、文化與休閒	(一)文化活動之參與	1. 平均每月圖書館借書人次 2. 每人參與藝文活動次數	1. 對休閒活動之滿意程度 2. 對藝文活動之滿意程度
	(二)創新文化活動	1. 每萬人出版新書冊數 2. 每萬人專利核准數 3. 每萬人論文發表數	
	(三)休閒	1. 平均每人每日休閒時間 2. 經常從事自家外休閒活動比率 3. 報紙普及率 4. 書刊雜誌普及率 5. 錄放影機普及率 6. 鋼琴普及率 7. 平均每人文化休閒支出佔消費支出之比率	

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2

民情上達：
社會指標的角色與作用

李明堃

I

中國歷史有一則故事，給我很深刻的印象。按史書所載，晉惠帝是中國史上少有的愚蠢皇帝。天下荒亂，人民多飢餓而死，他卻說：「天下飢，何不食肉糜？」此言反映晉惠帝既愚蠢，且閉塞，完全是個不知民生疾苦的傢伙。由於惠帝愚闇，就讓皇后賈氏有可乘之機，擅權亂政，以至政潮迭起，晉室諸王骨肉相殘；戰亂之中兵士和老百姓亦死去二、三十萬人，史書稱之為「八王之亂」。而晉室腐朽，諸王內爭，亦讓胡族有可乘之機，終於演變成「五胡亂華」的亂局。

中學時候聽到「天下飢、何不食肉糜」這句說話，祇覺十分可笑。其實這句說話亦反映了值得認眞思考和嚴肅對待的一個大問題：爲政者怎樣才能夠體察民情、知天下事，甚至「民之所好好之，民之所惡惡之」？讀中國歷史，我們習慣從君主是

否賢明，是否有良臣相輔這樣的角度看問題，較少從制度和社會結構着眼。君主糊塗，問題恐怕不在個人的作風和能力，而在國家是否廣開言路、形成民情上達的機會和條件。

對於這個問題，西方政治學者近三十年來亦逐漸考慮得比較多。Easton（1953，1965a，1965b）從系統角度看一個政治系統內的成員如何把包括「政治要求」（demands）和「支持」（support）的「輸入」（inputs）傳送給政府，這些「輸入」經過「轉化」（conversion）程序之後，變成「輸出」——政策和決議。Easton特別强調成員對這些政策和決議的回應。他們會支持那些政策和決議？他們又會提出那些新的要求？這些回應——或者說「回饋」（feedback）——成爲政府重新考慮其決策的重要訊號。從這樣的角度出發，亦令人對系統內部「緊張」（stress）的形成——譬如「要求」過多、或者互相矛盾，又譬如成員反對政府的政策——理解得比較好。Easton的理論模型無疑頗爲粗拙簡單。以G. A. Almond爲首的一羣研究政治發展的學者在六、七十年代期間經普林斯頓大學出版社陸續發表了一系列重要著作（Almond and Coleman, 1960；La Palombara and Weiner, 1966；Pye and Verba, 1965；Binder et al., 1971），這些著作採用了結構功能分析的角度和概念，予「輸入功能」（input functions）和「輸出功能」（output functions）新的和更加具體的詮釋。「輸入功能」，具體而言，包括政治教化與政治納新、利益的闡釋、利益的攏集、政治溝通；「輸出功能」包括法規的制定、法規的應用、法規的仲裁等（Almond，1960：17）。這樣的理論角度很有啓發性。它讓人提出好像以下的問題：在某一政治系統內，究竟有那些結構與活動承擔了利益的闡釋與攏集的功能？究竟有那些結構與活動正在發揮政治溝通的作用？這些功能的運作是否順利？是否對政治穩定和政治的發展有利？它亦讓人看到利益團體、政黨、傳播媒介這樣的結構和它們的活動，在一些國家裏，正起着重要的「輸入功能」的作用。換句話說，它們是民情上達的重要輸送帶。

Almond等深具影響力的政治學者爲比較政治研究拓開了嶄新的視野和思路。然而他們的研究興趣和出發點還是從實證研究出發。他們着重了解、分析、和比較不同的國家和地區的政治系統怎樣處理它們的輸入和輸出功能、怎樣解決各種政治發展過程中出現的危機、政治文化因素如何影響各種政治功能的運作……等等。因此，當Karl Deutsch在其巨著*The Nerves of Government*(1963)正式提出要建立一套結合實證和具規範意義的管理政府的理論時，的確令人一新耳目。Deutsch把「控制論」（cybernetics）應用到政府理論上，把管理政府比喻爲導航：「駕駛一條船包含以這條船聯繫着若干外在航向、目的和目標的過去表現與當前位置的訊息爲基礎，引導它的未來行爲。」（Deutsch，1963：182）爲政者既要清楚目標，亦要充份掌握情況，有力地駕馭政府行爲；既不應操諸過急，亦不應落後於形勢，失去主動。他指出：「政府要實現國內或外交政策的目標，就一定要不斷以種種訊息引導其行爲：相對於其目標的當前的位置、當前位置與目標之間的距離、由於剛採取了一些步驟或嘗試採取這些步驟所引起的、異於預期的結果。」（Deutsch, 1963：185）如果爲政之道就是這麼一回事——有效地掌舵和駕馭——那麼要判別其高下優劣，亦不應太難，總之，看其掌舵和駕馭的能力和效率就是了。要掌舵和駕馭得宜，首先就要搞好政治溝通，而所謂政治溝通，包括的意思是：要掌握客觀情況，要知道人民對政府政策的態度、人民的利益和要求，各項政策落實的情況，以至落實政策所造成的後果。關鍵因此在收集訊息和建立「回饋」系統。

從「控制論」這樣的角度考慮，社會指標的角色和作用也就

十分明顯。社會指標是指「經選擇而組織起來用以描述社會狀況和趨勢的統計資料」，而「應該呈現一國之人口相對於某社會目標而言之處境和狀況」。（U. S. Office of Management 1973：xiii）社會指標讓制訂政策、以至討論政策的人掌握情況——社會問題、社會結構的轉變、社會和人口趨勢、生活質素、價值觀念和態度、對政策的回應等。社會指標研究因此起着「回饋」的作用，爲決策者提供反映實況的訊息和資料。這種民情上達的方式有幾項值得注意的特點：

1. 參與其中的，主要是社會科學工作者。進行社會指標調查研究可以視爲社會科學工作者以其專業知識和技術爲政府制訂政策的考慮提供「輸入」。也可以說是社會科學工作者參與政治的一種方式。

2. 這種參與政治的方式，很强調它的科學性和技術性。社會指標研究基本上肯定了實證的社會科學研究的價值和意義。它肯定了客觀世界的存在，相信社會眞象儘管複雜非常，但並非無從入手——祇要善用科學的社會研究方法，總有辦法理清脈胳，抓中其要害，有如醫生可以通過「望、聞、問、切」斷定病情一樣。社會指標的作用，就好像醫生的探熱針和聽筒，讓醫生可以通過簡單、明確的訊號摸清病人的情況。社會指標研究夢寐以求的，是建立一套能讓人對社會狀況、社會趨勢、社會福利一目了然的指標體系，這套指標體系就好像經濟指標體系一樣，能夠清楚反映社會的「表現」，因此亦可以拿過去的「表現」作比較，甚至預測社會未來的「表現」。如果探熱針和聽筒傳過來的信號還不夠讓醫生摸清情況的話，那麼，祇要有更先進、更精密的儀器，總有辦法把複雜的病情搞清楚。社會指標研究亦相信通過社會理論的建立、通過科學的抽樣方法和精確的統計分析，終歸可以把指標體系完善化。

社會指標研究眞能夠做到它想做到的嗎？我相信有一定的

局限。

第一：先講社會生活和社會結構的複雜性。社會由無數社羣、組織、不同背境、不同信念、不同生活方式的人組成；他們之間交錯縱橫着複雜的倫理、經濟、政治關係；他們之間無時無刻在進行着交換、回報、競爭、以至衝突等等活動。在一個龐大、結構複雜、人口衆多的社會裏，要看透它的結構和運作已經十分吃力，再要進一步設計一套可以準確反映社會狀況的指標就太不簡單了。舉一個例，罪案數字。罪案數字應該可以反映一個社會的道德風尚、民生和秩序吧？然而如果以1976至1986年的在案罪案數字來看，1976年的犯罪率是每十萬人口一千四百宗，一九八六年的犯罪率上升至每十萬人口一千五百宗（Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong，1987：72）。十年間的犯罪率增加了一百宗，究竟顯示甚麼？是顯示治安惡化嗎？是顯示社羣組織對他們的成員的社會控制在減弱嗎？抑或顯示人們的道德意識愈來愈薄弱？我們既提不出强有力的解釋犯罪行爲的理論，面對一些罪案數字的轉變，面對意見紛紜的分析和解說，要像醫生診症一樣作出毫不含糊的論斷，恐怕十分困難。社會指標越是簡單明確就愈有力。然而愈是簡單明確，就愈要將複雜的事情高度概括、高度濃縮。社羣之間、社區之間、團體之間的差異不免變得模糊不淸；複雜的社會現象亦因爲過度簡化而教人拿捏不着要點。兩間大學一九七六年共有八千七百名學生；十年之後，學生人數增加至一萬五千多人（Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong，1987），就讀大學的人毫無疑問是增加了。但教育質素是否有所提高？讀過大學的人是否都獲得了對人生、對社會都有益處的知識？課程內容是否切合社會需要？是否跟得上學科和研究的發展？這些十分重要的問題恐怕都不是一兩個精簡的指標可以解答的。

第二：再講到社會現象的主觀性。社會由人所組成，而每個人都有他看問題的角度、觀點；社羣和組織亦各有其價值標準和意義系統——或者說，他們的次文化。對甲而言是珍寶的，對乙而言則可能是走避唯恐不及的毒物。每個社會指標雖說是現實的客觀反映，但始終不能、亦不應擺脫與價值觀念的關連性。就以離婚率這樣的指標來說，離婚率愈來愈高，應該算是一樁好事，還是一樁壞事？我們應該採用誰的觀點？設計社會指標的社會科學工作者是憑甚麼準則和角度作出價值判斷的？他們有沒有意識到他們所採取的準則和判斷，不一定爲社會內多數人認同與接受？社會指標總應反映一些集體的大取向。但是如果羣體與羣體之間、個人與個人之間都對一件事情未有一致的態度和看法，那麼，即使社會指標研究反映了一些顯著的趨勢，我們又能下甚麼結論呢？

第三：最後講到社會現象的「冒現」(emergence)性。社羣生活裏面總有許多不可預知、隨形勢轉變而發展、隨人與人之間的互動而發生、不斷流轉變化的事情。社會現象的冒現性不斷賦予社羣生活嶄新的意義和內容。而這些，都不容易被抱持客觀態度、置身事外的社會指標研究工作者所欣賞和了解。指標就像一齣電影裏的一連串定鏡畫面，它們捕捉了許多內容，卻遺漏了更多內容。社會指標研究即使可以年年做，但總不能月月做、天天做。即使能夠天天做，指標的先天性局限亦令它無法涵蓋社羣生活不住流動變化、不住更新的內容。我們可以統計一下一九八九年度的羣衆性行動——遊行、請願、抗議等行動——的次數和規模，但如果我們對這些行動的背境、目標、意識形態、組織這些行動的領袖人物的立場和態度、參與這些行動的人的情緒和出發點……等等一概不知的話，祇從統計數字看一九八九年的羣衆性行動，又能夠讓我們了解多少這些行動的意義和影響呢？

由於社會現象的複雜性、主觀性、和冒現性，社會指標作爲反映社會狀況和趨勢的統計數字，顯然有它的局限性。然而，不容否認的是，社會指標爲政策討論提供了極爲寶貴的參考資料，這些資料系統地交代了社會情況的主要方面，並且，由於結合了立足於社會科學的分析和角度，社會指標不單祇是一些統計數字，而且還是有論據、有觀點、有資料根據的社會報告書。

由於社會指標難以克服的局限，爲政者如果要掌握情況，就不能單靠、或者過於倚重社會指標調查報告。換一個角度看，社會指標有利民情上達，但民情上達不能亦不應單靠社會指標的調查報告。

我今日希望講的亦是這麼簡單的一個觀點：要民情上達，就需要多型類、通過多種渠道表達的聲音。社會指標調查研究肯定有它獨特的角色、作用、和貢獻，但社會科學工作者應該有自知之明，而爲政者重視這些社會報告之外，更應該仔細聆聽各種由下而上的聲音。在下面，我希望提出一個處理這些聲音的理論架構。

II.

經濟學家Albert O. Hirschman七十年代初期寫了一篇極有創意的論文*Exit, Voice and Loyalty*(1970)，把經濟學和政治學內一些重要題目結合起來，結果引出許多極有新意的思考這些問題的角度和論點。我今日就嘗試「站到巨人的肩膊上」，希望可以藉他的高度看得遠一點。

Hirschman提出一個這樣的問題：假如一家商店的貨品或者服務質素下降，顧客可以怎麼辦？經濟學角度的答案很清楚：在市場競爭的情況下，顧客大可以放棄這家商店，光顧別

一家。這是「走人」（ exit ）的選擇。營業額下降，老闆不免皺眉頭，但卻讓他了解到業務情況。「走人」因此是敦促他改善經營的清楚訊號。面對貨品或者服務質素下降，顧客走人之外，事實上還有兩項選擇：「出聲」（ voice ）或「留」（ loyalty ）。顧客可以循政治途徑——投訴、抗議、搗亂等等——表達不滿，亦可以不哼一聲，繼續做這家商號的忠實顧客。從賺錢的角度，當然希望所有顧客都忠心不二。然而如果從「控制論」的角度考慮，所有顧客都留下來，倒不如有些顧客跑掉，讓老闆能夠警覺業務情況的變化。而顧客流失，又不如有顧客出聲，直接反映問題。

Hirschman的分析架構，用來處理民情上達這樣的問題，亦極有啓發性。大規模的人口和資金外流以至「去國」現象，人民通過種種渠道和表達方式反映政治要求和表示不滿——抗議、批評、請願等等——所形成的聲音，都可以視作反映社會情況、反映政府的表現的訊號。這裏就帶出一個重要的問題：政府應該以怎樣的態度處理這些訊號和「噪音」？是視作眼中釘必須除之而後快，或者害怕、或者視若無睹、聽若罔聞？還是實事求事，仔細分析這些聲音的內容，對政府行爲細加反省？Hirschman認爲這個亦不純然是態度問題。他說（Hirschman, 1981：224）：

> 每個國家——事實上亦是每個組織——爲了它的穩定和生存，都需要爲走人或出聲或二者定下一些限度。換句話說，對任何一個組織而言，走人（解組）與出聲（擾亂）超逾某程度的話，這個組織的存在就會受到威脅。然而，在此同時，每個組織亦需要最起碼的走人和聲音，讓它接收有關它的表現的回饋。

換言之，爲政者既要容忍和仔細聆聽難聽的聲音，但也要知道容忍的限度。換過另一個角度看，人民既要看到出聲之利，也要知其害而有所節制。然而出聲與否，與用甚麼方式出聲，亦不純然是主觀意願問題。人民會不會出聲，也要看有沒有出聲的客觀條件和機會。經歷過阿根廷軍人專制政權統治的政治學者Guillermo O' Donnell（1986：249-268）就發現軍人政權未下台之前，由於它的專橫和高壓統治手段，人民噤若寒蟬，「祇有由上而下的獨白式結構：在上者向人民講話，祇容許極少量、嚴格控制的由下而上的縱向式聲音；尤有甚者，他們亦禁止對白式結構，令橫向式聲音亦無從表達。」（O' Donnell, 1986：259）從他的經驗，和他一九七九年去國巴西之前向知識分子進行的一些訪問的訪問所得，他發現在恐怖氣氛籠罩、人人缺乏安全感的情況下，大家都避免多說話，不敢交友、結社，退縮到狹窄的極度私人化的生活空間內去。由於缺乏「橫向式聲音」，民間根本無法形成「集體身份」（collective identities），因此亦欠缺以集體身份爲基礎的表達利益和政治要求的縱向式聲音。軍人政權壓下了聲音，但他們亦令自己失去了有用的「矯正機制」（corrective mechanism），結果在一次錯誤的軍事冒險行動中被英國挫敗之後，就被阿根廷人民推翻。

從阿根廷的經驗來看，縱向式聲音是否可以取得存在空間，要看三項因素：一、出聲的政治風險。出聲而遭報復打擊的話，就沒有人願意冒險；二、人與人之間是否有機會就公衆事務交換意見，作不平鳴，以至集會結社，表達他們的利益和要求。三、人民是否願意參與公衆事務。假如人人都祇顧極度私人化的生活，對親密關係以外的事情漠不關心的話，就沒有出聲的社會基礎。從阿根廷的經驗，亦可以對比出另一種情況：在公民權利受到尊重和保護，人民可以自由集會結社，自由發

表言論，進行申訴、請願、遊行……等集體行動的情況下，由下而上的聲音就有廣泛的多樣化的表達機會。然而即使如此，人民亦不一定會善用這些機會。為甚麼呢？Mancur Olson Jr.（1965）老早指出：人人都有「搭順風車」（free ride）的心理，如果「出聲」的結果，是要獲取一些人人有份的「集體財」（public goods）的話，那麼，「合理」的結果是：許多人都會卻步不前，祇寄望其他有心人出聲。因為這樣，Hirschman（1981：242-244）亦承認，出聲很有機會成為少數活躍份子遂一己私利的手段。由於社會結構內的不平等，出聲者與不出聲者之間、出聲者之間，都很有可能由於權力的差別而令由下而上的聲音偏重反映較具權力的一方的利益。

由下而上的聲音亦不一定可靠。Apter（1965：385）就指出，在一些強調動員人民進行現代化建設、權力結構等級森嚴的所謂「動員性體系」（mobilization system）內，亦存在訊息扭曲失真（non-information）的情況。「官員以整治過的統計資料隱瞞實況。對成績的樂觀評價得到他們的下屬的合作，為他們提供小心整理過的報喜資料。官員到車間或商店探訪時，間中聽到一些投訴，但更多時候，他們得到的訊息是：情況很好」。這樣子的民情上達自然對為政者掌握情況毫無幫助。

雖然Hirschman沒有說清楚，但其實要把聲音的類別和範圍確定下來並不太困難。由下而上的聲音包括來自精英分子的諍諫、知識分子的批評、社會科學工作者的研究報告、傳播媒介的報導、利益團體表達的利益要求、政黨組織的政治主張和對政策的批評、羣衆的請願、申訴、和不平鳴、示威、抗議、以至形形式式的集體行為、暴力衝突、以至在議會選舉中的投票結果。聲音的種類不一而足：多層次（有來自精英分子的、有來自中間團體的、有來自羣衆的）、多媒介（有通過面對面接觸的、有通過社會行動的、有通過傳播媒介的）、多取向（有以協調為主要取向的、也有以對抗為主要取向的）。這就很能說明聲音的多元性。由於社會結構複雜，利益繁多，問題棘手，有理由相信如果為政者能夠「兼聽」——各種聲音都聽——的話，對社會情況就會掌握得比較好。

翻閱羅宏曾主編的《從政史鑒》（1989），讀到一則關於「防民之口，甚於防川」的成語故事（363-364），很有意思，讓我向各位介紹一下：

> 西周後期，政治日趨腐敗。傳至周厲王……時，更是危機四伏。周厲王是一位貪婪殘暴而又剛愎自用的君主，他任用「好專利而又不知大難」的榮夷公等人，……使國人的負擔越來越重了。於是，國人議論紛紛，不滿厲王的所作所為。召公虎……對厲王說：「民不堪命矣！」可是，厲王不但聽不進去，而且通過巫術和血腥鎮壓的辦法去對付那些議論政治的人，名之曰「監謗」。這樣，國人們再也不敢說話了，見面時只好「道路以目」，用眼睛去表示自己的憤怒，敢怒而不敢言。周厲王見人們都不再說話，心裏十分高興，他告訴召公道：「我已經消除了人們對我的議論。」召公於是向厲王講了「防民之口，甚於防川」的危險。他說：「『監謗』實際上是阻塞人們說話。堵住人們的咀，有過於堵塞奔流的江水。河川渲泄不暢必然決堤，帶來的禍害不小，對待百姓也是這個道理。」召公又說：「是故為川者決之使導，為民者宣之使言。」……召公繼續說：「國君治理天下，公、卿、士和大夫獻上諷諭之詩，樂官們奏

起採自民間的樂章，史官們總結出古代興亡的文獻，貴族親戚們監察國君的行爲。至若，平民百姓也可以間接地將意見轉達給國君。這樣國君根據大家的意見，斟酌損益，辦起事來就不會違背情理。平民老百姓們所發表的意見，是考慮成熟的，然後自然地流露出來，怎麼能夠加以堵塞呢？如果不讓百姓們說話，請想想，跟隨國君的又會有幾人呢？」周厲王不聽召公的勸告，還是一意孤行，我行我素，使得國人更加痛恨他。又過了三年（即前 841 ），終於爆發了我國歷史上有文字記載的第一次羣衆暴動——「國人起義」。……周厲王倉惶逃奔。……逃到彘，在那裏過了十四年的流亡生活，最後終於死在那裏。

召公虎的確了不起。二千八百年前，他就明白了廣開言路的大道理。爲甚麼我們還需要拾其餘唾，喋喋不休呢？

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3

中國社會統計指標體系的建立與發展

吳　軍

社會統計指標體系是發展中的新事物，是研究經濟、社會、科技全面協調發展的重要領域，越來越引起社會各界的重視，並取得了明顯的進展和研究成果。本文擬就中國社會統計指標體系的建立與發展談一些情況與看法。

I．問題的提出

縱觀世界各國對社會指標研究的起因，總的是由於經濟迅速增長和科技進步，而引起一系列社會問題，如社會結構的變化、社會環境污染、社會生活質量的變化、社會文明與公德的變化等等。它們對經濟發展或起促進作用，或起制約作用。爲了使整個社會能協調、穩定、全面發展，一要反映這諸多方面的變化情況；二要研究這些變化情況，對經濟發展將發生甚麼作用，對整個社會的協調、穩定、全面發展將產生甚麼樣的影

響；三要研究提出對策。這樣，原有的經濟指標已不能完全適應這些發展變化的要求。一些發達國家，如美國較早地發起社會指標運動，隨後其他一些發達國家和發展中國家也相繼把社會指標作爲重要的研究課題。世界各國對社會指標研究的內容雖然不完全一致，但是其研究範圍大體上爲社會發展的主要方面的狀況，如社會福利、社會保障、社會生活質量、社會環境、社會文明等。是用一系列的統計指標或稱爲統計指標羣，根據各自研究內容的特點，有機地排列組合而成，是用統計指標對社會發展狀況作出描述和評價。

近四十年來，中國相繼建立了人口、勞動工資、人民生活、教育、衞生、文化、體育、廣播電視、環境保護、民政、政法、工會、婦女等各項社會統計，這些統計都從不同的角度反映了社會發展的一個方面。但是，中國的社會統計大多是由主管部門進行的，部門的屬性較强，表現在統計指標的設置上，較多地考慮了部門的行政和業務管理的需要。因此，對行政和業務管理以及研究某一方面的社會問題，起到了一定的作用；而表現在統計的分類、範圍、口徑、計算方法等方面，則受部門管轄的制約，出現了一些不夠一致、不夠統一的地方，需要更好地把社會統計中各個領域綜合地、系統地、有機地聯繫起來，反映整個社會的發展狀況。

七十年代後期，中國隨着改革、開放方針的實施，經濟得到迅速的發展。在經濟發展的基礎上，社會的各個方面，發生了巨大的變化。同樣，經濟指標也不能完全適應這變化的要求。進入八十年代的第一年，國家統計局在《關於改革和加强統計的報告》中，及時地提出應制訂社會、人口統計指標體系的問題。國家統計局開始組織人力從事社會統計指標體系的研製工作。這期間，中國社會科學院有關學所、國家科委等部門，有關省、市，以及一些高等院校、科研機構的理論與實際工作者對社會指標的研究十分重視並不斷地取得明顯進展和研究成果。其中統計學界的理論和實際工作者，一方面十分關注研究國內外社會指標運動的興起，及其內容、發展趨勢和他們的研究成果，組織有關專家、學者成立科研課題組，並召開建立中國社會統計指標體系的研討會，廣泛徵求意見；另一方面也注意結合中國統計工作的實際情況，着手研製中國的社會統計指標體系的理論以及對其框架的設置，以便綜合地、系統地反映中國的社會發展狀況。

由上可見，建立中國社會統計指標體系是適應經濟、社會發展的要求，成爲統計工作的一項十分緊迫的任務。

Ⅱ. 體系的研究

研究與設置社會統計指標體系，首先要研究並明確甚麼是「體系」。筆者在研究中看出，體系是若干互相有聯繫的事物構成的整體，在它們構成這個整體的時候，是按照它們的內在聯繫和一定的規律有機地組合起來。可是，人們把各有關事物有機地組合在一起，決不是爲了組合而組合，而是爲了通過這種有機的組合體，來了解、研究與揭示客觀事物的發展過程和本質。可見，體系是爲了研究與揭示客觀事物的發展過程和本質，把相互作用的各個有關事物，按照它們內在的聯繫和一定的規律組合而成的整體。把相互作用的各個有聯繫的事物有機地組合起來是體系的結構，研究與揭示客觀事物的發展過程和本質是體系的目的。目的是體系的前提，因爲它決定了所要選擇的有關事物的範圍，同時也在一定程度上決定了體系的結構。所以對體系的目的性的研究是很重要的，在一定意義上，體系就是目的與結構的統一體。但是，總的來說，體系僅是研究或反映客觀事物的一種科學的方法。

人類的社會活動是多種多樣的，用體系的方法來研究與揭示社會活動的一些過程和本質，範圍是很廣泛的。各個領域、各個方面都可以根據各自需要來研究客觀事物，建立不同廣度、不同深度的體系。可以是宏觀的、中觀的、微觀的；也可以是描述性、評價性、監測性的等等。但是，筆者認為，體系必須具有以下的基本特徵：

目的性——為了研究與揭示事物的發展過程和本質。

客觀性——是對事物客觀存在的規律性的反映。

系統性——是要連續地、完整地反映客觀事物的發展過程和本質。

相關性——是對有關事物，在相互聯繫、制約、依存、發展變化過程中的反映。

科學性——運用科學的方法和手段來反映客觀存在的事物。

社會統計指標體系，顧名思義就是用一系列統計指標有機的組成，並具有體系的特徵和統計的特點。中國的社會統計指標體系要具有中國的特色。我國是一個社會主義國家，建立和健全社會統計指標體系必須充分反映社會主義基本規律，以公有制為基礎的有計劃商品經濟，物質文明建設和精神文明建設一起抓的方針等，緊密結合中國國情，注意借鑒國際上的先進經驗，不斷研究新情況，探討新問題。通過社會統計指標體系的編製和運用，更好地為各級政府及有關部門了解社會情況，研究社會問題，制訂社會政策和編製社會發展計劃提供較為全面、系統的資料，並在統計分析的基礎上，提出對策。同時，也為社會各界和廣大人民羣衆提供信息和情況，以利統一認識，協調一致，羣策羣力，為促進改革、開放的深入開展，為實現社會主義現代化的全面進步而努力。

Ⅲ. 界定的範圍

社會統計指標體系是以反映社會發展狀況為目的。

廣義上說，「社會發展」是社會以一定的活動內容與方式滿足社會成員的物質和精神需要的進步過程，是反映人類物質文明與精神文明的進步過程。物質文明一般是指生產、經濟水平和社會成員的物質生活狀況，精神文明主要是指社會事業的發展狀況、民主與法制建設以及社會成員文化、思想、道德等狀況。從中國的統計工作實際情況看，反映物質文明狀況一般是屬於經濟統計範圍，反映精神文明狀況一般是屬於社會統計範圍。從中國統計發展的實際進程來看，是以經濟統計的核心，逐步擴展為社會統計、科技統計各成系統的三足鼎立而又是三位一體的完整的統計整體。作為三足鼎立、三位一體之一的社會統計，其具體包括的範圍，是社會事業狀況的統計，如人口、教育、文化、廣播電視、衛生、體育、環境、民政、政法、工會、婦女等方面。社會統計指標體系反映社會發展狀況，不能局限於社會統計的範圍，但又難以全面地反映廣義的社會發展狀況。根據中國的實際情況，社會統計指標體系應以經濟發展為基礎來反映社會事業的發展，反映社會成員的物質文化生活，反映社會成員文化、思想、道德等方面的狀況。也就是說，要以經濟統計為基礎、以社會統計領域為主綫來描述社會發展狀況，是一定範圍的社會發展狀況，相對於廣義的「社會發展」，則可以說是狹義的社會發展狀況。社會統計指標體系要綜合地、系統地描述社會發展狀況；分析研究社會發展過程中的矛盾；預測社會發展的趨勢；要能為研究和制訂社會發展戰略決策、制訂和檢查社會發展計劃和政策提供依據。

任何社會的發展，首先是要有有生命的人，以及人的羣體所生活的自然條件，如地理條件、自然資源、氣候條件等。這

些條件都是歷史上形成的，任何社會都是基於這些條件生存、發展起來的，這是社會發展的基礎。作爲社會統計指標體系，則要反映人口的狀況，如人口的數量、構成和素質，社區內的地理條件，自然資源、氣象等社會發展的條件。

社會生產力不斷發展，社會成員的結合形式也相應發生變化。這些變化主要表現在階級和階層結構、經濟結構、政治結構、家庭結構等，也就是社會結構的變化。社會結構是反映社會發展狀況的組織形式，隨着生產力的發展，作爲社會統計指標體系應該反映社會結構的現狀與發展趨勢。在中國，社會成員主要是以工人、農民、知識分子作爲基本力量組成的。中國社會統計指標體系就要反映工人、農民、知識分子的數量、構成、政治經濟地位以及其發展變化等情況。

社會成員在以生產關係爲基礎的共同活動中結成相互的社會關係，如家庭關係，婚姻關係、民族關係、宗教關係以及政治、法律、道德等，還有社會成員在社會生產過程中形成的經濟關係、生活消費品的分配關係。社會關係是反映社會發展狀況的重要組成部份。這樣，社會統計指標體系應該反映以生產關係爲基礎的社會成員相互之間的社會關係。

人們的物質文化生活狀況，是反映社會發展狀況的重要內容。社會統計指標體系就要反映在一定的經濟條件下，社會成員的物質文化生活狀況。社會主義的根本目的，是在發展生產的基礎上改善人民的物質文化生活條件，不斷提高人民的物質文化生活水平。作爲社會統計指標體系就要反映人民物質文化生活隨着生產的發展而逐步提高的進程。

不同的社會發展階段，社會組織管理形式是不同的，社會的民主、法制的具體內容也是不同的。所以社會民主與法制建設是反映社會發展狀況的重要標誌之一。這樣，社會統計指標體系就要反映社會民主與法制建設的進程。

綜上所述，社會發展狀況的基本構成要素是社會條件、社會結構、社會關係、社會成員的物質文化生活狀況，以及社會的組織管理情況等。社會統計指標體系是反映在一定歷史條件下的社會發展狀況。這樣，社會統計指標體系界定的範圍，應該是社會條件、社會結構、社會關係、社會成員物質文化生活狀況，以及社會民主與法制等。並且從統計工作的特點出發，以描述功能爲主體，評價功能、決策諮詢功能寓於其中。

Ⅳ. 結構的排序

中國社會統計指標體系的結構排序應以界定範圍爲目標，反映中國的特色，符合中國統計工作的實際情況，同時需要考慮國際可比性；既要把握目標，又要結合實際，能進行可操作性的編製，以達到目標與結構的統一，理論結構與實際工作的統一。

中國是一個人口衆多的多民族國家，生產力發展水平不平衡，地區之間發展也不平衡。中國在自然資源、人口、婚姻家庭、計劃生育、基礎與成人教育、勞動就業、消費品的分配、人民的物質文化生活、社會福利、社會保障、文化傳統、民間糾紛調解、黨派社團活動等方面都具有自己的鮮明特點。作爲中國社會統計指標體系就要把這些特點充分地在結構排序中反映出來。

根據社會發展的進程，以及中國現行經濟、社會事業統計管理體制的實際情況，要使結構中各組成部份範圍明確，界限清晰，指標不重覆，資料來源有保證，也便於搜集加工整理。爲此，我們認爲，結構的排序，大體是社會條件、社會結構、社會成員物質文化生活、社會主義精神文明建設、社會主義民主與法制建設，社會關係則穿插其中。

體系的結構組成分爲大、中、小三個層次，也就是大、中、小三類。一般應以條件——活動——結果；投入——產出；靜態結構——動態結構的順序排列。條件、投入的指標選擇要反映經濟對社會發展、對社會事業發展的影響；結果產出的指標選擇則要反映社會發展對經濟發展的影響。

體系的結構組成應注意連續性與階段性相結合，從連續性中能反映、觀察以及描述社會發展的進程；從階段性中又能充分反映某一個時期或某一年度的社會發展狀況，也就是要注意時間排序的結構。

體系的統計指標必須突破部門統計的制約，應盡量採用統一的概念、範圍、分類、口徑和計量方法。爲了便於國際對比，一些重要指標，也應盡量採用國際上通用的名稱和計量方法。

體系的統計指標必須具有較强的概括性。反映某一社會狀況的統計指標是較多的，要求精選其中最能反映其本質的、概括性較强的統計指標。

V. 框架的設置

根據社會統計指標體系界定範圍和結構的排序，國家統計局採用國內外較爲通行的按行政規劃部門劃分的方法，目前社會統計指標體系設置了15大類、97個中分類、 387 個小分類，近1,500個指標。其大類劃分的範圍及中分類的內容簡要介紹如下：

1. 自然環境。這是社會賴以生存和發展的自然條件。這一大類設置：國土面積、自然資源、氣候條件、自然災害、城市面積、行政區劃等 6 個中分類、29個小分類，共84個指標。

2. 經濟條件。這是社會生存與發展的基礎。主要是研究經濟與社會是否協調、健康的發展。這一大類設置：國民生產

總值、國民收入、農業生產、工業生產、固定資產投資、商業、財政收支、全社會對社會事業的財力投入、勞動生產率等 9 個中分類、29個小分類，共91個指標。

3. 人口與家庭。人口與家庭是社會發展的基本條件，也是反映社會家庭結構狀況。這一大類設置：人口規模、人口構成、人口的自然變動、人口遷移、人口職業變動、婚姻、家庭、計劃生育等 7 個中分類、33個小分類，共 111 個指標。計劃生育是中國的基本國策，列了一個中分類，重點突出地反映出來。

4. 勞動。勞動是人類社會活動重要組成部份，也是獲得物質文化生活資料、促使社會發展的重要手段。同時由於生產力發展水平不同，社會成員在共同勞動中組合形式不同，因此也是反映社會的經濟結構。這一大類設置：勞動力資源利用、社會勞動者構成、社會勞動者流動情況、勞動條件、工人工時利用等 5 個中分類、28個小分類，共94個指標。

5. 居民收入與消費。是反映在發展生產和提高勞動生產率的基礎上，社會成員的物質生活狀況，同時也反映其與經濟是否協調發展。這一大類設置：居民收入、居民消費、城鄉居民儲蓄存款、消費總額比重、勞動收入與勞動生產率對比等6個中分類、28個小分類，共145個指標。

6. 住房與生活服務。社會成員住房條件以及生活服務設施的方便程度，是社會成員物質生活狀況的重要標誌。這一大類設置：住房、商業飲食業、服務業、交通、通訊、其他公用事業等 5 個中分類、22個小分類，共118個指標。

7. 環境保護。環境是社會成員生存的外部空間，關係着經濟和社會發展的全局。隨着經濟和科技的迅速發展，一方面它可以促進社會發展，另一方面也可能使社會環境受到污染，生態平衡遭到破壞。社會在不斷採取相應措施加以防範和治理，加强對自然環境的保護和管理。這樣，既要反映環境保護

情況，也要研究環境保護與經濟，科技是否協調發展。這一大類設置：環保系統機構、人員與設施，環保系統科研、教育，地區三廢排放處理，主要城市三廢排放處理，企事業污染處理，排污費徵收、使用和污染賠（罰）款，自然資源保護，環境保護事業收支核算等 8 個中分類、29個小分類，共100個指標。

8．社會保障。社會某些成員因各種原因暫時或永久的喪失勞動能力以及孤老、孤兒或者遭受自然災害等原因帶來各種困難。國家、社會所給予的物質生活保障，並研究反映經濟發展與社會保障事業是否協調發展。這一大類設置：社會保障覆蓋面、社會保障水平、社會保障費用總額、社會福利事業單位發展、民政事業收支核算等 5 個中分類、20個小分類，共69個指標。

9．教育。教育是社會得以發展的重要的基礎，是社會文明的反映，社會成員的教育水平是反映社會發展狀況的重要標誌。同時也要反映與研究教育事業與經濟是否協調發展。這一大類設置：教育基本概況、研究生培養、普通高等學校、中等專業學校、中學、農業職業中學、技工學校、普通小學、成人教育、少數民族教育、教育事業收支核算等16個中分類、27個小分類，共124個指標。

10. 衛生。隨着經濟、科技的發展，社會成員的身體健康得到保障，體質得到增强。這一大類設置：醫療條件、醫療防治、營養與健康、民族自治地方醫療、衛生事業收支核算等5個中分類、22個小分類，共127個指標。

11. 文化。是社會成員文化生活的基本組成部份。這一大類設置：居民文化活動條件、文化活動、文化生產成果、少數民族文化活動、文化事業收支核算等 5 個中分類、34個小分類，共114個指標。

12. 體育。體育活動開展情況，是反映社會成員文化生活的一個重要組成部份。這一大類設置：體育活動條件、體育活動與培訓、運動成績、體育事業收支核算等 4 個中分類、18個小分類，共76個指標。

13. 社會活動參與。這是社會成員參與國家、社會組織管理的情況，反映了社會主義民主建設進程。這一大類設置：政治活動，工會活動，共青團活動，婦聯活動，社團、宗教活動，基層羣衆性自治組織活動等 5 個中分類、22個小分類，共88個指標。

14. 社會秩序與安全。是關係到社會穩定、社會成員生活安定的重大問題。是從社會秩序與安全的角度來反映社會法制建設的情況。這一大類設置：維護社會秩序與安全的專業隊伍，司法工作，社會治安，青少年犯罪，勞動教育，社會收容、遣送，非正常死亡等 7 個中分類、27個小分類，共109個指標。

15. 生活時間分配。是綜合地概括描述社會成員勞動、物質和文化生活狀況。這一大類設置：工作（勞動）和上下班路途的時間、個人生活必需時間、家務勞動時間、自由支配時間的分配等 4 個中分類、20個小分類，共35個指標。

除對社會發展狀況作出客觀的、系統的描述，我們還設置了對社會成員的社會生活問卷調查，以便反映社會成員對社會投入、社會事業發展的主觀感受，進而觀察、分析不同羣體結構對社會發展狀況的滿意程度。

另外，爲了進行國際對此，還設置了社會生活國際對比指標。

Ⅵ. 發展的趨勢

社會統計指標體系是社會發展基本構成要素的有機組合，並進行定量反映、描述和系統分析研究。它是社會學與社會統

計學爲基礎的多學科的研究成果，也是不斷發展的研究課題。從橫向看，它涉及的研究領域是相當寬廣；從縱向看，它跨越的研究層次是相當多的。因此，社會統計指標體系既可以向縱向發展，又可以向橫向拓開。

從橫向拓開看，它可以在描述的基礎上，應用數理統計的方法，選擇一些更具有概括性、綜合性的統計指標，進行模式的定量評價社會發展狀況。如對國際上各國的位次分析，國內地區間的位次分析，同類、同等規模企事業單位的位次分析。也可以選擇一些側重衡量社會協調發展方面的綜合性指標，進行監測或預警社會是否協調發展，或者在那些方面還存在不協調的問題，以便引起有關方面的重視，加以防範或採取措施解決，促進社會穩定、協調地發展。這可以是全國的，也可以是分省市地區的，分片協作區的，或者是長江流域幾個地區、黃河流域幾個地區、少數民族地區之間等。

從縱向發展看，可以涉及到社會事業的各個方面。目前發展的有精神文明統計指標體系、社會保障指標體系、體育事業指標體系、公安統計指標體系等等。據了解，教育、衞生、環境保護等各個領域都在進行統計指標體系的理論探索與框架設置的研製工作。在橫向已建立的統計指標體系的基礎上，還可以向縱深發展，如在公安統計指標體系的基礎上，現在已發展了公衆安全感指標體系、公安資源保障條件指標體系、社會秩序與社會治安指標體系等等。

總的來看，筆者認爲，應以社會統計指標體系爲基本體系或者稱爲核心體系，在這基礎上引伸出來縱向的、橫向的子體系；在子體系上還可以附着一系列的體系羣。子體系是基本（核心）體系的分支，體系羣是子體系的深入發展或具體補充。但是它們又都是相對獨立、具有各自特色的完整的體系。從而形成以社會統計指標體系爲主體，子體系爲分支，分支下爲衆

多的體系羣，覆蓋社會發展狀況的不同領域、不同層次，使它成爲既有一定的框架範圍、又不受框架限制的，富於生命力的、不斷發展的開放性的體系。這樣，在社會發展的進程中，社會統計指標體系將隨着人類對社會科學、社會統計學理論和實踐的不斷發展而充實和提高，並有充分的發展餘地。雖然其所覆蓋的僅是狹義的社會發展狀況，但它是整個國民經濟核算體系的重要組成部份，是全社會不可缺少的重要組成部份。這部份得到充分的應用和發揮，必將對整個社會協調、穩定、全面發展起到促進、推動作用。

4

社會綜合指標體系的方法和應用

朱慶芳

Ⅰ. 社會指標體系的作用和方法

甚麼是社會指標？至今還沒有形成一致的看法。較早提出「社會指標」這一概念的是1966年美國文理科學院雷蒙德．鮑爾（R. A. Bauer），在出版的《社會指標》一書中認爲：「社會指標是一種量的數據，它是一套統計數據系統，用它來描述社會狀況的指數，制定社會規劃和進行社會分析，對現狀和未來作出估價」；聯合國1979年編製的《發展中國家社會統計的改進》一書中認爲社會指標是：「反映社會制度重大方面的狀況的時間數列的統計」；聯合國教科文組織認爲社會指標是：「通過定量分析評價社會經濟生活狀況的變化」。

社會指標與社會指標體系兩者是有所區別的，社會指標是反映社會現象的所有指標的泛指，它包括範圍廣，指標多，不

成體系。社會指標體系則是根據研究的目的和需要，將有內在聯繫的、有代表性的重要指標科學地、有機地組合成體系的指標羣，便是社會指標體系。一般來講，各國建立社會指標，都是有明確的目的，是根據各自的研究對象自成體系的。因此本文敘述的內容主要指的是社會指標體系。

由於各國國情不同，社會發展趨勢和產生的社會問題有較大差異，因此應根據本國的具體情況來確定指標體系，根據研究的目標作出自己的選擇。

根據我國的實際情況，社會指標體系的涵義大致可概括爲：「反映社會狀況的統計數據系統，它是衡量和監測社會發展，評價社會進步、揭示社會問題的重要量化手段」。

1.社會綜合評價指標體系的建立和應用

(1)建立社會綜合評價指標體系的作用和意義

廣義的社會是包羅萬象的。它包括社會、經濟、科技、政治、文化、道德、精神等各個方面，牽涉面廣，指標複雜繁多，據國家統計局統計，社會指標有1,500多個，分組指標更多，這些社會指標對於分析研究各種社會現象和社會問題都是很需要的，但要綜合反映一個國家或地區的社會狀況，如使用指標過多，既不利於綜合分析，也顯得過於繁瑣複雜，工作量也太大，因此各國都在探索研究選擇用少量有代表性的重要社會指標組成社會指標體系，並採用科學的計算方法，把不同性質的指標相加得出綜合概括的概念進行綜合評價和分析，這就叫「綜合評價指標體系」，也可稱作「核心指標體系」，用它來反映社會發展狀況、各指標間的相互關係、進行地區間、國際間的比較，這種方法簡明扼要，易於爲羣衆理解和普及，是一種有效的社會管理的手段。綜合評價指標體系也可用作某一部門或某一專題性研究，這種方法在社會指標建立較早的美國、日本、法國、以及聯合國及各種世界組織已被廣泛使用，並已逐漸成爲現代化社會管理和科學決策的重要量化手段。

社會綜合評價指標體系的含義大致可概括爲：「選擇一系列科學的、有代表性的能概括社會、經濟、科技等各方面的指標組成指標體系，用科學的方法對社會發展水平和各要素之間的相互關係進行評價比較和定量分析，以反映社會協調發展狀況，和揭示、監測社會發展中的矛盾和問題。」

(2)建立社會綜合評價指標體系的原則

我國是擁有11億人口的大國，地區發展極不平衡，經濟和社會發展水平的差別很大，城鄉差別、工農差別也仍然很大，如果僅用幾個指標是很難綜合概括和反映我國的社會發展概貌的，必須用一系列包括各方面有代表性的指標組成指標體系才能反映我國經濟和社會全面發展情況。根據我國國情和現有統計基礎，借鑒國外的經驗，建構適合我國情況的社會綜合評價指標體系的原則是：

A. 綜合評價指標體系必須以社會主義現代化和改革門放總方針爲前提條件反映經濟和社會的協調發展，反映物質文明和精神文明的相互關係、反映社會發展中出現的社會矛盾和問題，爲黨和政府制定社會發展政策和現代化管理服務。

B. 必須反映人的全面發展狀況。人是社會生產力的基本要素，是各種社會關係的承擔者。社會指標要以人爲主體反映人的全面發展情況，一方面是反映人的物質精神生活和人口素質的提高情況，另一方面要反映人的積極性和潛力發揮程度。

C. 從我國實際情況出發，借鑒外國建構社會指標有益的經驗，並汲取國內已有的有關社會指標研究成果，建構一套適合我國國情的具有中國特色的指標體系。

D．要有可行性。在建構指標體系時，應從現有社會統計基礎出發，充份利用和開發統計部門現有資料。就社會統計指標而言，人口、勞動工資、人民生活、社會福利等基本統計，除國家統計局建立了報表制度外，主管「社會」的文教衞生、民政、公安、勞動、環保等部門，都已建立了較詳細的、適合於本部門使用的社會指標，據統計，約有80％的社會指標可從現有統計報表中取得。

爲便於向基層單位推廣普及，必須具有可操作性，方法簡便易行。

(3)社會綜合評價指標選擇的原則和方法

合理地、正確地選擇有代表性、信息量大的重要指標組成指標體系是正確評估社會發展水平的關鍵。

首先要對「社會發展」作出界定，根據上述原則，我們評價的對象是指包括經濟和非經濟事業的「大社會」，要反映以人爲中心的全面發展和體現經濟和社會的協調發展。據此確定了社會綜合評價指標體系的綜合評價法，把社會發展的主要方面劃分相互聯繫、相互制約和促進的五個子系統，即社會結構、人口素質、經濟效益、生活質量和社會秩序。然後再從每個子系統中選擇有代表性的指標組成指標體系。

爲了使指標能反映客觀實際，避免主觀隨意性，我們採用了經驗選擇和專家諮詢評定相結合的辦法。經驗選擇是憑個人在工作實踐中對指標的熟悉程度而言，它存在一定的主觀性。專家諮詢是把預選指標集製成諮詢問卷，指標集的指標比需要選擇的指標多一倍左右，用郵寄或訪問的方式，徵求專家意見，對收回的問卷進行綜合，根據對指標集合程度的多少來確定，需要選擇的指標，同時也從中得到了權數，即從各專家的主觀性中得到了客觀的共性。

我們把諮詢問卷發給70多位熟悉社會指標的專家，對67個預選指標集的綜合，並結合經驗和現有指標的可行性，選定了有代表性、信息量較大的46個適合於省一級評價使用的綜合指標體系。列表如下：

省市自治區社會指標體系及含義

社會指標名稱	指標用途和含義
一、社會結構	
1、第三產業勞動佔社會勞動者的比重	反映產業結構和社會化程度
2、非農業勞動者佔社會勞動者的比重	反映農業勞動者向非農業轉移程度
3、腦力勞動者佔社會勞動者的比重	反映智力結構的變化
4、非農業人口佔總人口的比重	反映城市化水平
5、享受社會保障人口佔社會勞動者比重	反映社會保障「安全網」覆蓋面
6、社會投資佔總投資比重	反映國家投資結構中用於社會部分
7、城鎮就業率	反映城鎮勞動者就業結構
8、出口總額佔國民生產總值比重	反映外向型經濟結構
二、人口素質	
9、平均預期壽命	反映營養、醫療保健水平
10、人口自然增長率（逆指標）	反映人口自然增長情況
11、初中以上文化程度人口比重	反映人口的知識結構
12、每萬人口在校大學生人數	反映人口的高層次文化知識結構
13、人均教育經費	反映國家的智力投資水平
14、每萬職工擁有自然科技人員	反映職工技術知識結構
15、每萬人口擁有醫生數	反映居民的醫療保健水平
16、人均科研經費	反映國家智力投資水平
三、經濟效益	
17、人均國民收入	反映綜合經濟發展水平
18、社會勞動生產率	反映全社會勞動者的勞動生產效率
19、鄉鎮企業資金利稅率	反映鄉鎮企業的綜合效率
20、工業企業資金利稅率	反映全部工業（不包括鄉鎮企業）的綜合效率
21、固定資產交付使用率	反映全民單位投資效果
22、人均地方財政收入	反映地方財政集中程度
23、每一農業勞動者生產的糧食	反映農業勞動者的勞動效率
24、每一農村勞動者創造的農村社會總產值	反映農村勞動者的勞動效率
四、生活質量	
25、居民消費水平	反映居民綜合消費支出水平

26、人均收入	
城鎮居民生活費收入	反映城鎮居民收入水平
農民純收入	反映農村居民收入水平
27、人均居住面積	反映城鄉居民的居住水平
城鎮居民	
農村居民	
28、人均生活能源消費量	反映居民生活用能源消費水平
29、人均生活用電量	反映居民生活用電及家用電器普及程度
30、食品支出佔消費支出比重	反映居民消費結構中吃的比例
城鎮居民(逆指標)	(即恩格爾系數)
農村居民(逆指標)	
31、每百戶居民電視機擁有量	反映電視機普及情況
城鎮居民	
農村居民	
32、每萬人口擁有商業飲食業服務業網點數	反映居民購物生活服務方便程度
33、每萬人口擁有電話機	反映居民通訊方便程度
34、每一職工保險福利費	反映城市職工社會保障水平
35、人均文化事業費	反映居民文化生活的綜合指標
36、零售物價上漲指數(逆指標)	反映居民生活中受物價上漲的影響
37、農村飲用清潔受益人口佔農村人口比重	反映農村飲水衛生條件
38、工業廢水處理率	反映環保廢水處理情況
39、廢氣淨化處理率	反映環保廢氣處理情況
40、工業廢渣綜合利用率	反映環保廢渣處理情況
五、社會秩序(全部逆指標)	
41、大案刑事案件立案率	反映社會治安狀況
42、青少年犯罪佔刑事案件立案比重	反映青少年犯罪比例
43、治安案件發案率	反映社會治安狀況
44、交通事故死亡率	反映交通秩序狀況
45、火災發生率	反映火災事故發生狀況
46、企業因工死亡率	反映安全生產狀況

我國地域遼闊，地區發展極不平衡，三個直轄市與省、自治區由於社會結構、城鄉差別較大而存在不可比因素，如果將市與市、縣與縣之間相比較，則可比性要大得多。而且 450 個城市和 2,200 多個縣已建立了獨立的統計指標體系，爲了開展基層綜合單位的社會發展水平的比較與評價，我們根據社會指標體系建構的原則，選擇和建構了重點市和重點縣的社會指標體系，重點市確定了39個指標，重點縣確定了32個指標(指標體系從略)，並對1989年185個地級以上市和1988年156個重點縣進行了比較與評價，這對市和縣的社會經濟協調發展起了推動作用。

(4)社會綜合評價指標體系的評價方法

爲了能把各種不同單位的指標數值相加得出總的概念，進行綜合評價，就需用綜合評價方法加以量化。綜合評價方法有很多種，目前常用的有：綜合指數法、因子分析法、標準化評分法、無量綱法、兩基點法、投影法、綜合評分法等，根據兩年多的實踐，我們認爲「綜合評分法」操作方便，簡單易學，計算結果也比較符合實際，而且這種方法適用於各種社會指標的綜合，下面將綜合評分法的操作步驟簡介如下：(假定計算省一級的社會綜合指標總分。)

第一步，收集46個指標的年度統計數據。

第二步，確定權數，根據每個指標在社會發展中的重要程度確定，權數的確定方法與指標選擇方法基本相同，我們採用了經驗法和專家評定相結合的辦法，根據專家諮詢集合程度的高低與經驗判斷相結合確定權數。權數的總分是10分，46個指標平均每個指標爲0.2分左右，重要的指標爲0.3分，次要的指標爲0.1-0.2分。

第三步，是確定評分標準。它是將每個指標按數值的高低定出標準的分值。一般來說，分組越多，準確度越高，現我們按10等分分組，從1-10分，全距是按每個指標在30個省市區中找出的最小值和最大值確定的，如以46個指標體系中的第一個指標爲例，第三產業佔社會勞動者的比重，最低值爲11%，最高值爲41%，則確定10%以下爲最低分 1 分，40%以上爲最高分10分，將全國平均數18%定在中間分 5 至 6 分的位置上，然後向兩邊按比例定分，如下表：

	1分	2分	3分	4分	5分
第三產業勞動者	10%以下	10－11.9	12－13.9	14－15.9	16－17.9
佔社會勞動者比	6分	7分	8分	9分	10分
重	18－20.9	21－25.9	26－30.9	31－40.9	41以上

其他45個指標評分標準以此法類推。

第四步，將各省市區的實際數字對號入座進行評分，如北京市1989年這一指標值爲41％，則得10分，河北省17.7％得5分，將每個地區每個指標分再乘以權數便得出最後得分，如北京第三產業比例得10分×權數0.3便得3分，河北得5×0.3便得1.5分。將每個地區46個指標得分相加，便得出每個地區的分類分，分類分相加便得總分。如北京市1989年總得分爲84.6分，居全國之首。

第五步，進行評價和分析。根據得出的總分和分類分，對本地區的社會發展水平進行評價，在評價中既可以進行地區間的橫向比較，找出本地區所處位置，又可以進行本地區各子系統和各指標之間相互關係的比較，從中找出薄弱環節。

綜合評價法用途比較廣泛，除適合於國際間、地區間的綜合社會發展水平的評價，也適合於專題性和部門性社會指標的評價，適合於行業間、企業間的綜合評價；既適合一年的靜態狀況的評價，也適合歷年動態狀況的評價，例如改革以來各地區社會發展的變動情況，就可以對1978年、1989年兩年的評價結果加以比較，兩年的指標和評價標準基本相同，才有可比性。從兩年動態比較中可以評估各地區位次的升降情況、各子系統變動情況、經濟和社會協調發展情況等，例如對三個直轄市進行縱向的靜態比較，1987至1989年的評價中都是居全國第一、二、三位，但從改革以來的社會發展水平的發展速度看，速度最快的則是原來經濟基礎較差的西北、西南地區，而三個直轄市則因發展速度較慢而居於後列。

綜合評分法的優點是操作簡單，手工和計算機均可操作，適合我國基層幹部文化水平不高的情況便於掌握，有利於向基層推廣普及。

除綜合評分法外，方法比較簡便、操作簡單的還有以下兩種方法：

一是標準化評分法，此法必須具備計算機條件的才能使用。計算公式是：標準總分＝$X-\overline{X}/SD$，X爲指標值，$\overline{X}$爲平均數，SD爲標準差。標準化是將各指標壓縮到同一可比較的等級上，它消除了不同指標因平均數不同、標準不同（即指標值分佈不同）而不可直接比較的缺陷。這一方法的優點由於它是按每個指標的實際水平計算的，其準確性相對比按階段分組評分要準確些。經我們用兩種方法計算結果相比較，兩者差別不大。如120個國家16個社會指標1987年的社會發展水平的國際比較，用綜合評分法我國居世界第70位，用標準化評分法爲77位，基本上仍處於一個檔次中；另對我國1988年各省市自治區社會發展水平的評價，兩種方法計算結果差別也不大。這就證實了兩種方法均有較高的可信度。

二是綜合指數法，適用於綜合社會發展水平的歷年動態比較，具體計算方法是首先根據每個指標在社會發展中的重要程度確定權數，權數確定與綜合評分方法相同，以每個指標的發展速度乘權數相加，便得出分類指數和綜合指數。計算公式是：$\overline{K}=\Sigma KW/\Sigma W\times100$，$\overline{K}$爲總指數，即社會綜合評價總指數；K爲單項指數，Σ爲加總符號，W爲權數，權數相加應等於100％。爲了使不同階段年份的增長速度有可比性，可計算平均每年增長速度。綜合指數的優點是操作簡便，通過指數可以將不同指標相加得出類指數和總指數，從單項指數和分類指數的快慢中和各類指數的相互關係可以比較分析作出評價。它適用於全國和各地區綜合發展水平歷年的動態比較，也可用指數

法衡量達到目標的程度。這一方法的缺點是，如果某一指標增減的速度過高或過低，就會影響總指數的增減速度，從而影響總體社會發展水平的準確性，而且此方法不適用於一年的靜態水平的比較。

(5)綜合評價中需要注意的幾個問題

A、要注意指標的準確性。必須使每個指標建立在準確資料的基礎上，要了解每個指標的含義和準確程度。如有的指標有多種範圍和口徑，要使用比較接近實際的數字。如反映城市化水平的指標有四種口徑，我們選擇了比較反映實際的「非農業人口比例」。又如「犯罪率」、「嬰兒死亡率」等。由於各種因素，準確性較差，心中要有數，分析時需加以說明。有的指標很重要，但沒有統計或幾年才有一次普查，可用替代指標和相近年份數字。

B、要注意指標的可比性。在進行歷年動態分析時，要注意歷年數字的口徑範圍的可比性，以貨幣形式表現的指標如人均國民生產總值、人均純收入等要扣除價格上漲因素的影響，在年度評估中各地區的指標包括範圍和口徑也必須一致。

C、要確定評價標準，區分是正指標還是逆指標，一般反映社會進步的指標，如人均國民收入、第三產業比重、非農業人口比重等都是正指標，數值越高，定分越高。有些指標則是數值越低，越反映社會進步的指標叫逆指標，如人口自然增長率（在我國現階段是越低越好），食品支出比例、物價上漲指數、社會秩序等指標，評分標準是數值越低，定分越高。

D、評價指標一般選用平均數、比例、指數等相對數，而不用絕對數。只有相對數才能眞正反映發展水平，地區間才有可比性。爲了反映人的潛力發揮程度和體現以人爲中心的衡量標準，在46個社會指標中，絕大部份是用人口和勞動力計算的平均數。

E、在確立評價指標時要從本地區本部門實際出發，切忌生搬硬套，例如省一級與地市級、縣級的社會指標體系是有區別的，沿海地區和西北邊遠地區的指標是不同的，城市和農村、農村中鄉鎮企業較發達和以農爲主的地區指標選擇都應有所區別。這樣才能使評價切合實際。

F、客觀指標和主觀指標相結合。客觀指標是通過各項統計指標反映客觀情況的；如要了解人們對客觀事物的感受和滿意度，需用主觀指標（一般通過問卷調查取得）；只有兩者相結合，才能較深入、全面地對社會發展水平作出較符合實際的判斷和評價。

綜合評價指標體系中，五個子系統之間是互相制約、互相促進的關係，指標體系反映了經濟和社會的協調發展。在一般情況下，社會結構合理、人口素質較高，其經濟效益和生活質量也較高，反之則低；生活質量的提高必須以經濟效益爲前提。二者必須協調發展。總之，通過指標數字的高低變化可以對五個子系統之間是否協調發展，從宏觀上作出定量分析。如果出現反常現象就是不協調和存在問題，對問題和產生原因可結合典型調查或其他相關資料作進一步深入的分析，最後提出解決問題的對策。因此綜合評價指標體系實際上是以評價功能爲主，還發揮了解釋、監測等多種功能。

2. 警報指標體系的作用和建構設想

建立以監測功能爲主的警報指標體系。在我國當前社會主義建設中也具有十分重要的意義。

警報指標體系，它是由一系列反映社會經濟較敏感的指標組成，它的功能是揭示社會運行中的不協調現象和產生的社會

問題，目的是及早發現問題爲決策部門提出預警，採取對策。西方早在60年代就建立了警報指標。如美、日、法、德等國都建立了「警報指標」或稱「先行」、「先兆」指標，也有的稱「景氣動向指數」，以此來監測臨界綫。

當前我國在新舊體制的轉換過程中，已產生了經濟和社會不協調現象，出現了各種社會問題和不安定因素，很有必要借鑒國外經驗，建立一套適合我國國情的警報指標體系。通過它對社會經濟狀況進行綜合分析和動態比較，並測定是否超過警戒綫，使社會經濟問題處於危機萌芽時或有危機先兆時就發出預警。它類似地震預報、警報器那樣起警報作用，提供給決策部門及早採取措施，把問題解決在惡性爆發之前，其目的是防患於未然，使經濟和社會能協調發展，使改革順利進行。警報指標體系根據研究對象又可分爲綜合和專題兩種，根據我國國情設想的社會綜合警報指標體系擬包括四大類40多個指標。

（1）反映經濟方面的指標

物價上漲指數、貨幣流通量增加額、儲蓄餘額比上年增加額、每百元購賣力相應的貨源、投資膨脹情況、財政收支差額、外滙收支差額、債務收支、物價補貼、關停企業率、城鎮失業率、痛苦指數等。

（2）反映生活水平和生活質量的指標

生活在貧困綫以下的人口比例、城鄉貧困戶比例、成災人口、得到救濟人口比例、城鄉貧富差距、未享受社會保障人數比例、城鎮居民住房困難戶比例等。

（3）反映社會問題的指標

文盲率、中小學生流失率、人才外流率、出入境人口差額、人口超生率、刑事案件發案率、青少年犯罪比例、大案要案比例、治安案件發案率、學潮、罷工、請願、上訪情況、盲流乞討人數、離婚率、交通事故、工傷事故死亡率、自殺率、火災發生率、賭博、賣淫人次、傳染病、精神病發病率、環境污染程度等。

（4）反映民意的主觀指標

應根據每一時期的重大社會問題進行問卷調查，例如對改革、社會風氣、物價、生活質量、社會秩序等方面問題的看法和滿意度。

方法以向各部門收集全面統計資料爲主，抽樣、典型調查爲輔，用動態分析法計算出綜合指數和分類指數（計算方法同綜合指標體系），對每個指標定出警戒綫（根據歷年趨勢或由專家評定相結合），定出警戒標誌或畫出統計圖表，向有關部門提供綜合或專題分析報告。

對以上四個方面指標的監測，如發現有的問題比較突出，可以進行某一方面的專題警報，例如物價上漲問題比較突出，就可以從歷年動態指標體系中反映出來的問題，結合調查問卷中居民對物價上漲的反映，向有關部門收集反映物價問題的典型調查材料進行綜合分析，寫出物價問題的警報報告，及時向有關決策部門上報，以便使決策部門及時採取對策。

Ⅱ. 社會綜合指標體系的評價和社會發展專題報告實例及其社會效果

由中國社科院社會學所、美國所、國家統計局、北京財貿學院等聯合組成的《社會發展和社會指標》課題組，在1988年下半年成立後，首先用綜合評價指標體系對社會發展水平進行評

估和在警報指標體系方面做了一些探索性研究，寫出了有影響的研究報告，並已取得了較好的社會效果。

1. 進行了社會綜合評價指標體系的國際比較研究。用綜合評價指標體系對每個國家的社會發展水平進行評估，從國際比較中找出本國在社會發展中所處的位置和進步與差距，這是一項很有意義的國際比較研究。過去我國無人研究，都是國外專家計算的，曾評出了我國居世界位次約佔70多位，但看不出分項指標的强弱，而且國外專家研究的指標體系和標準也有不盡合理和值得商榷之處。過去一些國際組織習慣的比較方法，往往是用單一的人均國民生產總值指標，都將我國排在世界一百位以後。國內有一些學者也僅僅用幾個經濟指標進行國際對比，就得出了我國與資本主義國家的差距拉大了。還有的人則簡單地用總量指標進行國際比較，過於樂觀地認爲我國某些產值和產量已居世界前列了。無論是過低和過高的估計，都是片面的、有害的。因此，有必要選擇有代表性的社會指標和科學的綜合評價方法，對世界各國的社會發展水平進行科學的評估，從中找出我國的進步與差距。課題組根據世界銀行調整後的可比指標，選擇了16個有代表性的重要指標（人均國民生產總值、農業在國民生產總值中的比重、第三產業比重、出口比重、城市人口比重、非農業勞動者比重、教育經費佔國民生產總值比重、中學生、大學生佔適齡人口比重、人口自然增長率、平均壽命、嬰兒死亡率、每一醫生服務人口、人均攝取熱量、通貨膨脹率、人均能源消費量）對1985年和1987年世界一百多個國家進行了綜合定量評價，用綜合評分法評出每個國家的總分進行排序，編寫了《我國社會發展水平居世界第70位》的論文，評價結果是：這兩年，我國的社會發展總水平都居世界第70位，大致是高於低收入國家，略低於中等收入國家，與發達國家的差距還很大，居世界中等偏下水平。從分項指標看，大致是：

經濟、社會結構居世界後列，人口素質和生活質量居世界中等偏上水平。最後還預測了1988－1990年及今後的社會發展趨勢。

這是在國內首次用社會指標進行的國際比較研究，它客觀地對我國和世界各國的社會發展水平作出了綜合評價和排序，扭轉了過去單純用人均國民生產總值等經濟指標評價我國與世界的差距的片面性。論文先後在新華社的刋物、中國社會科學院院刋、《社會學研究》、《社會工作研究》等刋物上發表和轉載。還被國內和海外報刋轉載，並受到學術界和決策部門的重視和應用。這篇論文在1990年 3 月被評爲社會學所建所十周年優秀科研成果獎一等獎。1987年社會發展水平的國際比較「我國社會發展水平到底居世界多少位」，在1990年 7 月 9 日人民日報發表後，引起了較大的社會反響。

2. 用社會綜合評價指標體系（共40多個社會經濟指標，分五個子系統）對我國1987－1989年各省市自治區的社會發展水平進行了三次綜合評價，1989年評價結果是：居前五位的是北京、上海、天津、遼寧、吉林；居末位的是貴州、西藏。這種評價方法不僅可評出各地區的社會發展總水平，排出次序，而且可以評出各地區社會經濟協調發展的協調度和相互關係，從中找出各地區的薄弱環節。這項評價也在許多國內外報刋上發表和轉載，由於方法簡便易行，是對現有統計資料的開發利用，因此在部份省市引起了較大反響，首先在山東省被省委書記和省人代會等決策部門所重視，他們認爲這種評價方法是開闊了新的視野，是走了理論聯繫實際、科研爲決策服務的路子，他們很重視本省在全國的排序，組織有關人員對本省的薄弱環節進行了認眞研究和採取對策，還有些地區採用此項評價方法，對本地區所屬市縣的社會發展水平進行了評價，以推動本地區的社會發展。

3. 用綜合評價指標體系對我國四十年來的社會發展水平進

行了動態比較評價，結果是：改革十年，全國的社會發展總水平平均每年增長5.6%，比改革前二十六年平均增長2.8%快了一倍；從橫向比較看，三十六年平均，經濟效益指標增長2.6%，社會指標增長 3.9 %，其中增長最快的是生活質量，每年增長5.3%，改革十年中生活質量每年增長10.1%，大大快於同期經濟效益每年增長3.6%的速度，兩者已出現了明顯的不協調。通過總的評價，既綜合反映了四十年來社會發展的成就，也反映了經濟和社會發展的不協調和存在的問題。使人能得出綜合的概念。

4. 用綜合評價指標體系對1988年和1989年 185 個地級以上市和1988年 156 個重點縣的社會發展水平進行了綜合評價和排序。由於市和縣在地域上具有相對可比性，通過綜合評價，不僅評出了先進和後進的市縣，而且從各子系統的相互比較中找出了各市縣社會、經濟不協調之處，使各地區能針對本地區的不協調和薄弱環節採取對策。這兩篇論文發表後，也引起了部份市縣的反響。

據了解，至目前爲止，已有山東、福建、遼寧、黑龍江、吉林、廣西、貴州、江西、湖北、山西等十個省和北京、天津、青島、營口、石咀山、黃石、西寧、洛陽、肇東等部分市縣開展了本地區社會指標的綜合評價，寫出了有比較、有分析的研究報告，爲本地區的領導決策部門提供了科學依據。《中國開發報職業技術教育研究所》的同志，認爲這套評價方法，簡便易行，是科研和實際結合的好路子，很適合向基層管理幹部推廣普及，以推動各地經濟與社會的協調發展，使它直接服務於管理實踐，轉化爲各級領導者決策的手段。爲此，該單位已將這套評價方法和實例錄製成教學錄相片，片名爲《社會綜合評價指標體系的應用》，向全國各基層單位發行。

5. 警報指標和專題研究已初見成效。1988年課題組對具有監測功能的警報指標體系進行了探索性研究。由於綜合警報指標體系的數據收集比較困難，部份數據的準確性和歷年可比性較差，因此目前還不具備建立警報指標綜合指數的條件，課題組首先從單項的專題警報指標，對當前社會發展中出現的較突出的社會問題進行監測和分析，寫出專題警報報告，從1988年下半年開始，先後編寫和上報了《物價上漲幅度過大，已超過警戒綫》、《1988年痛苦指數顯著上升》、《我國城鄉居民貧富差距擴大》、《中小學流失生增多》、《急性傳染病發病率上升》、《社會分配不公的十種表現及對策》等，1988 年下半年對一萬名職工進行了問卷調查，編寫了《萬名職工對當前政治生活的意向》等專題警報報告，對當時的物價上漲、社會風氣不正，分配不公等問題，眞實地反映了職工的心態和意見。1990年10月又對八千名職工進行了關於生活質量的問卷調查編寫了《當前職工生活的意向調查》。以上幾個社會指標專題報告和警報報告均運用了社會指標的多種功能，對當前突出的社會問題進行了歷年動態比較和中外比較。有的還提出了超過警戒綫的幅度和應採取的對策。這些專題報告大部份刊登在重要的內部刊物上。使黨政領導和決策部門及時了解情況，起到了一定的警報作用。

爲繼續研究和完善社會指標的理論和方法，對各層次的社會指標體系作深一步的比較研究，社會指標課題研究將延續到「八五」（1991－1995年），今後除繼續進行社會指標的國際比較，省、市、縣的社會發展水平的綜合評價外，還將開展社會專題指標體系的研究，對重要問題進行問卷調查，編寫研究報告、出版專著，進行國內和國際間社會指標研究的經驗交流；搞好益陽、萊蕪、肇東三市社會發展實驗區的社會發展和社會指標運用等方面的調查研究。

總的來看，社會指標體系研究工作尙屬初創、探索階段，目前在理論方法上、指標的篩選等方面還存在一些問題，需要

繼續努力，借鑒國外先進經驗，結合我國實際情況，不斷對社會指標體系和綜合評價方法改進和完善，並在此基礎上有所創新，建立起具有中國特色的社會指標體系和科學的評價方法，把社會指標這把「尺子」準確地、及時地對我國社會經濟發展的現狀、趨勢和問題進行監測、衡量，更好地爲我國現代化和改革服務，以促進社會經濟協調穩步的發展。

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5

上海社會指標與社會現狀

胡延照

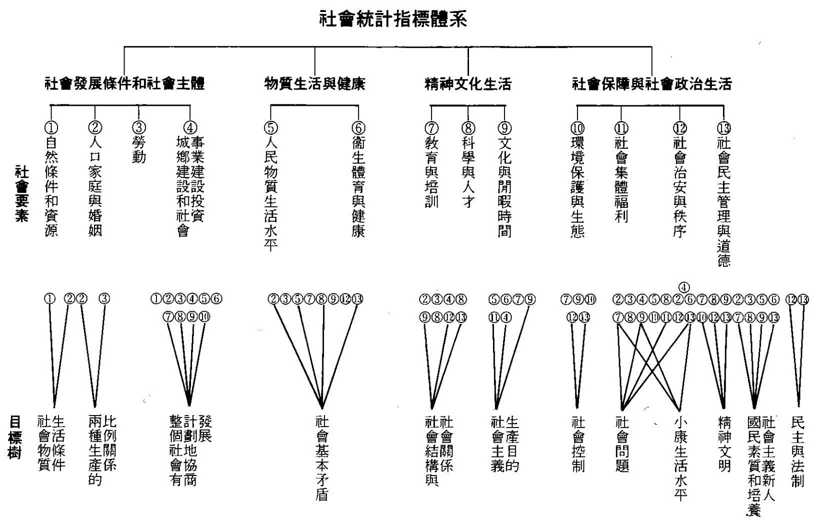
提　綱

本世紀八十年代中國社會發生了具有歷史性的轉折，中國人民以經濟建設爲中心，堅持四項基本原則、堅持改革開放，探索具有中國特色的社會主義道路，中國社會取得了長足的進步已爲世人所矚目。作爲中國最大的工商業城市，上海在改革開放的推動下社會經濟生活正在發生深刻的變化，人們的社會生活正從溫飽走向小康。

上海人民正以開發、開放浦東爲契機，以壯士斷腕的決心和氣魄，艱苦奮鬥、奮發圖强，爲改造上海，振興上海、爲到廿一世紀初把上海建設成爲亞太地區重要的經濟中心和國際性城市而努力奮鬥。

本報告依據上海社會指標體系框架（詳見下圖），運用大量社會指標，從工資與收入、消費水平與消費結構、衛生與健康、教育與國民素質、勞動就業與婦女地位、居民對生活水平

與生活質量評價等方面簡要地描述和刻劃上海八十年代社會發展和人民生活水平變化的歷史性軌跡和現狀，並對發展中存在的問題和矛盾作一概要的分析。



I. 生活水平與生活質量

提高人民生活水平與質量，滿足人民羣衆不斷增長的物質文化生活需求是社會主義生產和發展的根本目的。鄧小平提出到本世紀末國民生產總值翻兩翻，人民生活達到小康水平是我們近期的奮鬥目標。我們必須在努力發展生產提高勞動生產的基礎上逐步提高人民生活水平，使人們的生活更健康、文明、舒適、愉快，不僅提高人們的物質生活水平，而且更需要提高精神文化生活水平，使人們在高尚的娛樂和藝術享受中陶冶人們的情操、提高民族素質。本章將以下各個方面描述和刻劃這一歷史性的變化。

1. 國民生產總值與消費基金

國民生產總值與國民收入中消費基金的增長是改善和提高人民生活水平的基本條件，1989年上海國民生產總值已達696.5億元，比1980年增長1.2倍；國民收入586.8億元，增長1.1倍；社會消費基金266.1億元，增長2.6倍，其中居民消費基金233.1億元，增長2.8倍，遠遠超過國民生產總值的增長水平。同時，人均社會消費基金與人均居民消費基金大幅度增長，分別由1980年621元、544元上升到2,097元、1,837元，消費基金的增長爲促進社會進步、改善居民生活提供了堅實的物質基礎。詳見表1：

表1：國民生產總值與消費基金的增長

年份	GNP (億元)	國民收入 (億元)	社會消費基金 (億元)	居民消費基金 (億元)	人均社會消費基金 (元)	人均居民消費基金 (元)
1989年	696.5	586.8	266.1	233.1	2,097	1,837
1980年	311.9	282.4	74.2	62.0	621	544
增長%	123.3	107.8	258.6	276.0	237.7	237.7
年均增長%	7.8	7.4	15.2	15.9	14.5	14.5

註：GNP、國民收入年均增長率爲可比價格，其他按當年價格計算。

2. 工資與收入

隨着生產的發展及消費基金的增長，職工工資和農民收入均有較大幅度的增加。1989年全市職工工資總額126.3億元，比1980年增長2.3倍，職工年平均工資2,512元，增加1.9倍，年均增長率分別爲14.2%和12.5%。剔除期間職工生活費價格指數年均上升7.5%，仍有較大幅度增長。

據500戶城市居民家庭收支調查，1989年人均年生活費收

入爲1,860元，比1980年 560 元增長2.3倍，剔除物價因素年均增長6.3％。詳見表２：

表2：城市職工與居民收入的增長

項目	單位	1989年	1980年	增長	年均貨幣增長(%)	年均實際增長(%)
職工工資總額	億元	126.3	38.1	2.3倍	14.2	6.2
職工年均工資	元	2,512	873	1.9倍	12.5	4.7
居民家庭人均生活費收入	元	1,860	560	2.3倍	14.3	6.3

註：年均實際增長即扣除價格影響的實際增長水平。

上海郊縣是我國農業最發達的地區之一，鄉村工業發展也較快，1989年鄉村工業銷售額已達 200 億元以上，因而農民收入的增加大於城市居民，1989年農民家庭人均年總收入1,806元，其中純收入 1,520 元，分別比1980年增長3.1倍和2.8倍。農民收入增加的主要因素是家庭經營和從鄉村企業得到的收入大幅度增加。詳見表３：

表3：農民收入結構與收入的增長(抽樣調查)

	1989年(元)	1980年(元)	增長	年均貨幣收入增長%
人均年總收入	1,806	441	3.1倍	17.0
一. 從集體得到的收入	809	309	1.6倍	11.3
其中：鄉村企業直接得到	708	93	6.6倍	25.3
二. 家庭經營收入	795	95	7.4倍	26.6
三. 其他收入	200	37	4.4倍	20.6
人均年純收入	1,520	402	2.8倍	15.9

數據表明：農民從鄉村企業和家庭經營得到的收入是全部收入的最主要部份，其比重由1980年43％上升到1989年的83％。

3.消費水平與消費結構

收入的增加和消費水平提高，使消費結構發生了深刻的變化。1989年城市居民人均消費支出水平 1,812 元，農民人均消費支出 1,319 元，分別比1980年增長2.3倍和3.1倍，年均增長14.1％和16.9％。

(1)「吃、穿、用」全面增長，結構發生質的變化

其基本標誌是「用」的支出增長幅度遠高於「吃」、「穿」的增長水平。詳見表４：

表4：城鄉居民消費水平的結構性變化

年份	城市居民家庭			農民家庭			
	吃	穿	用	吃	穿	用	住
1989年(元)	1,010	212	421	558	111	237	332
1980年(元)	310	79	101	167	35	34	70
增長(倍)	2.26	1.68	3.16	2.34	2.17	5.97	3.74

(2)食物消費水平與結構性變化

其基本標誌是主食消費量下降，副食與動物類食物消費水平有較大幅度提高。詳見表５：

表5：副食與動物類消費量的增長

	1989年		1980年		增長水平(%)	
	城市居民	農民	城市居民	農民	城市居民	農民
主食(元)	75.6	70.1	56.3	70.4	34.3	−0.4
副食(元)	648.1	281.7	177.6	74.1	264.9	280.2
糧食(公斤)	114.4	265.2	148.6	302.7	−23.0	−12.4
食用油(公斤)	9.7	7.2	5.4	3.7	79.6	94.6
肉禽蛋(公斤)	46.4	29.5	28.6	16.3	62.2	81.0
鮮奶(公斤)	19.3	—	4.8	—	302.1	—
蔬菜(公斤)	123.8	121.5	146.3	104.6	−15.4	16.2

（3）恩格爾系數的變化

恩格爾系數在市場化國家和地區測量消費結構變動比較正確，但中國的消費結構變化難以用恩格爾系數衡量，因爲國家和企業給職工相當數量的福利性補貼，單企業用於職工福利的支出約相當於職工人均工資的20％左右。同時醫療和住房幾乎是免費的。用在農村的補貼較少，以恩格爾系數測量農民的消費結構變化則較爲可靠，詳見表6：

表6：農民家庭消費結構的恩格爾系數

	1980年	1985年	1986年	1987年	1988年	1989年
生活費支出(元)	722.9	778.5	859.8	977.4	1,229.2	1,319.3
其中食品支出(元)	166.8	341.5	405.9	450.4	488.4	557.6
恩格爾系數(％)	51.7	43.9	45.3	46.1	39.7	42.3

城市居民家庭的恩格爾系數也呈下降趨勢。詳見表7：

表7：城市居民家庭的恩格爾系數

	1980年	1985年	1986年	1987年	1988年	1989年
生活費支出(元)	552.8	991.8	1,170.2	1,282.1	1,648.4	1,811.9
其中食品支出(元)	309.6	516.9	616.7	698.3	867.9	1,010.5
恩格爾系數(％)	56.0	52.1	52.7	54.5	52.7	55.8

據初步分析，1989年的恩格爾系數回升與市場疲軟和居民家庭耐用消費品基本飽和有關。如果加上企業的福利費支出，恩格爾系數將至少下降5-7個百分點，因而1989年城市居民家庭的恩格爾系數應爲0.48-0.50。

（4）以家用電器爲主體的耐用消費品大量進入居民家庭

居民收入的持續增長是生活質量提高的決定性因素。八十年代上海社會經濟生活從溫飽走向小康的重要表徵是以彩電、

冰箱、洗衣機爲主體的家用電器迅速普及。詳見表8：

表8：城市居民家庭擁有的耐用消費品(台/百戶)

	1980年	1985年	1987年	1989年
黑白電視機	59	88	77	68
彩色電視機		22	44	66
電冰箱	—	20	62	85
洗衣機	—	26	49	67
電風扇	45	118	144	169
錄音機	11	59	84	96
照相機	7	20	31	40

不僅城市居民家庭如此，而且農民家庭耐用消費品也有相當數量。詳見表9：

表9：農民家庭擁有的耐用消費品(台/百戶)

	1980年	1985年	1987年	1989年
黑白電視機	2	41	61	71
彩色電視機	—	4	9	19
電冰箱	—	—	4	21
洗衣機	—	2	13	39
電風扇	—	62	105	169
錄音機	—	9	16	23
自行車	71	152	190	234
縫紉機	42	77	83	85

（5）居民家庭各類消費支出的彈性系數

據對市區500戶居民家庭家計調查資料計算各類消費支出相對收入的彈性系數，給出結果如下：

表10：各類支出的彈性系數

各類支出	吃	穿	用	燒	生活服務
彈性系數	0.50	1.20	1.47	0.17	1.03

一般認爲，彈性系數超過 1 爲「奢侈品」，即隨着收入的增加或減少，該商品的消費將以更快的速度增加或減少。表10表明「用」的商品彈性系數最大爲1.47，「穿」其次爲1.2，「生活服務」再次爲1.03。基本反映出上海居民的基本追求和一般消費心態，表徵着居民的消費需求已從滿足生存需要向發展和享受需要轉化。

「吃」的彈性系數爲0.5表明居民早已由「吃飽」轉爲「吃好」，據對主要食品的彈性系數計算，給出結果詳見表11：

表11：主要食品彈性系數

食品種類	糧食	豬肉	鮮菜	鮮蛋	家禽	水產品	鮮奶及奶製品	水果	酒	罐頭	卷煙
彈性系數	0.05	0.14	0.15	0.18	0.37	0.39	0.53	0.54	0.70	0.84	0.94

計算表明糧食、豬肉、鮮菜、鮮蛋已成爲居民的基本食品，家禽、水產品、鮮奶及奶製品、水果已爲家常食品，而酒、罐頭、卷烟的彈性系數稍高，但均小於 1 。

4. 住宅與居住條件

住房歷來是人們最爲關心的問題，黨和政府十分重視改善市民居住條件。1978年至1989年上海居民住宅建設投資總額共達128億元，新建居民住宅（建築面積）4,568萬平方米，相當於上海城市居民住宅面積總量的一半以上。

1978年以來，上海城市人口由557.4萬人增加至777.8萬人，按人口平均居住面積已由1978年 4.5 平方米上升到 6.4 平方米。不僅住宅面積有所增加，而且居住條件亦有較大改善，全市有 100 餘萬戶居民家庭遷入新居。在城市居民各類住宅中，居住條件較好的公寓、花園住宅、新式里弄、新工房的建設面

積比重由1978年43.5％上升到1989年61.3％，這些住宅絕大部份有煤氣和衛生設備。詳見表12：

表12：城市居民居住條件的改善

	1978年	1980年	1985年	1989年	1989年比1978年增長(％)
市區人口(萬人)	557.1	601.3	698.3	777.8	39.6
居民戶數(萬戶)	151.8	158.0	197.4	244.4	61.0
住宅建築面積(萬平方米)	4,117.0	4,402.5	6,444.3	8,535.0	107.3
其中：公寓、花園住宅、新式里弄、新工房(萬平方米)	1,790.8	2,060.8	3,425.9	5,236.0	192.4
佔住宅總面積的比重(％)	43.5	46.8	53.2	61.3	17.8
人均居住面積(平方米)	4.5	4.4	5.4	6.4	42.2
居民煤氣用戶(萬戶)	58.7	70.9	100.5	134.7	129.5
家用煤氣普及率(％)	38.7	44.9	50.8	54.9	16.2

5. 衛生與健康

長期以來，政府積極貫徹「城鄉兼顧、中西醫結合，預防爲主、防治結合」的方針，並從多方面採取措施保障人民健康。目前上海已基本形成以市、區縣、街道、鄉（企業）「三級分工」爲特徵的醫療和預防保健網絡。到1989年全市已擁有衛生事業機構 7,550 個、醫院 460 所、醫療床位6.87萬張、衛生技術人員11.7萬人，其中醫生 5.7 萬人，均有不同程度的發展；此外工商企業和機關、學校等事業單位還設有大量醫務室和保健站，形成一個結構較爲合理的醫療保健體系。

主要衛生與健康指標均達到較爲先進的水平。詳見表13：

表13：主要衛生與健康指標

每萬人口醫生數	44.9人	產婦住院分娩率	99.7
城市	57.4人	城市	99.9
郊縣	25.2人	郊縣	99.4
每萬人口醫療床位數	53.8張	平均期望壽命	
城市	59.7張	男	72.9歲
郊縣	44.7張	女	77.1歲
每萬職工療養床位數	23.5張	健康檢查人數佔人口的比重	15－19%

從上海居民死亡原因的分析也可看出上海人民健康狀況的趨勢，五十年代初危害居民健康的首位死因是傳染病，到八十年代已降至第七、第八位，八十年代以來主要死因依次爲惡性腫瘤、腦管病、心臟病，與歐美發達國家的趨向基本一致。

Ⅱ. 生活質量的國際比較

1. ASHA指標和PQLI指數的比較

單純的人均國民生產總值和個人消費水平不足以全面評價和衡量生活水平和生活質量，國際上一般把就業率、識字率、平均估計壽命、出生率、嬰兒死亡率、人均國民生產總值增長率等指標作爲衡量生活質量的參數，比較通用方法如ASHA指標法和生活質量指數（PQLI）等：

按照PQLI指數計算，將上海與世界發達國家和中等發達國家和地區的PQLI指數比較。詳見表14：

表14：PQLI 指數的國際比較(1986年)

	一歲估計壽命		嬰兒死亡率		識字率		PQLI 指數
	歲	指數	‰	指數	%	指數	%
香港	76	97	8	99.5	90	90	95.5
新加坡	74	90	9	99	75	75	88
日本	78	103	6	100.5	99	99	100.8
美國	75	90	10	98.5	99	99	95.9
上海	75	90	12.6	97.5	85	85	90.8

據美國人口問題委員會1977年 PQLI 指數的計算結果，全世界平均65，其中發達國家平均爲92，不發達國家和地區平均爲55，上海的 PQLI 指數已接近七十年代後期發達國家水平。

根據ASHA指數計算：

$$\mathrm{ASHA}=\frac{\text{就業率}\times\text{識字率}\times\text{估計壽命}/70\times\text{人均國民生產總值增長率}}{\text{人口出生率}\times\text{嬰兒死亡率}}$$

計算結果表明上海ASHA指數已遠遠超過發展中國家2000年奮鬥目標的2023，爲13099。詳見表15：

表15：ASHA 指數的國際比較(1986年)

不同國家和地區	人均 GNP 增長率 (%)(1965－1988)	出生率 (‰)	嬰兒死亡率 (‰)	就業率 (‰)	識字率 (‰)	平均估計壽命 (歲)
低收入國家	3.1	30	69	—	—	59＊
中等收入國家	2.6	31	65	—	—	61＊
市場經濟工業國	2.3	13	9	—	—	76＊
南朝鮮	6.7	20	25	—	930	
香港	6.2	16	8	—	900	78
新加坡	7.6	16	9	456	750	74
日本	4.3	12	6	484	990	78
美國	1.6	16	10	461	990	75
上海	3.8	13	12.6	620	850	75

註：＊係1983年統計數據。

2. 現代化社會一般標準指標

美國著名的社會學家和現代化問題研究專家阿歷克斯·莫爾克斯在其長期研究的基礎上提出了現代化社會一般標準的十項指標。用其衡量上海社會發展水平有一定的借鑒意義。詳見表16：

表16：用十項指標衡量上海社會發展水平

十項指標	上海			現代化社會一般標準指標
	1980年	1985年	1989年	
人均 GNP（人民幣）	2,738	3,855	5,489	3,000美元
農業增加值佔 GNP 比重(％)	3.2	4.2	4.3	12－15以下
第三產業佔 GNP 比重(％)	21.1	26.0	28.8	45以上
非農業就業者佔全部就業人員的比重(％)	70.0	82.5	87.5	70以上
識字的有文化人口佔總人口的比重(％)	85.6＊①		87.6＊②	80以上
同齡青年中受高等教育比重(％)				
城市人口比重(％)	58.2	61.6	67.2	50以上
平均每八百人中一名醫師	4.2	5.2	5.6	1
平均每三人中一份報紙	0.64＊③	1.3	1	1
平均估計壽命(歲)	73	74	75	60歲以上

註：＊①②係1982年、1987年，＊③係平均每 3 人每天報紙出版量。

Ⅲ. 人口結構與國民素質

人是社會的主體，是社會生產力的基本要素，是社會物質財富和精神財富的創造者和消費者的統一，同時也是生產關係和其他各種社會關係的承擔者。按照歷史唯物主義的觀點，人口再生產與物質資料再生產保持適當的比例關係是社會再生產最基本的比例關係之一。人口的規模、結構和素質對社會經濟發展有重要影響和制約作用，目前上海經濟社會發展中的突出矛盾和問題均與人口規模、結構、素質密切相關。當今世界的競爭從本質上講是科學技術的競爭，即人才與國民素質的競爭，提高國民素質關係民族的興亡和上海的改造振興，同時，提高國民素質特別是勞動力素質是推動社會進步的根本環節。

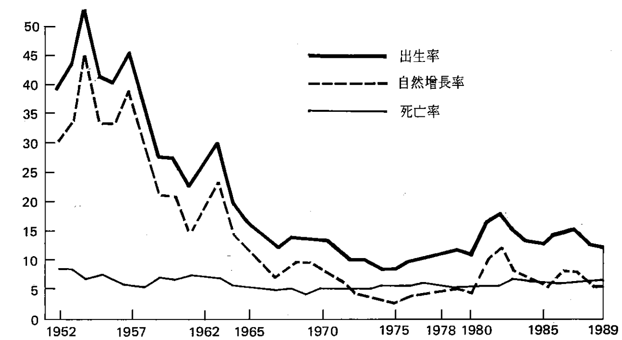
1. 人口增長與人口規模

八十年代以來，上海人口增長受五十年代生育高峰衝擊的餘波和人口機械增長的雙重影響，人口規模由1980年1,146.5萬人增加至1989年1,276.5萬人，總量增加130萬人，平均每年增加14.4萬人，年均增長1.2％。

從人口增長結構分析：近十年間，出生人口 159.9 萬人，死亡72萬人，自然增長87.9萬人，佔增長總量67.6％；人口出生率除個別年份外均在12-16‰波動，自然增長率則在6-10‰之間波動。機械人口增長42.1萬人，佔增加總量的32.4％，機械增長率控制在3-7‰。

從建國四十年的縱向觀察，隨着人民生活的改善，人口出生率和死亡率的變動總態勢由解放初期高出生率、高死亡率、高自然增長率逐步向低出生率、低死亡率、低自然增長率轉化。詳見下圖：

上海人口出生率、死亡率、自然增長率變動軌迹(‰)



2. 人口結構

近二十年來，上海市民年齡結構發生了三大結構性的變化。

(1)以青年爲主體的社會年齡結構向以中年人口爲主體的結構轉化

1982年15-29歲青年人口400萬人，佔人口總量的33.5%，即每三人中有一個青年人；至1989年減至295萬人，佔23.1%。而30-50歲中年人口由1982年304萬人增加至442萬人，目前每三人中有一個中年人。

(2)人口年齡結構已由「金字塔」向「聖誕樹」型過渡

詳見下圖。圖1爲第一次人口普查1953年7月1日零時；圖2爲第二次人口普查1964年7月1日零時；圖3爲第三次人口普查1982年7月1日零時；圖4爲1987年1%抽樣調查。

圖 1

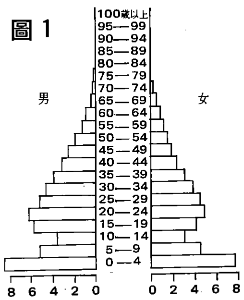


圖 2

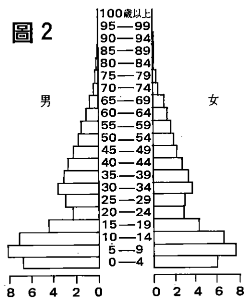


圖 3

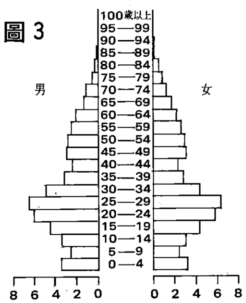
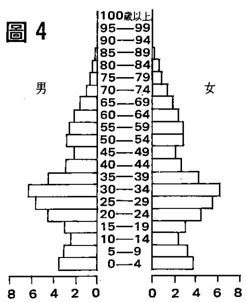


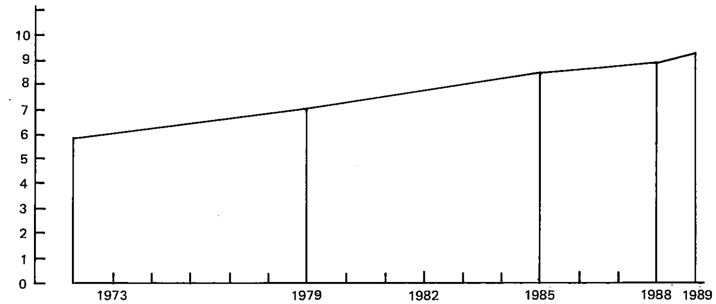
圖 4



(3)人口老齡化

按一般通用標準計算，65歲以上老人比重超過7%標誌着已進入老齡化社會。上海從1979年起65歲以上人口比重超過7%，達7.11%，先於全國20年進入老齡化社會。近二十年來人口增長指數爲1.1，而老齡化指數則高達4.5，1989年65歲以上人口已達116萬佔人口總量9.1%。詳見下圖：

上海人口老化態勢圖



3. 家庭規模與計劃生育

上海早在六十年代開始實行計劃生育，進入八十年代，「一對夫婦只生一個孩子」的計劃生育已成爲我國的基本國策，上海計劃生育率由1980年91.4%提高到99.4%，獨生子女領證人數由162.3萬人上升到261.7萬人。詳見表17：

表17：八十年代計劃生育進展(%)

年份	一胎率	二胎率	計劃生育率	節育率	已領獨生子女證人數佔已婚育齡婦女比重
1980年	80.1	19.6	91.4	88.1	22.6
1989年	95.6	4.4	99.4	90.2	65.4

據1989年對 500 戶居民調查，96.1％的居民認爲計劃生育政策是應該的，97.6％的居民表示今後仍應堅持計劃生育政策。

隨着計劃生育工作的展開，上海家庭規模趨向小型化。平均每戶人口由1949年4.9人下降至1990年3.1人。詳見表18：

表18：家庭規模小型化趨向(人)

	1949年	1957年	1965年	1975年	1980年	1985年	1990年
平均每戶人口	4.9	4.7	4.5	4.0	3.8	3.5	3.1
市區	5.0	4.7	4.6	3.8	3.8	3.5	3.2
郊縣	4.6	4.9	4.4	4.1	3.7	3.4	3.1

4. 國民教育與培訓

政府歷來十分重視教育的發展和國民素質的提高。目前4-6歲學齡前兒童教育已基本普及，兒童入學率100％，市區基本普及九年制義務教育後，高中階段入學率已達98％，郊縣九年制義務教育率亦已達80％以上。

1989年上海擁有各級各類全日制學校四千多所，其中高等院校51所，中等專業學校113所，職業、技工學校406所，普通中學720所，小學2,761所。根據社會主義現代化建設需要，各類成人教育應運而生，各行各業的幹部和職工結合本職工作的需要進行繼續教育提高科學文化素質。1989年各類成人學校837所，在校學生21.9萬人。

1978年以來，上海高校共培養大學生22.7萬人，佔40年培養總量50％以上。國民教育的主要指標均有相當的提高，國民教育和擴展機會有所增加。詳見表19：

表19：主要國民教育與擴展機會指標(％)

	1989年
兒童入學率	99.9
初中升學率	99.9
高中升學率	82.6
大學升學率	57.1

5. 勞動力素質

勞動力的素質維繫上海發展的前途，近十年來勞動力的科學文化素質有較大幅度提高。就業人口中大專以上文化程度的比例從1982年3.9％提高到6.4％，每萬職工擁有專業技術人員數由940人上升到2,141人，專業人員由33.1萬人增加到84.3萬人。詳見表20：

表20：勞動力素質(％)

	1982年	1987年
就業人口中大專文化程度比重	3.9	6.4
就業人口中高中文化程度比重	27.1	24.6
就業人口中初中文化程度比重	36.8	41.9
就業人口中文盲半文盲比重	11.3	8.6
專業人員數(萬)＊	33.1	84.3
全民單位每萬職工專業人員數＊(人)	940	2,141
每萬人口專業人員數＊(人)	289	661

＊係1989年與1980年數據

6. 國民教育素質的國際比較

表21：每萬人口大學生擁有量與發達國家比較

	上海(1989年)	日本(1980年)	美國(1978年)	英國(1977年)	法國(1977年)	聯邦德國(1978年)	蘇聯(1978年)
每萬人口大學生在校數	102	182	449	106	207	145	196

註：上海若包括成人高校爲157人。

表22：初、中等教育毛入學率與亞洲部分國家和地區比較

	上海(1986年)	香港(1983年)	日本(1983年)	新加坡(1983年)	南朝鮮(1983年)
初等敎育毛入學率	105.7	106	100	107	103
中等敎育毛入學率	80.9	68	94(高中)	69	89

表23：勞動年齡人口文化素質比較(%)

			大專以上	高中	初中	小學及以下
上海	1982年	6足歲以上	3.8	22.0	30.4	43.8
		15－59歲	4.5	28.3	35.2	32.0
		25歲以上	4.5	14.1	31.4	50.0
	1987年	6足歲以上	6.2	19.6	34.3	39.9
		15－64歲	7.4	23.9	39.4	29.3
		25歲以上	6.1	19.6	33.5	41.8
台灣省	1975年	6足歲以上	7.1	16.8	15.0	51.2
	1985年	6足歲以上	9.4	21.6	19.8	49.1
日本	1970年	15－64歲	8.9	34.1	56.7	
	1980年	15－64歲	14.8	44.2	49.1	
香港	1981年	25歲以上	8.9	18.2	17.6	55.3
南朝鮮	1980年	25歲以上	7.1	17.3	13.2	62.3

Ⅳ. 社會公平與社會安定

社會公平與社會安定是現代化建設的基本條件，沒有安定的經濟秩序、社會秩序就無法進行經濟建設和改革開放，公平與安定是社會健康發展的基礎，也是現存各種社會關係、經濟關係協調性、相容性及社會經濟調控機制有效運行的標誌。

1. 勞動就業

1978年上海面臨着幾十萬知識青年回城的巨大就業壓力，政府採取各種措施緩解就業矛盾，同時逐步採取「在國家統籌規劃下，實行勞動部門介紹就業，自願組織起來就業和自謀職業三結合」的就業方針，爲勞動就業打開了新的局面。1978-1989年城鎮新就業人員達255.5萬人，佔職工總數的50%以上。城鎮失業率控制在0.5-1.5%之間。詳見表24-25：

表24：1978年以來安排勞動就業人數(萬人)

年份	合計	就業人員主要來源：城鎮待業人員	農村勞動力	大、中、專技校畢業生	其他
1978－1989	255.45	111.96	44.80	56.24	42.45
1978	16.43	6.82	1.06	4.31	4.24
1979	47.90	32.90	6.35	3.14	5.51
1980	23.05	11.67	2.67	5.23	3.48
1981	27.02	15.90	2.51	4.04	4.57
1982	25.06	12.05	2.65	5.67	4.69
1983	16.90	5.02	2.84	5.89	3.15
1984	15.06	5.20	3.85	3.15	2.86
1985	17.16	5.33	5.26	3.49	3.08
1986	16.03	4.27	5.37	4.49	1.90
1987	19.19	4.80	5.08	5.48	3.83
1988	16.97	3.19	4.41	5.73	3.64
1989	14.68	4.81	2.75	5.62	1.50

表25：城鎮待業人數及待業率(萬人)

	1978年	1980年	1985年	1988年	1989年
城鎮待業人數	10.0	14.8	1.2	4.5	7.0
待業率(%)	2.3	3.2	0.2	0.9	1.4

據我們對3,000名待業人員抽樣調查，60％的待業者是從就業崗位上辭退下來的，69％的人待業前曾就業過。從待業者擇業心態分析，按擇業時考慮的主要因素排序：希望工資收入高一點的佔67.2％，福利待遇好一點的64.1％，勞動强度低一點的36％，能發揮特長和能學到技術的31.8％，有出國機會的8.6％。比較集中的職業是：駕駛員、列車服務員、賓館招待員、營業員、合資企業合同工、公關等。

2.婦女地位

1989年上海女職工已達212.2萬人，佔職工隊伍的42％，女專業技術人員34.4萬人，佔40.8％，其中女醫務工作者佔72.4％，女教師佔52.5％。並湧現出一批女科學家、女專家、女教授、女工程師、女企業家在各方面發揮了「半邊天」作用。詳見表26-27：

表26：工作在各行各業中的婦女(萬人)

	總計	工業	建築業	交通、郵電	商業、服務業	房產公用業	衛生、體育	教育、文化	科技	金融	機關團體
女職工	212.2	123.1	5.3	6.3	26.8	10.8	9.4	16.3	3.4	1.6	3.7
比重(％)	42.0	45.1	19.4	20.6	46.4	40.4	63.4	48.7	33.9	47.9	25.9

表27：工作在專業技術崗位上的婦女(萬人)

	總計	工程技術人員	衛生技術人員	科學研究人員	教學人員	經濟專業人員	財務專業人員	統計專業人員
女性	34.4	6.3	6.4	0.8	10.8	3.3	4.5	1.2
比重(％)	40.8	24.5	72.4	30.7	52.5	23.9	62.5	69.7

據對500戶居民抽樣調查，86.5％的女性就業者認爲自己與男性就業者同工同酬，39.8％的女性對自己所從事的職業從總體評價上表示滿意，35.6％的女性表示還可以。詳見表28：

表28：女性就業對自己工作環境、職業聲望和社會貢獻的自我評價(％)

	很滿意	較滿意	一般	不太滿意	很不滿意
總的評價	2.1	35.7	38.1	17.3	6.7
工作環境與條件	3.3	19.6	52.8	17.1	7.4
職業的社會聲望	2.5	15.4	60.8	16.0	5.9
工資及獎金收入	1.4	8.0	44.1	32.2	12.4
對社會的貢獻	4.1	19.8	68.3	5.5	2.2
勞動形式和强度	1.4	14.9	60.6	17.4	5.8
單位的福利待遇	0.8	8.8	50.4	28.7	11.6
工作的技術程度	1.4	11.0	75.7	9.4	2.2
單位離家遠近	11.0	23.1	34.7	18.7	12.4
權力的運用	1.4	6.6	63.7	17.3	10.9
晋級提升的機會	0.6	4.6	46.3	28.2	20.2

雖然86.5％女性就業者認爲與男性同工同酬，但仍有44.6％的女性對工資和獎金收入不太滿意，同時對晋升機會和福利待遇表示不滿意或不盡人意。

3.工資、收入與物價

近十年來特別是近五年來物價指數出現迅猛上漲勢頭，但由於工資、收入增長幅度超過物價上揚水平，從總體上講絕大多數居民生活水平仍有較大幅度提高。詳見表29：

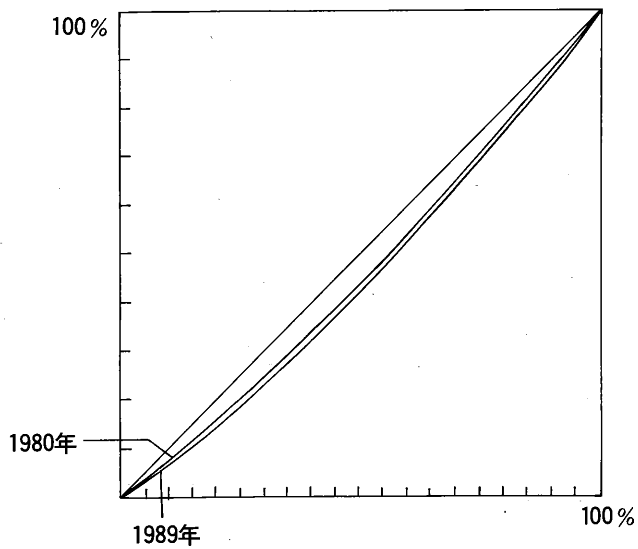
表29：工資、收入、物價指數比較(％)

年份	工資總額指數	GNP指數	人均工資指數	人均生活費收入指數	職工生活費指數	消費品價格指數
1980－1989年	301.7	223.3	287.7	332.1	191.8	199.2
1985－1989年	192.8	149.3	186.9	183.8	160.0	164.3

4. 洛倫茨曲綫與基尼系數

據 500 戶居民家計調查資料計算:1980年基尼系數爲0.112，1985年基尼系數爲0.123，1989年爲0.124。洛倫茨曲綫見下圖：

1980、1989年洛倫茨曲線



5. 財富分配指數及其比較

財富分配指數普遍用於衡量收入分配公平程度，其計算公式：

$$財富分配指數=\frac{最高20\%家庭收入佔總收入百分比}{最低20\%家庭收入佔總收入百分比}$$

1989年上海城市居民家庭財富分配指數爲1.8，遠遠低於發達國家和中等收入國家和地區。詳見表30：

表30：財富分配指數的國際比較

國家與地區	年份	最高收入家庭佔總收入比重(%)	最低收入家庭佔總收入比重(%)	財富分配指數
南朝鮮	1976	45.3	5.7	7.9
香港	1980	47.0	5.4	8.7
日本	1979	37.5	8.7	4.3
美國	1980	39.9	5.3	7.5
英國	1979	39.7	7.0	5.7
法國	1985	42.2	5.5	7.7
意大利	1977	43.9	6.2	7.1
加拿大	1981	40.0	5.3	7.5
上海	1989	25.4	14.1	1.8

V. 居民對生活質量和社會發展的評估

1. 對生活水平和生活質量的總體評估

大多數居民認爲改革開放十年來實際生活水平和質量有很大改善。詳見表31：

表31：居民對十年實際生活水平和質量的估價(%)

明顯提高	提高	差不多	略有下降	下降
27.6	43.7	10.4	12.1	5.8

居民中傾向水平下降和略有下降的人羣分佈：按收入分佈主要是人均收入1,000元以下和3,000元以上者；按年齡分佈主要是人均收入1,000元以下和3,000元以上者；按年齡分佈主要是 36-44 歲和65歲以上者；按職業分佈主要是退休人員、家庭主婦和少數機關幹部。

2. 對家庭生活、婚姻、經濟狀況的評價

大多數居民社會生活中婚姻穩定、家庭和睦，經濟狀況良好，家務負擔有所減輕，但對物價上漲表示不滿，詳見表32：

表32：居民對婚姻、家庭生活、經濟狀況和物價的評價(%)

	很滿意	較滿意	一般	不太滿意	不滿意
婚姻	46.5	36.5	13.6	0.9	2.5
家庭生活	19.3	38.6	35.6	3.8	1.0
經濟狀況	3.8	14.7	65.0	11.3	3.6
親友間關係	22.5	47.1	26.7	1.4	0.4
家務負擔	6.0	15.3	60.3	13.7	2.8
物價狀況	2.6	6.6	14.0	36.3	40.5

3. 居民對購物和就餐狀況的評價

近十年上海商業、飲食業機構成倍增加，商品種類繁多、貨源充沛、購買方便居民比較滿意。詳見表33：

表33：居民對商業和飲食業狀況的評價(%)

	對現狀的評價					比較評價		
	很滿意	較滿意	一般	較不滿意	很不滿意	70年代好	80年代好	差不多
買食品 品種	8.3	47.5	28.4	10.1	5.8	19.3	69.6	11.1
價格	1.4	7.7	29.0	37.8	24.1	70.0	13.3	16.7
貨源	8.1	43.1	33.4	10.5	5.0	16.9	65.4	17.7
方便程度	5.6	34.6	42.7	11.5	5.6	18.7	60.6	20.7
買服裝衣料 品種規格	9.7	44.3	30.2	11.9	3.8	12.3	73.2	14.3
價格	1.4	8.3	32.2	36.8	21.1	67.8	14.1	17.9
貨源	8.9	43.3	33.8	10.1	3.8	13.9	68.4	17.5
方便程度	6.0	37.0	41.3	11.9	3.6	14.1	65.0	20.9
買日用品 品種規格	6.2	39.8	35.6	14.3	3.8	25.2	59.6	15.2
價格	1.4	7.2	32.4	37.6	21.1	65.4	13.9	20.7
貨源	4.0	33.2	41.6	15.7	5.2	23.1	55.1	21.5
方便程度	3.8	27.6	45.1	16.5	6.8	27.4	49.1	23.3
飲食網點	2.2	33.2	42.3	17.1	5.2	26.5	58.2	15.3
方便程度	1.8	31.8	39.2	19.3	7.9	28.4	58.6	13.1

但對價格和服務態度很有意見。詳見表34：

表34：居民對價格和服務態度評價(%)

	很滿意	較滿意	一般	較不滿意	很不滿意
食品價格	1.4	7.7	29.0	37.8	24.1
服裝衣料價格	1.4	8.3	32.2	36.8	21.1
日用品價格	1.4	7.2	32.4	37.6	21.1
商業服務態度	0.6	6.4	45.1	16.5	6.8
飲食業服務態度	0.8	8.3	33.6	33.6	23.7

4. 居民對郵電、通訊服務的評價

居民對郵電通訊服務基本持肯定態度，詳見表35：

表35：居民對郵電通訊服務評價(%)

	很滿意	較滿意	一般	較不滿意	很不滿意
網點分佈	4.2	30.0	48.1	13.7	4.0
服務時間	3.8	22.5	55.5	13.3	4.8
方便程度	3.0	23.7	50.5	16.3	6.4
服務態度	1.0	14.5	56.5	20.1	7.7

5. 居民對看病就醫的評價

雖然，近七年來本市衛生保健事業有較大發展，一定程度緩解了「看病難」、「住院難」的矛盾，但由於人口結構的老化和大量外地病員的湧入，居民看病就醫仍有不少困難，居民對此反映較大。詳見表36：

表36：居民對看病就醫方便程度的評價(%)

	很滿意	較滿意	一般	較不滿意	很不滿意
看病手續	1.0	14.3	45.7	27.1	11.9
醫療水平	2.4	16.5	42.5	27.4	11.1
方便程度	2.2	17.7	42.1	26.2	11.7
服務態度	1.2	8.9	37.0	33.0	19.9

6. 居民對文化娛樂服務的評價

居民對文化娛樂設施的數量、內容、秩序、服務態度總體評價尚可，但仍有不少問題。詳見表37：

表37：居民對文化娛樂設施的評價(%)

	滿意和很好	較滿意和較好	一般	不滿意和較差	不滿意和很差
數量	4.2	34.6	44.7	10.7	5.4
開放內容	2.4	25.6	51.5	13.3	6.6
收費	0.4	6.2	39.6	34.0	18.9
秩序	1.4	12.3	55.3	21.5	8.7
服務態度	1.4	10.7	56.9	22.9	7.4

7. 居民對生態環境的評價

雖然，十年來政府積極致力治理環境污染，使上海地區的環境質量有所改善，但居民對環境質量仍有較大意見，特別對噪聲、烟塵意見較大。詳見表38：

表38：居民對生態環境質量的評價(%)

	很嚴重	較嚴重	不大嚴重	不嚴重
噪音	14.9	28.4	26.4	25.1
煙塵	13.7	32.2	27.2	21.5
污水	8.5	25.4	26.6	26.2
有害氣體	5.6	16.3	22.7	28.4
垃圾處理	10.1	21.1	28.2	32.2

8. 居民對生活環境的評價

居民對總體生活環境基本持肯定態度，但對住房、綠化、居住區環境衛生、圖書館、娛樂場所的便利程度有 30-50 ％的居民表示不滿。詳見下表39：

表39：居民對生活環境的評價(%)

	很滿意	較滿意	一般	不很滿意	很不滿意
家居的住房條件	4.2	20.7	28.8	22.1	24.1
家居附近的綠化	4.2	12.1	26.2	26.9	30.8
居住區的安全	12.9	14.7	57.8	12.9	1.8
居住區的環境衛生	4.8	12.3	44.5	24.1	14.3
供電及其服務	20.3	15.3	54.1	8.1	2.2
供水及其服務	29.2	15.3	43.9	8.1	3.6
電話及其服務	21.1	16.9	47.7	8.1	5.4
孩子入托入園	15.9	13.0	49.1	10.5	2.8
孩子入中小學	17.3	14.1	51.1	7.9	2.0
電影院的遠近便利	33.2	14.1	38.2	9.7	4.8
公園的遠近和便利	23.5	16.5	36.4	16.3	7.2
圖書館的遠近便利	11.5	12.1	38.0	22.7	15.7
其他娛樂場所的便利	9.9	12.3	47.1	18.3	12.5

Ⅵ. 上海人民生活中的突出矛盾和問題

雖然近十年來，上海經濟與社會發展取得了長足進步，但由於種種原因，上海的城市建設和社會經濟發展仍存在着一些明顯的矛盾和薄弱環節，突出的問題是城市膨脹病嚴重，即城市容量與規模的矛盾。而現有的矛盾和問題與人口的規模、結構、素質密切相關。其主要表現是：

1. 市中心區人口超高度密度，城市過於臃腫

1989年上海全市人口密度爲每平方公里 2,013 人，市中心區（149平方公里）人口密度達4萬人，而且距離市中心越近人口密度越高。據統計，市中心鬧市區20平方公里內人口密度高達 8 萬人，其中有的街道高達15萬以上。而且市中心區工商業高度集中，有工廠4,000餘家，商業網點3萬餘個，建築系數高達50％以上，市區人均道路面積 2.2 平方米，人均綠地面積 1.2 平方米，工廠與居民區混雜、交通擁擠、污染嚴重，城市已到十分臃腫的地步。同時，外來流動人口總量近二百萬人，進一步加劇了城市「膨脹病」。

2. 居民住宅仍相當困難

雖然近十年來新建住宅 4,000 多萬平方米，改善了近百萬戶居民居住條件，但由於年齡結構的變化，仍有相當數量的居民急待解決住房困難。目前，尙有20餘萬戶人均居住面積在4平方米以下的擁擠困難戶，20餘萬幾代同堂的不方便戶。同時，上海每年有10多萬對青年男女結婚申請住房。

從居住質量分析，上海尙有簡屋、棚戶 124 萬平方米，使用設施差、建造年代長的舊式里弄 2,202 萬平方米，約 100 萬戶居民尙無衞生設備和家用煤氣，需要有計劃地改善居住條件和居住質量。因而九十年代要根本上解決住房緊張的矛盾仍十分艱巨。

3. 城市交通仍十分擁擠

上海市區道路狹窄，近十年來經濟活動人口大量增加進一步加深了城市交通擁擠的矛盾。目前人均道路面積2.2平方米，道路面積僅1,755萬平方米，道路面積率僅4％，遠遠低於國外大城市的水平。

1989年貨物運輸量2.77億噸，公共交通運客量55.1億人次，最高日運客量 1,688 萬人次，機動車近20萬輛，自行車近400萬輛。由於路網稀少、路面狹窄、卡口道多，加之車輛混行、相互干擾、致使車速降低、通過能力減弱。五十年代上海市區平均每小時車速在25公里左右，目前降至15公里左右，交通最繁忙的路段只有 5 公里左右。據家計調查職工平均用於上下班時間 1.2 小時，由於車廂擁擠、空氣混濁嚴重影響職工情緒和身心健康。

4. 城市基礎設施落後

（1）城市防汎排水設施落後

目前上海市區排水系統比較完整的地區約佔三分之一左右，約有三分之一地區排水設施不完整或排水能力不足，另有三分之一（主要是新擴展的市區）缺乏系統的排水設施。上海地處沿海，夏季常遭颱風、潮汎襲擊，而且地勢較低；海拔標高一般爲 3-4 米，每逢大雨襲擊，部份地區常常發生積水，給

生產與居民生活帶來一定影響。

(2)城市污水治理設施嚴重不足

目前，上海城市污水廠日處理能力僅40萬噸左右，各工廠自備污水處理裝置能力84萬噸，此外還有兩條日輸送量 100 萬噸左右污水幹管直送長江和東海，其餘污水則直接排入城市內河，帶來了嚴重的污染。

(3)電力、煤氣自來水供量不足

雖然上海電力裝機容量增長較快，但仍遠遠跟不上工業用電和民用電增長的需要，而且全市約有三分之一電力設備老化，輸變電能力亦不足，因此缺電矛盾仍顯突出。爲了保證民用和重點生產行業需要，不得不採取調整部份工廠生產班次，壓縮高峯負荷和拉電等措施，對生產和居民生活帶來不利影響。

自來水日生產能力 435 萬噸，夏季用水高峯供量不足矛盾尤爲尖銳。煤氣日供能力344萬立方米，民用煤氣普及率爲54.9%，仍有近百萬戶居民燒球爐，給人民生活帶來不便，同時又對城市空氣帶來污染。

(4)通訊不暢

市內電話裝機容量雖從1980年18.3萬部增加到1989年53.8萬部，增長 1.9 倍，但遠遠適應不了經濟和社會發展的需要。每百人只擁有電話機 4 部，其中公用電話僅0.12部，普及很低，嚴重影響了信息的暢通和交流。

5.環境污染仍未得到嚴格控制

隨着經濟發展和人口的增長，環境污染矛盾日益尖銳。1989年日均工業廢水排放量362.8萬噸、廢氣9.9萬標立米、固體廢渣2.9萬噸、生活垃圾近 1 萬噸、糞便6,000噸，這麼大量的廢棄物給上海城市環境帶來了相當嚴重的污染源。

(1)水污染相當嚴重

上海現有70%左右的工業廢水和生活污水未經處理直接排入江河，致使蘇州河、楊浦港14條河流長年黑臭，黃浦江下游年黑臭天數達 100 天以上。

(2)大氣污染仍很嚴重

上海年耗用標煤 2,000 餘萬噸，加之機動車輛增加，每年排入大氣的烟塵20萬噸以上、二氧化硫近40萬噸，使城市的降塵和飄塵量均超過國家規定的二級標準，酸雨頻率也在30%左右。

在居民與工廠混雜地區，居民對噪聲、烟塵意見很大，有的區內居民點噪聲超標數倍以上，嚴重影響居民正常生活。

結　語

四十年來，特別是改革開放十年來，上海在現代化建設的過程中取得了巨大成就，基本上消除了失業和貧困現象，上海人民在生活水平、營養狀況、居住條件、健康保健、教育、文化和國民素質等方面均有明顯的改善，但在經濟和社會發展的過程中仍存在不少困難和矛盾。十年改革開放給上海帶來了生氣和活力，上海在發展中遇到的困難和問題也只有通過進一步

改革開放才能從根本上得以解決。展望九十年代，上海將在改革和開放的結合中向着開放型、多功能、產業結構合理、科學技術先進、具有高度文明的社會主義現代化國際性城市的目標奮勇前進。上海人民生活將伴隨着改革開放而進一步改善和提高，在全國率先進入小康社會。

6

影響市民生活素質之諸因素分析

盧漢龍

本文是從觀察與評估社會變遷的角度來對影響市民生活素質的內在社會因素加以分析。希望通過這些探討能加深對社會指標問題的理解，並可有助於推動該領域研究的發展。

I. 生活素質在評估發展中的作用

可以說無論採取何種定義，社會指標都是對於社會變遷的計量。雖然社會指標可以用於各種不同的研究目的，但最終皆是取決於它要具有評估發展的功能。如果社會指標不能幫助人們去評估社會的進展，那末這類指標便會毫無價值。因此，社會指標研究的主要觀點，正是在於去發現甚麼樣的指標才眞正地具有評估的意義。從而也可以說，社會指標研究的重點首先應當是它的理論方面，其次才是如何去進行計量的技術方面之內容。

長期以來，有關生活素質的研究之所以和社會指標的探討可以合流也正是由於生活素質的理論爲對變遷的評估提供了一種可分析的架構。它主張對生活作全面的評價，並注重於去衡量社會生活在品質方面的變遷。這便和社會指標所關心的主旨相契合。因爲社會指標正是不滿足於用經濟增長和生活水平提高等各種指標來外推地衡量人類社會的發展，而更關心發展本身所當具有的社會意義和社會內容。

然而了解和熟悉社會指標研究的人們又不難發現這樣的事實：自七十年代中期以來，當美國的社會指標研究經歷了理論、應用這兩個階段進入了所謂「生活素質」研究的第三個階段之後，[1] 不久也便迅速地進入了它的衰退期。這種趨勢給方興未艾的國際社會指標運動投下了一股難拂的陰影。造成這種現象的原因固然極爲複雜，但我們認爲這裏所顯露的兩個問題和本文的討論有關。第一，生活素質的各種理論必須和發展理論的各種觀念相符合，並隨之不斷地有所更新與發育。所憾的是美國的生活素質研究偏重於對「可感生活素質」的計量與探討，從而產生了所謂主觀評價與客觀評價不完全符合的矛盾。第二，生活素質的各種計量必須對社會指標所選取的範圍和各類指標的變化作出解釋。而在美國，這兩個領域中的探討基本上是分頭進行的。凡涉及到的不同結論很少進行建設性的相互切磋，而只是各自懷疑對方的理論價值或計量方法上的科學性。

對於上述的第一個問題有必要先來回顧一下當今在關於發展理論方面的一些主要觀念的變化。這些變化已被衆多學者歸納爲是從「滿足基本需求」的發展觀向「提高人類素質」爲目標的發展觀的變化。[2] 滿足基本需求的發展觀形成於五十年代。它越出了「片面追求經濟增長」的發展模式而逐步成爲各國發展中所普遍認同的一個發展目標，這種發展觀把發展解釋爲「增加一個社會爲其成員謀求長遠福利的能力」，所以又被認爲是一種主張「業績模式」的發展（麥格雷哈南，1982）。美國的可感生活素質理論可謂是這種發展觀和美國傳統的個人主義文化相結合的產物。它注重於去衡量個人對生活各方面需求的滿足程度，以及對自我幸福的感覺。雖然這些計量在反映發展的人文價值方面確實具有普遍性的意義，但却忽略了對人類素質全面提高所應有的關心。而自七十年代末以來，這種關心已在世界的發展觀方面佔了上風。一種新的發展觀認爲：發展的注意力不應該集中於人類的需求滿足，而應該集中於人類的貢獻能力。也就是說，由於人類素質和創造性的提高是實際發展的基礎，因此要取得眞正的增長與進步就應該盡力朝着這個方面前進。於是這種發展觀提出了所謂「改進模式」的發展（西爾斯，1982）。

我們認爲，近十餘年來發展觀方面的這些變化並非意味着這兩種觀點是相互取代的，而是表明着人們在認識方面的深化和發展觀念上的一種「發展」。基本生活需求的普遍滿足和人類素質的全面提高並不是兩個相互排斥的目標，而是相輔相承的一種進步的過程。關心與衡量這種進步的生活素質理論便應當體現這種認識上的發展。它要越出其對需求滿足的「可感」方面的關心，同時注重「人的素質」提高和創造力之發揮等方面的內容。尤其要去衡量社會的進步究竟爲人格的完美創造了哪些必要的條件。因此我們贊成這樣的主張，在涉及微觀層面上的生活素質研究應當至少包括這三個層面上的研究內容：第一，在認知的層面上，研究個體對生活各方面的滿意程度。第二，在情感層面上，對個體精神健康方面的幸福感作出分析。第三，在行爲層面上，探討個體對於社會的反饋性行爲如何。[3] 只有將這三個方面的計量與評估結合起來才能較爲全面地來衡量發展。

在對生活素質的理論作了這樣的一番衍生，使之可更貼切

地作爲發展觀的可操作性理論之後，我們就不難得出社會指標和生活素質這兩種研究之間的聯繫，也就是上文所談到的第二個問題。在這裏，社會指標可以理解爲是那些跟影響生活素質問題有關的各種社會環境條件。只有那些於生活素質評估有意義的社會變化才是社會指標所當涉獵的內容。如其不謬，則生活素質和社會指標相結合可以在評估發展中起到以下三個方面的作用。

一·作爲對生活的全面評價、生活素質問題和發展觀相映照直接提供一系列標準變量的計量，成爲社會指標中具有人文意義的一部份指標，用於直接評估社會的進步。

二·作爲一種終極性發展評估的內源變量，通過和外部社會條件的因果結構聯繫探討，檢驗外部社會統計指標的有效性，從中發現一系列有意義的社會指標，來有結構地評估甚麼條件發生了變化，它們對最終意義上的發展來講是變好了抑或是變壞了。

三·當外部的社會、經濟指標和生活素質的內源變量不相符合時，則有助於啓迪思路，引發出新的理論思考，尋找出影響這些差異的限制性因素、推動社會指標領域裏新的探索和科學的革命。

我想，對於上述三項作用中的第一項，學界之間基本上是能有共識的。因爲像個體對於生活的滿意程度、社會成員的精神狀態以及輸出性的社會反饋行爲這樣的一些生活素質指標，由於它們是直接體現着上文所述的發展觀的各種理念，故將它們作爲衡量發展的標準計量當不至存在過多意見相左的問題。對於上述作用中的第二項，我們在1987年完成有關上海市民生活素質與社會指標的調查研究後，着重對影響生活素質的外部社會環境作了初步的結構分析，獲得了大致的認識（林、盧，1989，1990）。因此，下文的探討將集中在發掘生活素質於評估發展中所能產生的第三個方面的作用，即對決定生活素質評估中的那些目前至少在國內尚未引起足夠重視的限制性因素加以剖析，從而爲社會指標的研究與解釋提出一些新的想法。

Ⅱ. 市民對生活的滿意程度認知架構

在我們對上海市民的生活素質調查中曾得出過這樣的結論：在生活環境與生活素質三個層面評價的結構聯繫中，外部的社會條件和認知層面上的滿意度評價之聯繫最爲緊密，回歸分析的解釋度（R^2）可達34％左右。研究中的外部社會環境指標是包括了這樣的一些內容：一、各種不同性質的生活資源，包括個體的各種社會網聯繫、個體的經濟收入、家計狀況、工作的經濟性質與社會性質、城市公共生活的設施、住房、教育、業餘生活，以及其它各種生活環境的條件等等。二、市民對這些生活資源擁有之總量大小和方便程度。三、這些生活資源的分配狀況和利用方式。顯然這些內容幾乎包括了日常社會統計中所收集的大部份指標，於是問題便變爲：爲甚麼解釋度不能再高一點呢？

事實上也確實存在着來自主體方面的評價和客觀外部條件的變化不相吻合的地方。從市民對八個方面生活的滿意狀況的得分來看，羣衆對家庭生活的感覺最爲滿意，而對經濟與住房的滿意度最差（盧，1990）。但這些羣衆感到最不滿意的方面又正是近年來變化最大、市民獲益最多的地方。根據國家統計局的統計資料，最近十年裏全國城鎮居民的人均現金收入之增加扣除了物價因素後翻了一番。而建國後的前三十年總共也只不過是翻了一番。現在上海市民全年食用的動物蛋白質食物消費量人均已超過65公斤。衣着方面的數量、質量與審美要求已

非昔比。市民投向「用」的方面消費比重也有了明顯的上升，住戶中高檔耐用生活品的擁有量增長極其迅猛。在1975年以前的十年裏，上海幾乎沒有新造過一個平方米的居民住房，而在近幾年裏每年的住宅峻工面積將近500萬平方米。每年有數十萬戶居民喜遷新居。這種客觀條件之變化未能得到主觀方面的認同雖然是和物質資源總量上的仍嫌不足，以及分配上的某些苦樂不勻有關，但的確也存在着奧格朋（W. F. Ogburn）所謂的物質變遷和非物質變遷（即文化變遷）不相同步的原因。由於滿意度乃是一種認知的結果，它是市民在自我定位的基礎上進行一系列社會比較後所得出的某種看法。因此產生這些看法的參考架構就顯得極爲重要。認知架構的變與不變是影響滿意度評價的一種限制性因素，它們本身既是一種文化的觀念，也是一種客觀的存在。不同的認知架構會對生活資源狀況的變化產生出不同的認識，從而造成了不同的心理滿足感。

研究表明，影響上海市民產生滿足感的認知參考架構具有如下的一些特徵。

第一，從需求的層次結構方面來看，上海居民的需求結構仍是以滿足物質福利方面的享用和面對面人際交往的需求爲主，因此家庭生活、經濟與住房便形成爲最爲關心的需求領域。這便和西歐或北美的情況可能就有所不同。那裏的調查資料已證明，經濟收入正在喪失它作爲一種美滿生活的決定性因素。一種最初的對物質福利和人身安全的關心正朝着更注重存在和自我實現的轉變（Campbell, 1976）。香港的發展也有着類似的趨勢（劉、尹，1987：12-13）。大凡需求所注重的領域，其滿意度的彈性和對總滿意度的邊際效應相對來說都會大些、敏感些。因此需求結構這一參考架構對於我們歷史地分析滿意度結果至關重要。

第二，在我國，自生產資料實行公有制後，市民對生活消費品的擁有便成爲私有財產的一種主要標誌，形成了一種「消費即意味着對財產擁有」的意念參考定式。這種財產與消費觀念上的異化和倒置容易使正常的「求富心理」演變爲一種對消費的「飢渴症」。人們並不很去關心社會財富這張餅是如何做出來的，而只求自己得到所「該得的最大那份」。因此生活品消費市場上的些微變動，那怕並不實際影響生活水準的提高，也容易激起不滿意的情緒和財產的被剝奪感。這種關於財產和消費的觀念尤其對尚處於追求物質享用爲主發展階段裏的人們心理認知有着重要的影響作用。

第三，市民對物質生活變化的認識正從過去的以縱向參考爲主轉爲以橫向參考爲主，當一個社會從封閉和緩慢的增長步入開放和起飛的發展階段時，各種參考團體開始形成。這種轉變就相當的自然和明顯。這幾年裏，上海市民生活中的橫向變化之可感度越來越大。親戚鄰里之間、同事朋友之間、同齡同學之間、各階層人士和職業人羣之間、城鄉居民之間，乃至於國內外、海內外之間都產生了許多可比和想比的因素。而種種比較又囿於上述的參考定式，比物質、比分配的結果，這樣也就極易產生認知上的誤導。

第四，滿意度評價的參考立足點和取向開始由家庭轉向個人。這種變化在決定經濟狀況與家庭生活的滿意度方面都有一定的影響。調查資料表明，羣衆對近年來家庭經濟狀況的評價要比對自己個人收入方面的評價積極得多。許多人都承認這些年裏家庭的經濟狀況確有好轉，評價起來也尙滿意，但一提到自己的經濟收入便會感到不滿意。有所謂「端起飯碗吃肉，放下筷子罵娘」的現象，正是這種由家庭和由個人不同立足點取向所參考引起的矛盾心理寫照。此外，在對待婚姻、家庭、兩性與代際關係等方面，個人的價值觀取向和選擇越來越受到重視，從某種意義上講，同時也就造成了在這些方面容忍度的增

加和滿意感的上升。

從上述的分析可見，認知參考架構的各種變與不變在解釋滿意度方面有着相當的意義。因而也是社會指標研究須引爲關注的領域。

Ⅲ. 幸福感與社會調適

幸福感是比滿足感更爲複雜的一種生活體驗。它包括幸運、痛苦、緊張、愉快等一系列的情感感受。如果將幸福感理解爲是精神健康的一種意識形態（ideology）的話，那末它是和生活中的內在與外在關係的調適（adjustment）有關，而且在「表徵」上可採用測定精神健康狀況的量表來衡量。在天津和上海所作的居民精神憂鬱症量表測定（CESD量表）都支持這樣的結論：即精神抑鬱的現象和性別、年齡、婚姻等人口與社會特徵有關，和近期內是否受到過不幸生活事件(life events)的打擊有關，並且均可表現爲個體對自己的生理、心理和人際關係經驗這三個方面的感受情況。

這樣，從衡量社會的進步方面來看，工業化和現代化似乎必然會帶來幸福感的某種失落。因爲城市生活的壓力和高節奏地運作、人口老齡化的趨勢、不穩定婚姻之增加、以及人際關係的高度理性化和競爭等均會使普遍幸福感的消極因素增多。但實際情形卻並非完全如此。比如歐洲價值體系研究小組在1981年對西歐九個國家所進行的一項調查表明，西歐人中有75％的人認爲自己是幸福的，只有1％的人覺得自己毫無幸福可言（斯托策爾，1988：116）。上海的調查數據也表明，具有幸福與不幸福感受的兩極人數比例分別爲77％和0.9％，和西歐九國的情況便相當接近。可是上海的工業化與現代化發展水平顯然是低於這些國家。儘管我們無法得到歷史上的各種統計資料，但似乎有理由認爲，在任何常態發展中的各社會時期裏，在有統計意義的人羣中，感到幸福或不幸福的人的比例大致會有相似的分佈，正如有許多數據都證明重症的精神病患者在各國或足夠大的人羣範圍裏均會保持在170-900/10萬的比例一樣。因而在有關評估社會發展時，單純表示幸福感結果的人口學統計似乎意義並不大，重要的是要去解釋這些結果性數據內蘊的結構與狀態，要去探討這些相似的結果是經由何種社會調適的方式來取得的。也就是說，要指證社會爲個體創造了哪些條件去避免不幸，又同時造成了何種樣的人「命定」地進入這1％左右的不幸者之列。

根據我們對上海市民精神憂鬱症量表的回歸分析，反映上海市民幸福感的精神健康狀況之內部結構呈如下的關係方程：

精神健康狀況＝0.5965生理健康感＋0.3685人際經驗感＋0.3388心理健康感

這一關係結構說明，雖然在決定幸福感的精神要素方面，中國市民和其它國家或地區的居民並無二致，但在各要素的重要性程度上是有所不同的。對中國市民來講，個人對生理健康方面的感受明顯地起着主要的作用，而他們對心理健康的感受就不那麼地敏感。這便和歐美人士對幸福的感受有較大的區別。一般的經驗告訴我們，西方人對健康長壽的福份感是大大地低於中國人，而且他們善於直接理解和表達心理上的感覺。這樣，各種文化因素所造成的社會調適內容便在解釋幸福感指標時成爲不容忽視的限制性因素。這種可以說是文化澱積物的結構性差異究竟會在現代化發展的過程中引起何種不同類型的衝突，或造成何種不同的變化趨勢也便更值得去用社會指標來深入地加以觀察和研究。

隱藏在幸福感背後的社會調適內容之所以在解釋幸福感時頗具意義還可以從幸福感和滿意度的區別與聯繫中看出來。正

如一位乞丐在求得一餐香腸麵包時會聲稱自己是世上最幸福的人一樣，幸福感是和需求的滿足狀況密切有關的。當我們將市民對生活的滿意程度和各種社會環境因素的指標放在一起作爲共同的外部變量和幸福感指標進行多元回歸分析時發現，其中生活滿意度和幸福感的相關回歸系數達0.3140，居各類外部指標之首。但幸福感之所以不能等同於滿足感，我們認爲其主要的區別是滿足感更多地取決於對需求結果的認識，而很少去考慮個體與社會如何去加强調適來獲得滿足。幸福感之產生則不同，它和需求的期望更有關，並且眞正關心所望的需求是否確獲實現，以及在實現這些需求的過程中人們又曾付出過多大的代價。這是一種調適成功者的喜悅和對免遭失敗的慶幸。這種審視「核算」的過程如果離開了整個社會調適的背景就無法來加以解釋。一位乞丐並不因爲他缺少一件白襯衣而感到不幸福，正是因爲當他在快樂地食用香腸麵包時並無求得一件襯衣的期望，而這種依靠乞求和恩賜所得來的調適成功又僅具多麼可悲的幸福價值。因此，在分析幸福感的計量時，必須伴隨着對幸福觀、需求期望、社會支持、個人自信心、自尊心、以及競爭意識等諸多相關變量的計量。這些相關計量所揭示的正是個體調適生活中內外關係的整個背景。健康的個體需要由一個健全的社會來培育。一個社會越是能使它的成員滋生出各種各樣的希望與理想，並且越是鼓勵他們通過自信自强和奮鬥不息的精神去捕捉成功的機會，這樣的社會就越是發育正常和前景輝煌。也就是說，社會的現代化進程需要擺脫「乞丐式幸福感」的調適來實現，有關幸福感的一系列計量將是更接近於去表徵人類素質的提高。

Ⅳ. 反饋性行爲與良心結構

在生活素質的三個分析層面上，有關反饋性行爲的輸出和人的素質之提高關係最爲緊密。社會反饋行爲（social feedback behavior）和國內較爲流行的另一種概念即「社會積極性」提法含義相似，都是指個體超出標準限度的一種努力性活動。這種努力帶有自願的性質，其目的並非是爲了經濟利益或逃避某種制裁，而其結果則是要有益於社會。反饋性行爲涉及的面可以很廣，人們的公德、公益行爲、政治參與、自爲勞動的積極性、熱心於社區內的社會工作均屬其類。從理論上講，社會反饋行爲是由環境因素造成的心理認知和感受激發出來的一種行爲表現，因而它首先是和生活的滿意程度與精神幸福感有關。

確實，若按常情去推理，人們越是對生活的各個方面比較滿意，有社會團結感，越是精神上受到的壓抑少，有人生幸福感，就越是容易輸出種種希望能夠保護這種生活環境的行爲，越是會有充沛的積極性去爲社會做好事。但這裏有兩點值得注意。第一，滿意不滿意和幸福不幸福的兩極其含義並非是等距的。所謂「幸福的家庭個個都相似，不幸的家庭各有各的不幸」，人們對不舒心的體會往往會比舒心的體會具體細緻得多。由此不滿的情緒和感知更易於實際地促發消極的行爲。第二，情感雖爲行爲的動機，但實際的行爲受社會態度（social attitude）的定向。社會態度是社會價值觀之副本，是大多數社會成員所共同分享的行爲趨勢。因此我們認爲眞正的社會反饋行爲要果能得到激發，尙需有一個重要的限制性因素要加以考慮，那便是個人人格組成中的良心（良知）結構。在這裏弗洛姆（E. Fromm）關於良心（conscience）概念的劃分會對我們的分析有用。他將良心區分爲權威主義良心和人道主義良心（authoritarian conscience and humanistic conscience）

兩種。前者指權威的內在化，和弗洛依德（ S. Freud ）所稱的「超我」（ superego ）相同；後者是對自我的反應，「是自愛和自我關心的聲音」（ 弗洛姆，1988：140-152 ）。每個人實際上都有這兩種「良心」，而權威良心是與人的順從、自我犧牲、責任或他的「社會適應性」相聯繫的，它可能是良心發展的初級階段。人道良心則表現了人的自身利益和人的完整性。它具有「生產性」（ 即創造性 ），能夠徹底發揮人的潛能。

在對上海市民反饋性行爲的因子分析中我們發現，各種不同的反饋性行爲被歸分爲兩種類別。識別這兩類因子的行爲情境正對應了上述兩種不同類別的良心動因。一種反饋行爲是有明確的「社會期望」誘發的。如因工作需要的義務加班、在公共車輛上向老弱病殘者讓座、參加公民投票和單位或地區組織的救災捐款，以及看到壞人壞事舉報等等。促發這些行爲的社會期望實質上是一種「匿名」的權威。另一種反饋行爲則可以認爲是人道良心促發出來的純自覺型的反饋行爲，包括業餘去學習專業技能，積極提出合理化建議、義務打掃公共場地的衞生、將街上的髒亂物扔進垃圾箱、主動攙扶老年人過馬路或爲盲人引路等。這些情況發生時，外界一般並無明確的要求或壓力，行動者本人也沒有必盡的義務，產生這些行爲的動機完全是來自自我的聲音。顯然，發自人道良心的自覺性反饋具有更大的生產性取向和回授社會的意義。上海的資料表明，上述兩類行爲和總的反饋性行爲之回歸關係式如下：

社會反饋性行爲＝0.5478社會期望型行爲＋0.6995自覺型行爲

因此，從回歸的系數值來看自覺型的行爲確實比期望型的行爲有更强的反饋作用。但上海市民在這兩類行爲的反饋中，受期望激發的行爲頻率是明顯地大於純自發的行爲。這或許便可以得出這樣的結論：上海市民的社會積極性之產生和權威的引導有較大的關係。事實上無論是期望型行爲還是自覺型行爲均對社會具有積極的意義，而且有些行爲在某種社會裏是受期望權威激發的，而在另一種社會裏是純自發的。比如像救災捐款這樣的積極性行爲，在中國往往是由工作單位等組織進行的，這種行爲含有權威的因素在內，而在別的一些社會裏或許會是純自發的。因而區別期望型行爲或自覺型行爲的意義並不在於區分行爲本身，而是在於了解激發這些行爲的良心因素是甚麼。

認識良心因素對反饋行爲的限制性作用對於社會指標的研究有着特殊的意義。它可以有效地指示社會在其發展的過程中於人的素質之提高究竟達到了何等的地步。當然，要求人們的行爲均由人道良心來驅使是不可能的。一個健康正常的社會也必須要使權威內化在個人的人格結構之中。從而人類的素質首先是表現於個人的社會適應性。但是如果人們的社會反饋動因均受權威良心的左右，這樣的社會便不會是一個「人人的社會」。社會的進步也便失去了其最基本的價值。因而在衡量人們的反饋性行爲時，我們同時要衡量人的適應性與創造性這兩個方面。一方面要努力地去衡量表徵權威的社會態度，包括普遍的道德寬容度、民主意識、對宗教的信仰、法治觀念等等。另一方面也須對照在實際行爲的輸出中社會態度與個人態度之間的關係。尋找出哪些社會因素有助於使個體或某些共同體的人道良心能得以發揮主導的作用。我們相信，如果越來越多的社會積極性行爲是受人道良心的創造性去引發的，那末這樣的變化就會有着更多的發展意義。

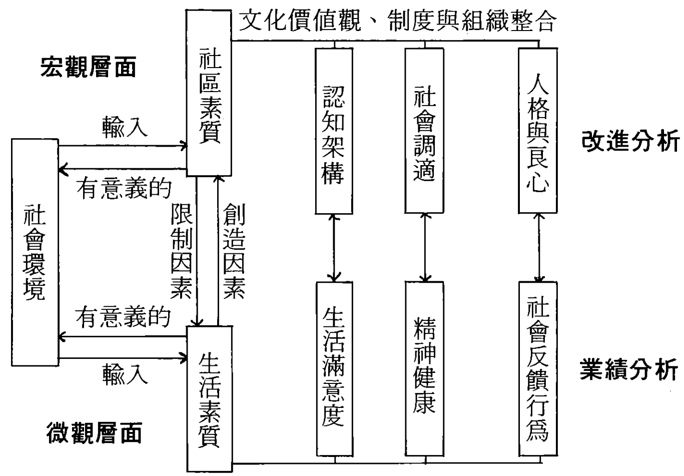
V. 結論：社會指標須同時研究發展的「業績」和狀態的「改進」

結論所示的標題會將我們先帶回到本文第一節所論的內容：即眞正的發展應當是業績的發展和狀態之改進相結合。社會的進步不僅是要全面滿足人們的基本需求，而且要爲人格的完美和人的素質之提高創造良好的條件。在對影響生活素質的一系列限制性因素作了剖析之後，則使我們更堅信這樣的想法：即社會指標的研究也當越出囿於指示「業績」的傳統範圍，而將它的注意力更多地投向對狀態改進的指示。

由於生活素質的評價和外界社會環境的變化之間有一系列限制性因素在發生作用，無法使我們對發展的業績作出完全準確的認識，因此社會指標必須對這些限制性因素加以考察，本文所分析的這些限制性因素，即產生滿意度的認知參考架構，幸福感賴以存在的社會調適基礎以及引導反饋行爲的良心構成等均與文化現象及區域共同體內的組織與制度的結構狀況有關。它們都是反映着一種社區的素質。可以認爲，社區素質是宏觀層面上的一種生活素質問題，從而也必須被納入社會指標的分析範圍之中。下圖顯示了外部社會環境條件、生活素質和社區素質之間的關係。這些關係可爲社會指標的研究提供一種分析模式來衡量發展。

從下圖的分析架構來看，以往諸多關於社會指標的探討大多是集中在衡量外部的社會環境，或者是環境條件和生活素質之間的聯繫。這些研究主要反映了社會爲其成員所創造的良好生活福利條件，以及滿足人們種種生活所需的業績。現在看來分析業績固然重要，但它還不是發展的全部，更不能有效地指示今後的發展。因爲同樣的業績在不同的社會裏付出的代價不

社會指標研究之分析圖式



同，實際產生的效果也會迥異。反過來，同等的發展也可能會造成不同的業績表現。其深層的原因便和社區素質對生活素質評價的限制性因素有關。因此社會指標研究還必須要深入去探討生活素質和社區素質是如何地處於不斷的改進狀態之中，怎樣去使這些限制性因素互動爲創造性的因素，從而促成外部條件的變化產生出更符人意的生活素質評價。

注重於對改進模式的研究會引起我們對同文化傳統下跨社會（社區）比較的强烈興趣。因爲對於具有同樣文化價值觀傳統的社會和社區來講，相互比較業績發展的結果更有助於啓迪對文化發展的反思，互相借鏡何種社區素質的改進狀態於眞正的發展有利，從而實實在在地選擇自己發展的道路，去創造眞正的業績。

註　釋

1. 參見秦征麟（1983）。
2. 參見法國佩魯（F. Perroux）（1983），意大利奧雷利奧·佩西（1977），美國詹姆斯·博特金（James W. Botkin）（1979）等。
3. 參見Nan Lin（1985）及其中譯本（1988）。

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7

The Meaning of 'Satisfaction' in the Quality of Life Studies

Paul Siu-nam Lee

IN the past several decades, a lot of quality of life studies were generated in North America (Cantril, 1965; Bradburn, 1969; Andrews & Withey,1976; Campbell, Converse & Rogers, 1976; Veroff, Douvan & Kulka, 1981). The research on the quality of life in Hong Kong was started in the 1980s (Lau & Wan, 1987). In all research on quality of life (QL), a central concern is whether people are satisfied with their life. Different scales for measuring 'satisfaction' have been devised. Among them were Campbell et al.'s (1976) seven point Satisfaction Scale varying from 'completely satisfied' to 'completely dissatisfied' and Andrews and Withey's (1976) seven point D-T Scale varying from 'delighted' to 'terrible.' Three point scale (Gurin, Veroff & Feld, 1960; Ortiz & Arce, 1986) as well as 'ladder' scales (Cantril, 1965; Abrams, 1974) are also frequently used.

When researchers want to derive the well-being of people, they are confronted with the conceptual issue of what constitute 'well-being' or 'satisfaction' or 'happiness.' Is 'well-being' an objective state or a subjective feeling? When a person says he is satisfied, does it mean that his living conditions are really being improved? Some people who live in areas with lower crime rates feel more insecure than those in areas with higher crime rates. Although some people live poorly, they still feel happy. Whether subjective feeling or objective criteria should be used to determine the quality of life is perplexing to researchers on quality of life.

Andrews and Withey (1976) regard such distinction between objective and subjective as spurious and limited in use. They argue that presumably objective indicators such as birth and death turn out to involve subjective judgements. Conversely, many subjective indicators such as people's evaluations of their life provide rather direct and objective measurements of what they intend to measure. Andrews and Withey suggest instead three dimensions to be considered in the QL studies. The first one is the extent to which people agree on how to characterize a given phenomenon. The second is individual's unique sensory experience and the third one is the different forms of behaviour in changing something.

The present study follows Andrews and Withey's suggestion to examine the consensual meaning of 'satisfaction' in a Chinese context.

Method

The data in this paper were obtained from a Communication theory class at the Chinese University in November 1990. The total number of students of the class was 58 while 54 responded to the survey. Since this study intends to explore their consensual meaning of satisfaction in daily life, the researcher did not devise any category tapping the components of satisfaction of life beforehand.

During the first week of November, the researcher asked the students to write down as many conditions of a satisfying life as they could. Then the researcher regrouped these conditions into 28 items (see Table 1).

A week later, the researcher distributed a questionnaire asking the same class to evaluate the importance of these items and indicate the overall degree of satisfaction of their life. Afterwards, another questionnaire was distributed to ask them to indicate their degree of satisfaction on each specific item. The purpose of this is to see if discrepancy occurs

in perceiving life in general and in specific. The satisfaction scale is a five point scale varying from 'very satisfied' to 'very dissatisfied' with an off-scale category of 'no opinion.' In later statistical analysis, the scale was collapsed into three categories, namely, 'satisfied,' 'neutral' and 'dissatisfied.'

The Communication theory class consisted of 45 females and 9 males. A t-test between these two groups across all the component items of the QL was done. It was found that no significant difference existed between different sexes. Hence no separate analysis of males and females was done.

Results

In the process of regrouping the respondents' items of QL, it was found that the 'satisfaction' of daily life covered a very wide spectrum. It varies from personal life to world situation; from psychological to social-political well-being, from material to spiritual domains; and from private to public life. The wide range of the component items of satisfactory life is shown in Table 1.

The study shows that personal relationships and individual well-being were valued more in this sample. More than 94 per cent of the respondents regarded 'Health,' 'Spiritual well-being,' 'Having friends,' 'Job satisfaction,' 'Good family life,' 'Privacy,' 'Getting along harmoniously with others' and 'World peace' as important criteria for a satisfying life (Table 2).

Similarly, more people were satisfied with their personal than social well-being. Over 60 per cent of people were satisfied with their 'Health,' 'Privacy,' 'Having friends,' 'Family life' and 'Having religious belief' (Table 2). Generally, they were not satisfied with the 'outer' environment. On the 'Clear future of society,' 'Adequate social welfare,' 'World peace,' 'Democracy and human rights' and 'Unpolluted environment,' less than 20 per cent of the respondents were satisfied (Table 2). It should particularly be noted that none of the respondents was satisfied with the item 'Clear future of society.' This extremity might indicate the strong sense of uncertainty brought to the college students by the '1997 Ques-

Table 1. Component Items of Quality of Life

1.	Have a good family life	有美滿家庭生活
2.	Have friends	有朋友
3.	Good living environment	良好的居住環境
4.	Material well-being	物質條件富足
5.	Spiritual well-being	精神生活充實
6.	Health	健康
7.	Have privacy	有自己私人生活
8.	Getting along harmoniously with others	與人和諧相處
9.	Have love	有愛情
10.	Relaxed, without worries	輕鬆，無憂慮
11.	Have various entertainments	有多樣化的娛樂
12.	Can develop one's potential	可發揮潛能
13.	Have fair chance of competition	有公平競爭的機會
14.	Can do what one likes	能做自己喜歡做的事
15.	Job satisfaction	工作有滿足感
16.	Have religious belief	有宗教信仰
17.	Excitement at right moment	適時有刺激的生活
18.	Progressive thoughts exchange	有進步思想的交流
19.	Unpolluted environment	沒有污染的環境
20.	Economic prosperity	經濟繁榮
21.	Social stability	社會穩定
22.	Have adequate social welfare	社會有足夠福利保障
23.	Clear future of Hong Kong	社會前景明朗
24.	Democracy, human rights	有民主制度、有人權
25.	Benefit others and make them happy	能令別人受益、快樂
26.	Not isolated from society	不與社會脫節
27.	Fulfil duties entrusted by others	完成別人交代之責任
28.	World peace	世界和平
29.	Others (please specify)	其他（請列明）

Table 2 The Importance and Satisfaction of the Quality of Life Items

Item over 80 per cent Respondents said Important (N=54)	%	Items over 60 per cent Respondents were Satisfied (N=54)	%	Items less than 20 per cent Respondents were Satisfied (N=54)	%
Spiritual well-being	98	Health	69	Clear future of Hong Kong	0
Health	98	Have privacy	69	Social stability	6
Have friends	96	Have friends	68	World peace	6
Job satisfaction	96	Have a good family life	66	Democracy, human rights	14
Have a good family life	94	Have religious belief	60	Unpolluted environment	15
Have privacy	94			Relaxed, without worries	17
Getting along harmoniously with others	94				
World peace	94				
Can do what one likes	93				
Have fair chance of competition	91				
Democracy, human rights	91				
Unpolluted environment	89				
Have adequate social welfare	89				
Clear future of Hong Kong	89				
Can develop one's potential	88				
Relaxed, without worries	83				
Social stability	83				
Economic prosperity	81				

tion.' These results also hint at the idea that people may feel more satisfied with aspects of life under their control. Social and world events are usually out of people's control, it is not surprising that people tend to feel more dissatisfied with them as they cannot do much to change them.

Another finding of this study is that although most people (90 per cent or above) agreed that some items such as 'Health,' 'Spiritual well-being,' 'Having friends' and 'Job satisfaction' were important components of a satisfying life, only 69 per cent at the most felt satisfied with these items. This indicates a discrepancy between what some expected a satisfying life should be and what they actually experienced. For example, 93 per cent of the respondents regarded 'Can do what one likes' as an important criterion of a satisfying life, yet only 51 per cent were satisfied with this item in their life. This points out the difference between 'satisfaction in ideal situation' and 'satisfaction in real life.' If we have questions asking for respondents' satisfaction with an ideal state like 'Are you satisfied with a society without poverty,' the meaning of satisfaction may be different from that derived from their real experience of a society with or without poverty.

It is also interesting to note that about 60 per cent of the respondents regarded their life satisfactory when asked to respond to a general question of 'To what extent are you in general satisfied with your life now?' Yet we can see from Table 2 that there are great variations among different specific items. When asked about 'Health' and 'Privacy,' 69 per cent of the respondents were satisfied. But when they were asked about the certainty of Hong Kong's future, none said satisfied. This implies that a general question about the satisfaction of the quality of life may be misleading and conceal much information. However, we frequently observe such broad general questions in quality of life studies to discern people's degree of satisfaction about life. This finding should alert policy-makers to look for details and specifics with regard to people's satisfaction. For example, if we found only 6 per cent of people were satisfied with existing social welfare and security, we should look for more details to understand what the people refer to when they said they were not satisfied and in what aspect they were dissatisfied.

Conclusion

From this small study, the author draws the following conclusions. First, the concept of 'satisfaction of life' covers a wide area embracing different dimensions including personal-impersonal, psychological-social, material-spiritual and private-public. In this study, the individual-personal well-being was regarded to be more important than social-impersonal one.

Second, people tended to be more satisfied with their personal well-being than the outer environment. One plausible explanation is that they tended to put less blame on themselves with regard to those life elements under their control like family relations and health. If they are not satisfied with these aspects, they tend to share some responsibility themselves. Thus, people are more likely to regard themselves as satisfied with the personal-individual domains in order to avoid admitting failure on their own part.

Third, the concept of satisfaction in an ideal context may have different connotations from those in real life situation. In an ideal context, more people tend to place greater demand on the criteria for a satisfying life. In real life situation, such demand often cannot be met. Hence, the idea of satisfaction may vary with the 'realness' of the context.

Fourth, 'satisfaction' at a general level can be misleading. Specifics of satisfaction about an aspect of life are more useful than a general question, not only for research purposes, but for policy-making as well.

In concluding, it should be noted that although the sample of this study is small and non-random, it serves well as a preliminary study to explore the meaning of 'satisfaction' in a Chinese context. Admittedly, this sample is a selected group of people of young age, high level of education, better family background and dominance of female. Whether these factors would seriously affect the respondents' meanings of satisfaction are unknown, since many studies indicate that standard demographic or social classification variables such as age, sex, race, education, income and marital status and stage in family life cycle show only modest relationships to most self-assessments of life quality (see Abbey & Andrews, 1986). We do not have any knowledge of whether this is also true of the respondents' meaning of satisfaction which may be related more to the culture of a society than to the social categories of it. In addition, we observe that nearly all our respondents (98 per cent) valued 'spiritual well-being' whereas only half of them valued 'material well-being.' This author suspects that it is a unique Chinese cultural criterion for a satisfying life. Yet no comparison can be made with foreign studies to ascertain this at this stage. The social indicators and quality of life studies in Hong Kong are quickening up the pace now, we expect that more light will be thrown on these questions.

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8

On Quality of Life in Hong Kong

Shir-ming Shen

Introduction

The term 'quality of life' has various definitions depending on where it is quoted. Andrews and Withey (1976) say that quality of life is a montage of the conditions of life to which one is exposed and their impact. Quality certainly implies judgement. The quality of life therefore is best assessed by an individual's evaluation of the conditions of the environment in which people live and of the external circumstances of an individual's life. Perceptions of the quality of life are conceptual variables which cannot be measured directly but are indicated by evaluations of different aspects of life. These subjective assessments are usually privately evaluated, and a representative collection of these evaluations can only be obtained by launching sample surveys.

The first two subjective social indicator surveys in Hong Kong were launched in 1988 and 1990. While the data collected in 1990 are still undergoing compilation, this paper aims at studying the perceptions of Hong Kong residents of various social domains and carrying out some multivariate statistical analysis leading to, possibly, the construction of useful social indicators based on the 1988 data.

There were four different sets of questionnaires in the 1988 survey. Each set of the questionnaires had two parts: the core section and the special section. The core section was common to all four sets of questionnaires and included questions on general opinions on a wide spectrum of social domains. The special sections of the questionnaires focused on different issues and each consisted of more in-depth questions on one or two different aspects such as medical services and health, family life, social mobility, etc.

The information collected via the core section is data from a much larger sample than those obtained via the special sections and is, therefore, more suitable for carrying out multivariate statistical analysis which usually involves a large number of parameters. Hence only the data from the core section are studied in this paper.

1. Some Domains of Life

There are different criteria used to evaluate different domains of life. For example, to evaluate the domain 'worry,' a criterion can be 'how often' or 'the extent of the worry;' to evaluate the domain 'social problem,' a criterion can be 'seriousness.'

The general perceptions of many social domains are included in the core section of the questionnaires. As it is the very first study, the population can be regarded as quite unknown to us. The problems about what are people's worries, what are the important ingredients for living contentedly and what do people desire to improve in their own and their families' life should be investigated first in order to understand the respondents' evaluation of other social domains.

1.1 Worries

In the survey, about half of the 1,662 respondents responded that they had none or had very little to worry about. The other half of the respondents did have worries. What do Hong Kong residents worry about mostly? A summary of the responses is given in Table 1. It can be seen that among those respondents who claimed they had worries, 27% of them were most worried about their work or school, 23% of them were most worried about problems concerning money and 18% about problems concerning their children. All the other aspects, health and

family, etc. caused relatively few individuals to worry.

Table 1 Frequencies and Percentages of Respondents by Worries

Rank of frequency	Things worried about	Frequency	Percentage
1	Work/School	233 (14.0)	27.7
2	Money matters	196 (11.8)	23.3
3	Children's problems	155 (9.3)	18.5
4	Family/Marriage	71 (4.3)	8.5
5	Health	67 (4.0)	8.0
6	Prospect	33 (2.0)	3.9
7	Interpersonal	30 (1.8)	3.6
	Others	55 (3.3)	6.5
	Subtotal	840 (50.5)	100.0
	No answer	15 (0.9)	
	Not applicable*	807 (48.6)	
	Total	1662 (100.0)	

Note: * Those who had responded none or very little to worry about.
Figures in brackets are column percentages.
Percentages may not add up to total because of rounding.

1.2 Ingredients for Living Contentedly

The questionnaires asked the respondents which of the following items was the most important one if he wanted to live contentedly: (a) Money, (b) Love/Marriage, (c) To serve society, (d) Materialistic enjoyment, (e) Career development, (f) Peace of mind, (g) Filial piety, (h) Good health, (i) Freedom, (j) Family and (k) Others to be specified. Table 2 summarises the findings.

It can be seen from the table that there is a consensus that 'good health' is the most important ingredient for good-living. It is comforting to see from Table 1 that only 4% of the respondents responded that they had worried about their health. The second important ingredient, 'money,' is also the second most frequent item that the respondents had worried about. Although 'money' has been ranked the second important ingredient its popularity is much below that of 'good health' (12% versus 38%).

Table 2 Frequencies and Percentages of Respondents by Ingredients for Living Contentedly

Rank of importance	Ingredient	Frequency	Percentage
1	Good health	638	38.4
2	Money	200	12.0
3	Personal freedom	168	10.1
4	Love/Marriage	150	9.0
5	Filial piety	103	6.2
6	Peace of mind	101	6.1
7	Family	80	4.8
8	Career development	63	3.8
9	Serving society	10	0.6
10	Materialistic enjoyment	9	0.5
	Others	76	4.6
	Don't know/No comments	35	2.1
	No answer	29	1.7
	Total	1662	100.0

Note: Percentages may not add up to total because of rounding.

While 'good health' and 'money' are factual, the next two important ingredients are more abstract and relate to personal feelings – 'personal freedom' and 'love/marriage.' 'Personal freedom' had not been the respondents' worry but 'love/marriage' had worried 4% of the respondents.

The next two on the list are 'filial piety' and 'peace of mind.' The importance of 'filial piety' is marking the Chinese culture which is backing up the society. Parents do look forward to their children taking up filial duty and in return they also pay a lot of attention to their children. This attitude is reflected in Table 1 where 'children's problems' is ranked the third most frequent worry.

'Peace of mind' is not an item to be worried about. Perhaps the 49% of respondents in Table 1 who had been classified as 'not applicable' which means they had not much to worry about should have some peace in mind although 'having worries' and 'having peace in mind' may not be complementing each other.

1.3 Desired Improvement by Respondents and their Families' Life

Related to the respondents' worries, their concepts of the important ingredients of living contentedly is the aspect that the respondents most desire to improve within their family circle. Of the four aspects, 'financial situation,' 'living environment,' 'family relations' and 'children's education,' about 37% of them named the 'living environment.' Indeed, about a quarter of the respondents said that they were not satisfied with their housing conditions and the environment about their living areas.

About 20% of the respondents desired to improve their 'financial situation,' about 9% stated 'family relations' and another 9% 'children's education.'

2. Ten Potential Indicators for the Quality of Life in Hong Kong

The general perceptions of many social domains are included in the core section of the questionnaires. An incomplete factor analysis of the data is carried out to identify potential indicators for the quality of life in Hong Kong.

The analysis is incomplete mainly because of the existence of missing data which is a result of respondents giving no answer to certain questions or claiming that they have 'no opinion' or that they 'don't know' the answer. This situation occurred quite frequently, and for some questions, nearly one-third of the respondents produced this kind of missing values. How to deal with such moderate amount of missing values in multivariate analysis is still controversial.

The results quoted in this paper are based on a simple-minded treatment – for individuals with large number of missing values, the whole observation is deleted, otherwise we assume that the respondent had no strong feeling on that particular attribute and substitute the middle category of the score range into the missing cells. Other methods of dealing with missing values can be applied and are under investigation; some comparative study will be carried out at a later stage.

Because of the incompleteness we shall not look too much into the multivariate analysis and compute the factor scores based on incomplete data but concentrate on the evaluation of the potential indicators by incorporating the components of the factors with some descriptive study of the relevant social domains to enable us to obtain some ideas on how Hong Kong people feel about their own quality of life.

Ten potential indicators are identified by the analysis and they can be named as:

1. Satisfaction with personal economic situation.
2. Confidence in governments.
3. Seriousness of indirectly related social problems.
4. Seriousness of directly related social problems.
5. Primary ingredients for living contentedly.
6. Satisfaction with general situation in Hong Kong.
7. Secondary ingredients for living contentedly.
8. Satisfaction with job and social status.
9. Seriousness of corruption and poverty.
10. Satisfaction with living conditions.

Factors 1, 8 and 10 are on the personal economic, social and living conditions. Factor 6 is on the general economic, political and social conditions of Hong Kong. Political situation is not always included in the study of quality of life but, in this important political transitional period, people in Hong Kong are more aware of the political situation and hence

the evolvement of Factor 2 on the confidence in governments. Social problems are also of concern, they are components of Factors 3, 4 and 9. The remaining two, Factors 5 and 7, are on the perceptions of contented living which are already discussed in Section 1.2. We shall study the grouping in the following sections.

3. Personal

Factors 1, 8 and 10 belong to this group and the components involved are respondents' evaluation of the sufficiency of their family income to cope with daily expenses, of the satisfaction of their job and social status, and of the satisfaction with their housing conditions and living environment.

For most of the questions in the questionnaire, respondents were asked to evaluate themselves making use of a three-point- or a five-point-scale. Concerning the sufficiency of their family income, for example, a three-point-scale was used and the relative frequency distribution is as follows:

Insufficient	Barely sufficient	Sufficient
13%	36%	50%

For the 13% who claimed 'insufficient' income, 'money' would become their major worry and for the 50% who claimed 'sufficiency,' they would have other desires to fulfill. Indeed 'money matters' were ranked the second most frequent worry by the respondents (Section 1.1) and that 'financial situation' is the second most desired aspect that the respondents would like to improve (Section 1.3). The most frequent worry revealed in Section 1.1 is 'work/school.' For most respondents this refers to 'jobs.'

On job satisfaction, of the 1,160 respondents who had a job, the distribution is as follows:

Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Average	Satisfied	Very satisfied
1.2%	23.5%	37.0%	36.0%	1.6%

It can be seen that over a third of them had chosen the middle category 'average,' about 37.6% were on the positive side saying that they were satisfied and about 23.5% were on the negative side saying that they were dissatisfied. The positive/negative ratio is 37.6/23.5 giving a ratio of 1.6. That is, the number of respondents who were satisfied with their jobs is about 1.6 times the number who were dissatisfied.

As for the respondents' current social status, the respondents' distribution is as follows:

Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Average	Satisfied	Very satisfied
1%	14%	28%	45%	1%

The remaining 12% did not specify. Closely related to the social status is the respondents perception of social classes. How do residents in Hong Kong classify their own social status? When given five social classes: lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle and upper, the 1,554 respondents who tried to classify themselves gave a skewed distributions. Only 5 of them said they belong to the 'upper' class and the distribution is as follows:

Lower	Lower-middle	Middle	Upper-middle	Upper
24%	36%	35%	4%	1%

It can be seen that not only the 'upper' class, even 'upper-middle' is regarded as too high for most respondents so that only 4% of the respondents classify themselves as 'upper-middle.' The 'lower-middle' and the 'middle' classes are the most popular ones with 36% and 35% respectively, and 24% of them chose the 'lower' class.

The distributions combined together reveal the situations that most of the respondents found their family income sufficient to cope with their daily expenses, they were satisfied with their current social status and designated their social class as middle or lower. Some respondents did have worries about 'money matters' and their 'job,' they also had desire to improve their 'financial situation' but their biggest desire was, in fact, to improve their 'living environment' (Section 1.3).

It is known that a very important problem for every-body's concern in Hong Kong is the housing problem. When focusing on the respondents' housing conditions, the responses can be summarised as follows:

Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Average	Satisfied	Very satisfied
3.8%	21.6%	19.3%	50.7%	3.9%

The positive/negative ratio is 2.1 showing that the number of respondents who were satisfied with their housing conditions doubled those who were dissatisfied. On the other hand, when focused on the environment around their living areas, the responses gave a different distribution:

Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Average	Satisfied	Very satisfied
3.4%	26.0%	24.8%	41.8%	2.2%

The positive/negative ratio decreases to 1.5 only. These reveal that the respondents are more satisfied with their internal housing conditions but less satisfied with the environment around their living areas. This explains the large percentage of the respondents who would like to improve their 'living environment.'

Two other important personal social domains are 'self-education' and 'family life.' The respondents were asked to evaluate their satisfaction with their own education attainment and their family life. It turns out that most respondents were not satisfied with their own education attainment, and the positive/negative ratio is 0.4. On the other hand, most respondents were satisfied with their family life, and the positive/negative ratio is 14.0.

4. General

Factor 6 on the general economic, political and social conditions of Hong Kong includes the respondents' evaluation of their satisfaction with these three aspects which are closely related to the social well-being of residents in Hong Kong.

The economic effect has the most direct impact on people's living and respondents did express their concern as reflected by the fact that 'money' was ranked the second most important ingredient for good-living in Section 1.2 and the second most frequently worried-about item in Section 1.1. Respondents were asked the extent of their satisfaction with the economic situation in Hong Kong. The responses are recorded in Table 3. About 20% of the respondents chose the central category 'average,' but about 57% of the respondents were more positive, opting for 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied,' and only 12% were on the negative side, claiming that they were 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied.' The ratio of positive to negative responses is therefore about 4.6.

Table 3 Frequencies and Percentages of Respondents' Evaluation of the Economic, Political and Social Situations in Hong Kong

	Economic	Political	Social
Very dissatisfied	7 (0.4)	22 (1.3)	13 (0.8)
Dissatisfied	202 (12.1)	273 (16.4)	226 (13.6)
Average	336 (20.2)	429 (25.8)	561 (33.8)
Satisfied	887 (53.4)	418 (25.2)	629 (37.8)
Very satisfied	64 (3.9)	18 (1.1)	20 (1.2)
Positive/Negative ratio	4.6	1.5	2.7
Don't know/No comment	152 (9.1)	477 (28.7)	200 (12.0)
No answer	14 (0.8)	25 (1.5)	13 (0.8)
Total	1662 (100.0)	1662 (100.0)	1662 (100.0)

Note: Numbers in brackets are column percentages.
Percentages may not add up to total because of rounding.

Respondents were likewise asked to evaluate their satisfaction with the political and social situation in Hong Kong. The responses are also recorded in Table 3. For the political situation, the ratio of positive to negative responses is about 1.5 (26% to 18%) while for the social situation, the ratio is about 2.7 (39% to 14%).

Generally speaking, therefore, respondents were most satisfied with the economical situation in Hong Kong, less with the social situation and least with the political situation.

Table 3 reveals that 30% of the respondents did not evaluate their satisfaction with the political situation in Hong Kong while only 10 to 12% of them did not respond to the question on the economic and social situation. In fact, similar studies in other places seldom ask questions on political issues but in this unique special transitional period for Hong Kong, people have become more aware of the political system and more conscious of their own political confidence. This is reflected by the evolvement of Factor 2, the confidence in governments.

Table 4 Frequencies and Percentages of Respondents by Degree of Confidence in Government and by Government

	Hong Kong Government	Chinese Government	British Government
Not at all	15 (0.9)	111 (6.7)	70 (4.2)
Not really	288 (17.3)	617 (37.1)	421 (25.3)
Somewhat	457 (27.5)	388 (23.3)	447 (26.9)
Quite a bit	750 (45.1)	325 (19.6)	482 (29.0)
A great deal	56 (3.4)	24 (1.4)	23 (1.4)
Positive/Negative ratio	2.7	0.5	1.0
Don't know/No comment	87 (5.2)	184 (11.1)	204 (12.3)
No answer	9 (0.5)	13 (0.8)	15 (0.9)

Note: Figures in brackets are column percentages.
Percentages may not add up to total because of rounding.

Hong Kong is also unique in that three governments have influence on the territory and hence the need for a question on respondents' confidence in the Hong Kong, Chinese and British Governments. The responses are summarised in Table 4. It can be seen that about a quarter of the respondents chose the central category while the positive/negative ratios are 2.7, 0.5 and 1.0 respectively, reflecting that the Hong Kong Government had the largest number of votes of confidence, and in descending order was the British Government followed by the Chinese Government.

On whether they had confidence in Hong Kong's future, 26% of the respondents said 'no,' 56% said 'yes' and the remaining 18% did not give a definite answer.

5. Social Problems

Factors 3, 4 and 9 address the seriousness of various social problems named in the questionnaires. Factor 3 involves the 'elderly,' 'environmental pollution' and 'social welfare' which are commonly encountered social problems but are not directly affecting the majority of the residents in Hong Kong. Factor 4, on the other hand, involves 'housing,' 'education,' 'transportation,' 'employment,' 'youth,' 'medical services and health' and 'public security' which are more directly affecting the individual's life. The remaining two social problems are 'corruption' and 'poverty' which seem to be social problems having little impact on an affluent society.

There are, of course, other social problems to be specified if one so desires, and this will then introduce more data and perhaps induce more factors of social problems. For the time being, however, we can concentrate on this set of social problems.

A criterion used to evaluate the domain 'social problems' is the degree of 'seriousness.' There are, however, a large number of social problems bearing different degree of importance as they affect social well-being. For each social problem, therefore, two measurements were obtained in the survey: (1) The number of respondents considering it to be the most important one (so serious and urgent that it should be solved right away) and (2) the seriousness of it.

Table 5 gives the frequencies and percentages of the respondents and the social problems ranked according to importance. The social

problems are listed in descending order according to the number of votes each obtained. 'Youth,' 'public security,' 'housing' and 'transport' are the social problems regarded as the most important.

Table 5 Frequencies and Percentages of Respondents and Positive/Negative Ratio by Social Problems

Rank of importance	Social problem	Frequency	Percentage (Weighting)	Serious/Not serious ratio
1	Youth	293 (17.6)	19.9	15.7
2	Public security	239 (14.4)	16.2	4.0
3	Housing	236 (14.2)	16.0	3.3
4	Transport	233 (14.0)	15.8	4.2
5	Environmental pollution	170 (10.2)	11.5	9.8
6	Education	87 (5.2)	5.9	1.6
7	Elderly	77 (4.6)	5.2	4.4
8	Social welfare	47 (2.8)	3.2	1.1
9	Medical services and health	44 (2.6)	3.0	1.2
10	Poverty	27 (1.6)	1.8	0.8
11	Employment	21 (1.3)	1.4	0.3
12	Corruption	1 (0.0)	0.0	0.5
	Subtotal	1475 (88.7)	100.0	
	Others	57 (3.4)	3.4	
	Don't know/ No comment	104 (6.3)	6.3	
	No answer	26 (1.6)	1.6	
	Total	1662 (100.0)	100.0	

Note: Figures in brackets are column percentages.
Percentages may not add up to total because of rounding.

The respondents were asked also to assess the seriousness of each of the named social problems using a five-point-scale. Points 1 and 2 denote seriousness below average and points 4 and 5 denote seriousness above average. The ratio of the number of residents who opted for points 4 and 5 to those who opted for points 1 and 2 are also given in Table 5. The bigger the ratio the more people considered the social problem serious relative to those who considered it not serious. A ratio of 15.7 for 'youth' problem, for example, indicates that the number of people who considered it a serious social problem is about 15.7 times that of those who considered it not so. For a ratio closes to unity, such as 'social welfare,' the two parties are roughly of equal size. Ratios smaller than unity, such as that for 'poverty,' 'employment' and 'corruption,' more people considered them not serious than those who considered them serious.

According to Table 5, therefore, 'youth' problem is serious (ratio 15.7) and urgent (ranked number 1) while 'environmental pollution' is serious (ratio 9.8) but less urgent (ranked number 5).

It can be seen that 'corruption,' 'employment' and 'poverty' are the three least important social problems. 'Employment' is unimportant because in the last few years unemployment rate had been very low. The unimportance of 'corruption' and 'poverty,' perhaps, is signifying that Hong Kong is approaching affluence.

For each of the listed social problems, respondents evaluated its seriousness. There was, however, no general indication on the seriousness of social problems in Hong Kong. The respondents' satisfaction evaluation of the social conditions in Hong Kong discussed in Section 4 may give some hints. In addition, an average of all the seriousness evaluation weighted by the importance of each of the social problems can also be helpful. The relative importance of each of the social problems can be measured by the percentage of the respondents who regarded it as most important. The percentages are also presented in Table 5. The 'youth' problem is, therefore, given a weight of 19.9% and 'public security' 16.2% and so on.

The weighted average of the seriousness of the named social problems has a mean of 3.7 with standard deviation 0.5 (a score of 5 denotes very serious). To interpret such score requires some reference standard which does not exist yet. An indirect reference can be provided by the respondents' evaluation of their satisfaction with the government in the way it handles the social problems. About 36% of the respondents

evaluated it as 'average' and the positive/negative ratio is approximately 1.

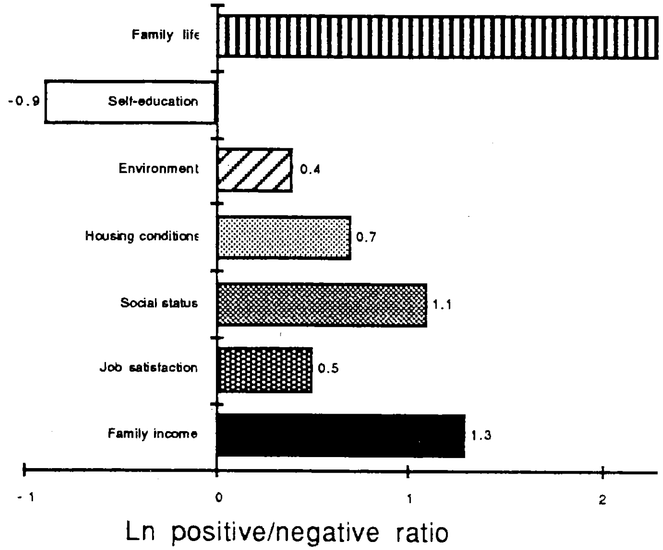
Conclusions

Similar to many survey data, this data set consists of a large number of missing values, consists of about 40 variables which are discrete and of ordinal nature. Analysing such data using standard multivariate methods such as factor analysis usually causes a lot of problems. Besides, principal component analysis of the data set shows that at least 10 to 12 principal components will be required in order to explain 50% of the total variation present in the data set. Such a reduction in dimensionality may not be sufficient because looking at a 10 to 12 dimensional data set is still not an easy task for the human eyes and hence the grouping as shown in Sections 3, 4 and 5 is suggested.

Furthermore, if factor analysis is applied, there are problems with the validity of the assumption of multi-normality of the data and on the more-than-one possible sets of solutions.

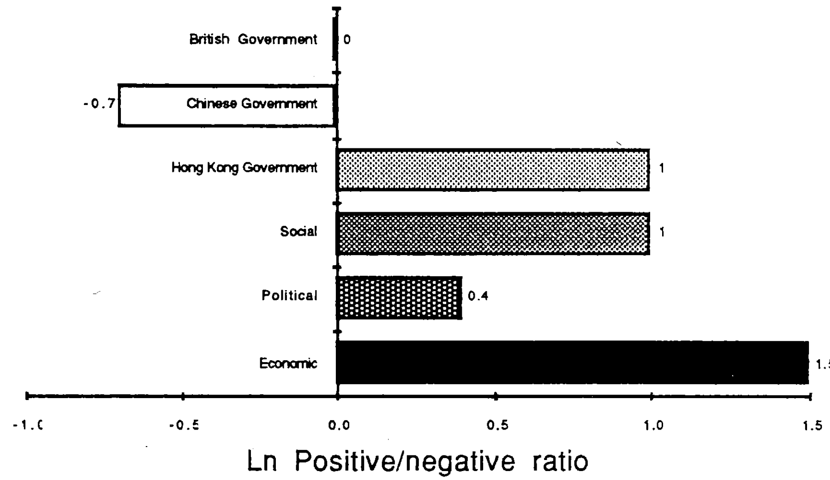
As a summary, the satisfaction with some personal social domains is summarised in Figure 1 where the logarithm of the positive/negative ratios are shown. The more positive the log-ratio the larger the number of respondents who responded 'satisfied' rather than 'dissatisfied' and vice versa for the negative values. 'Family life,' therefore, has the highest score and the ratio is in fact 14.0. Of the indicators listed, only 'self-education' has a negative log-ratio which means this is the only attribute about which more respondents responded 'dissatisfied' than 'satisfied.'

Fig. 1 Summary of Satisfaction with Personal Domains



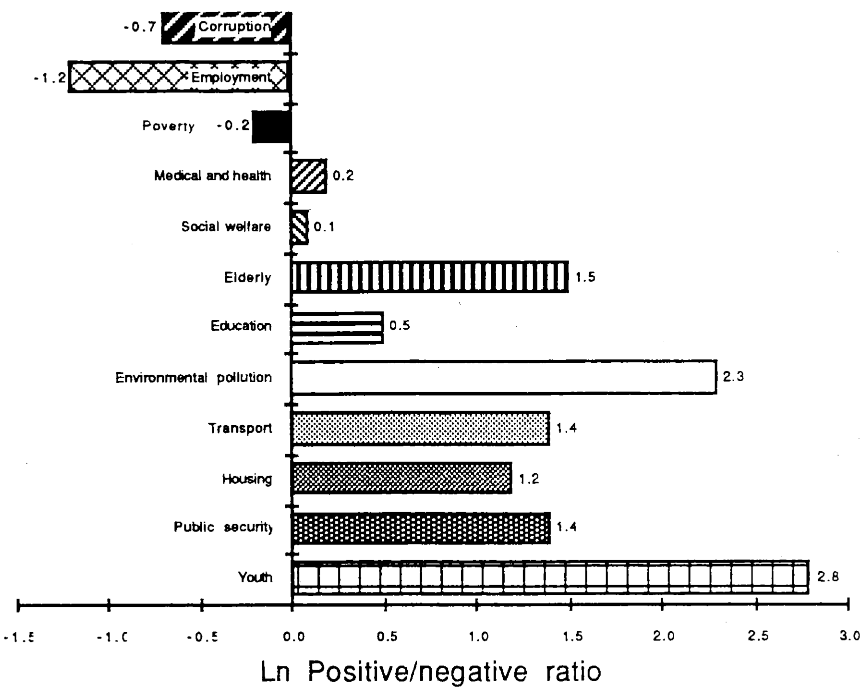
The satisfaction with the general situation of Hong Kong is shown in Figure 2. All indicators give positive log-ratios except for the confidence in the 'Chinese Government.' The 'economic situation' has got the highest satisfaction score.

Fig. 2 Summary of Satisfaction with General Situations in Hong Kong



The seriousness of social problems is summarised in Figure 3. The more positive the log-ratio, the more respondents regarded the social problems as serious. The 'youth' problem has the highest score while 'corruption,' 'employment' and 'poverty' having negative scores were regarded unimportant by most respondents.

Fig. 3 Summary of Seriousness of Social Problems in Hong Kong



This preliminary trial, though incomplete, tells us how respondents evaluate their quality of life. The main interest will be on how their evaluations change over time. The analysis of the 1990 data is therefore awaiting and with more data, social indicators in the form of a time series may become probable.

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9

香港的法律文化

關信基、劉兆佳

I. 前言

1985年，筆者首次研究香港的法律文化。當時的結論是：第一、香港的法律雖然是外來的，卻已被社會所接受。雖然香港人對這些法律或司法制度所知既不多也不深，雖然他們感覺司法並不如何公平，可是，他們卻認爲整個制度是公平和可以接受的。第二、香港人的法律文化揉合了傳統、西方文化和香港自身發展的經驗。法律取代了傳統禮教成爲穩定社會的基礎。然而，法就是刑的傳統思想還是根深蒂固的。香港人的政治經驗使他們重視自由權利，可是他們對權利的了解仍然膚淺。此外，避免訴訟的傳統正逐漸減弱（關、劉，1987；Lau and Kuan, 1988）。

II. 1985年香港法律文化的研究局限

當年研究的不足之處是盲目移植政治文化的研究方法。結

果沒有辦法得到最重要的發現——亦即關於法律之**文化**特質的發現。換言之，我們知道了一些關於法律及法制的意見和態度；但是，我們並沒有發現香港人的法律**文化**。

我們當初把法律文化看成是**一般人**對法律及法律制度的態度、信念、認識和感情取向。這是完全不折不扣地套用了政治文化的定義。雖然我們也提到法律文化也可被理解爲**從事法律工作者**（例如律師和法官）的心理世界，尤其是在作法律決策時的文化環境、法庭判案時的推理和意見。不過，我們並沒有落實這方面的研究。

概念選擇的問題牽涉的不只是調查對象的問題，事實上也關係調查的客體。法律決策的文化環境或法庭判決意見涉及法律推理、法律與政策的關係、法律和道德的關係等等問題；而普羅大衆對法律或法律制度的態度主要牽涉的是他們個人和法律的關係等問題。這兩類問題相去甚遠。

再者，政治文化的概念是建基於民主理論的。因此調查重點在於個人如何了解及運用其在政治制度中的角色。這個了解是政治文化類型的主要判別標準。基於這個判別，論者推出「公民文化」有利於「民主政制」穩定的結論。我們1985年的法律文化研究表面上套用了政治文化的概念和研究方法，可是我們却沒有套用民主理論，或其他理論來做爲基礎。因爲我們當年的興趣是探討英國移植過來的法律制度是否可以跨越九七。英國的法律在中國社會生根，現代化觀念取代傳統思想，這類問題固然有趣。不過還不能告訴我們到底香港的法律**文化**是甚麼。

文化總得是一些比較基本而具有穩定結構的東西，而並非一些短暫多變的態度和意見等等。因此，我們還需要重新研究。

Ⅲ. 一個最基本的假設

如果我們把法律文化分成兩個主要類型，即「實用型」和「超越型」，那麼中國人的法律文化屬於前一個類型。換言之，中西文化的差異在於前者的法律並沒有「超越價值」（transcendental value）。首先，中國的法學思想是很具體的、談的是些實然存在的規則，很少發展甚麼抽象的理念和原則。其次，中國的法律哲學不承認在具體的規則以外，還會存在別的形式的法律。例如西方的「自然法」或基督教的十誡等自稱擁有法律屬性的觀念是很難被中國人所接受的。再者，法律在中國法律思想中不具備獨立的性格，它永遠是另一件東西的工具——例如方便統治者治理國家，或促進社會的福祉等等。從管仲所謂「法律政令者，吏民規矩繩墨也」或「法者所以一民使天下也」到今天中國共產黨論「社會主義的法律集中體現了工人階級和廣大人民的意志和利益」都是說明法律是爲統治者服務的。法律在儒家思想中固然地位低微，它在法家眼中或馬列主義裏也只不過是一件統治工具。

法律不具備超越價值就是說法律不能獨立於統治者之外、不能先於國家的存在而存在，不能和現實社會保持距離，那當然也不能變成一個至高無上的標準，藉以衡量、批判現世的統治者、當今的國家、或現存的社會。這就是所謂中國人法律文化所欠缺的超越價值。

Ⅳ. 理論的澄清

誠然，不是所有西方的法律哲學也重視法律的超越價值的。例如早期的實證法學派（Legal Positivism）所主張的命令論（Command Theory）也是相當實用的。據此說法，法律

就是主權者的命令。這說法和中國法家說法律出自皇帝的命令或中國共產黨說法律是黨的政策的集中表現是同出一轍的。根據這想法，某一個規範之所以具有效力和正確性而應被視爲法律（ legal validity ）乃取決於命令的來源；而源於主權者便具備權威性（ authoritativeness ）。基於命令的含義，亦即上級對下級行爲的控制，法律的强制性（ mandatory ）乃不言而諭了。

這種檢驗法律是否具備法律要件的方法可稱作「來源檢定法」，這方法是不必追究法律內容的。法律既然是主權者的命令，他便隨時可以改變命令，或命令別人遵守而「命令自己」不遵守。主權者的意志有可能泛濫爲武斷，這個「命令論」的死結並不因爲「主權在君」過渡到「主權在民」而得到解決。

法律要具有獨立性格或甚至超越價值，它必須脫離統治者意志之外。中西法學的分水嶺就在於這一個觀念。

西方的實證法學派近代已放棄了命令論。其中的佼佼者當首推牛津的 H. L. A. Hart 教授。他用「認定規則」(Rules of Recognition)來取代了當權者的命令作爲檢定其他規則是否具有法律效力的準繩。法律不再是當權者的命令，而是一套規則系統(system of rules)，該系統包含了初級規則(primary rules)和認定規則，前者的有效性和正當性（ validity ）取決於後者。因此法律的檢定還是透過「來源」來決定。和命令論的不同之處是主權者的武斷不存在了。因爲認定規則可以要求對立法者及立法過程加以限制，亦即是立法者也要遵守法律，否則他(她)所訂立的初級規則便不具有法律效力。那麼「認定規則」是怎樣來的呢？Hart 教授說，它們是在社會實踐中，透過大家普遍所接受而逐漸形成的。換言之，它們是符合一般人的「內在觀點」的行爲規則。所謂法律的「內在觀點」乃是指人心所以爲正當的（ Hart, 1961 ）。這種訴諸人心的「內在觀點」，

訴諸社會長期實踐而提昇的精神，訴諸「正當」觀念的理論把法律的基礎放在較遠離現在統治、較抽象的層次上去了。這是傳統的中國法學所沒有的，也是最近中國法學所淺嘗即止而無法進一步發展的。

不過Hart的「認定規則」肯定不是「最後的」，因爲它們還需源於社會一般人的普遍接受，還不能超越現實社會而存在。法律最終不能獨立雖然仍是缺陷，但是在多數情況下，這樣了解的法律已經足夠了。因爲只要法律一旦被「認定」，它就具有權威性及强制性，而不必受一些臨時的實質考慮（ substantive considerations）的影響。例如有一條按「認定規則」而有效制定出來的法律如此規定，「除特別指定之人員外，任何人不得在郊野公園內駕車」。此時有一名遊客駕車於此公園中，那麼他一定要接受處罰。他提出的任何辯說，亦即實質考慮，都於事無補。「法律就是法律」，這是比較傾向於實證法學派的德國人會說的。那管那遊客是要急着到公園的另一邊去救人。至於中國人嚒，雖然和初級的實證法學派有些共鳴，可是卻達不到現代學派的水準。在古代，我們有秦太子犯法，衞鞅爲了表示法不能不行，而去處罰太子老師的故事。原因不外是接受了太子是君嗣不可施刑的臨時性的實質考慮，我們近代中國人也相信「法律不外人情」，在中國大陸也有許多實質考慮來迴避法律的。

「法律就是法律」的思考方法可以稱爲形式法律推理(formal reasoning ），「法律不外人情」的思考方式是實質法律推理(substantive reasoning)。堅持形式法律推理的好處是保持法律的確定性和穩定性，防止行爲的武斷，而最後也使維持法律的代價(costs)減低。實質法律推理的好處是照顧到具體情況的特殊性，保持法律的靈活性及使法律符合一些法律以外的標準。

事實上，在任何法律制度中都沒有純形式的法律或純實質

的法律推理。縱然在西方思想和實踐中，實質考慮既是立法前的指導，也是立法後解釋法律疑點時的助手。

中西方都有實質考慮，不過却有三點不同。第一、中國文化重實質推理多於形式推理；第二、甚至在法律清晰到不容置辯的情況下，中國人也許會拿實質考慮來影響法律的執行；第三、中國人在進行實質考慮時，是實用的、現實的、和現世的，不會有超越性的實質考慮。

這最後的一點，中國法律思想中的實質考慮不是超越性的，也是最重要的，是和西方法律文化最顯著的分歧。

西方法律文化中的超越性實質考慮是表現在自然法和權利理論之中的。換言之自然法或權利是具有超越價值，獨立於國家、統治者、社會中的大多數而存在，因此可以是批判、糾正現行法律秩序的準繩，促成法律改良的動力。

自然法理論的共同點在於確認人先於國家而存在，人的尊嚴是一件永恒的、不容質疑的價值。實證法學派會說，法律不可能先於國家及其行爲而存在，因而法律的合法性、正當性和有效性需要透過程序（例如立法程序）來檢驗而不必引入道德的標準。自然法學家會說人先於國家及國家法律而存在，因而在這些（實證）法之上還有一些（自然）法則，用以檢驗（實證）法是否正當。這些具有批評、規範作用的自然法則是獨立於現實統治者、社會多數、或其他實質考慮之外的。這些自然法則到底是甚麼或源於（基於）甚麼東西、例如物理的自然、神的啓示、人的理性、人性等等，是可以爭論的。而且縱然存在着這些自然法則，也需要立法者或司法者去發現、表達、確定和運用它們。但重要的問題是在首先在理念上有這麼一種自然法則的存在，是超越目前短暫利益、實用價值、和臨時權力組合的東西。這種理念在中國的法學思想中是沒有的，在中國人的法律文化中我也假設它沒有。

權利理論在劍橋大學的Ronald Dworkin的大力鼓吹下，近代有很輝煌的發展。和實證法學家相反，Dworkin教授認爲法律的有效性和正當性不能透過來源來檢驗它，而需要透過內容來檢驗。這樣一來，Dworkin也是重視實質考慮的，不過他不但不淪落到中國式的實用主義的實質考慮，而且還公開地反對功利性的實質考慮。他的很多作品都致力於證明法官在執法的時候，不能靠訴諸社會公益的考慮來解決法律的疑點；法官必須首先保障權利，因爲權利先於公益而存在、具有不可以被公益所推翻的份量。怎麼證明這個論點是很費篇幅的，不是本文所能容許的。簡單地說來是這樣的：「功利主義」企圖保障一個社會中最大可能多數人的最大福利。在計算這個福利時，每一個人的喜好（ preference ）都應當計算在內，而且都佔同等的份量，否則，原意美好的功利主義會變成腐化的東西，使某部份人的愛好得到加權（ weighted ）的計算，而另一部份却享受不到那福利。換言之，功利主義也必需假設某些權利的存在，然後福利的計算才說得上是「正當」。這些權利是甚麼（例如平等待遇、平等尊嚴的權利）暫時是次要的，重要的是它們必須先於功利式的實質考慮而存在。因此，Dworkin要求我們「嚴肅地對待權利」[1]意思就是提醒我們，對多數人有利的政策或法律不一定是正當的。權利在這種意義下也是一種超越現實社會、現在統治者（集團）之外的東西。筆者曾經說過中國的法律哲學是義務取向的，而不是權利取向的（關，1984），更遑論「嚴肅地對待權利」了。

關於法治的問題。筆者覺得不單只是一般中國人，甚至中國的一些法學家都不清楚法治的眞諦。有的人拿它和「以法治國」（ rule by law ）混爲一談；有的人會說：「任何國家、任何時候，確實不存在這種無人去治的法治。……決心實行法治也是一種人治。」[2]

法治有「形式推理」的一面，也有「實質推理」的一面。法治（ rule of law ）指某些法律具有很高的形式性（ formality ）；所謂有很高的形式性是指這些法律有很高權威性（ Authoritativeness ）而必需執行（ mandatory ）；進而重之，就是要依法行動，不必再有任何實質考慮。否則就是違返法治精神了。例如，很多刑事訴訟法的規則——適當程序——是具有很高的形式性，是不容掉以輕心的。例如，警察不能採用非法手段去獲取證據，否則法庭將不予受理。這規則對只求破案這個實用性的實質考慮來說是可笑的。

「形式推理」所認定的法治只能帶來法律確定、穩定、可預測性、司法過程成本較低等好處，但並不能指出法治的超越價值。在法治的形式性（ rule of law formality ）背後還有非常重要的實質推理。這推理是和自然法、權利論等發展是有關係的。這許多思想都認爲統治者都有濫用權力的可能，因而有必要通過法律限制政治上的武斷行爲，藉以保障一些超越的價值，例如正義、人權等等。**所以法治不是指統治者要以法治國，而是指統治者要受到法律的規範**。法治是基於對統治者的懷疑而保護被統治者的法律。在這意義下，如果警察違反了適當程序，使法庭讓疑犯逍遙法外，這是爲了保證警察有良好行爲所需要付出的代價。在傳統中國的法律理論中，並沒有對統治者的懷疑這樣的理念；在中國共產黨的法律理論中，黨領導也是不容置疑的。法治的理論基礎也就不能存在了。

V. 研究的可行性初探

上述的基本假設和相關理論需要很複雜的調查問卷來進行研究。

基於1985年的資料，我們勉强可以相信，香港的法律文化是實用型而非超越型的。香港人大概不能接受形式推理，而否定法治的最高形式性（ rule of law formality ）的。香港人的法律推理是重實質考慮的。這個實質考慮不包括超越的價值，而是基於實際情況（ situation based ）。

表1 列出了1985年調查結果和1988年社會指標調查的結果。前者着眼於道德、是非標準；後者着眼於個人相對集體利益。兩者的設計都不能辨別法律的現實或超越價值。1985年的問法誠然可以解釋爲79.8％的人支持「人有道德自主的權利」（right to moral independence），因而具有超越性的價值。但問題是第一、被訪問者並非有另一條選擇是淸楚地具實用價值的，「社會嘅是非標準」涉及的也可能是超越價值（解釋爲「道德的是非」或簡單的「正義感」）；第二、第二個選擇的擬題具有引導成份，「强制」這個用語也許使人厭惡而選答不贊成。一旦改成「維護社會的是非標準」也許後果則不一樣。

表1：法律的目的（贊成之百分比）

1985（N＝767，缺數值＝113）	
「保障市民自己有權去選擇任何道德標準」	79.8％
「强制市民遵從社會嘅是非標準」	20.2％
1988（N＝396，缺數值＝27）	
「保障個人利益」	9.2％
「保障集體利益」	33.3％
「兩者都是」	57.5％

我們說，統治者是否也受法律的規範，亦即法律能否具有獨立於統治者之外的性格，是中西法律文化的分水嶺。1985年

的一條問題也許可供參考。當我們問「在執行法律的時候，政府應該點做呢？」62.9％的被訪者選答「照足法例嚟做，否則政府點叫其他人尊重法律」；31.7％的被訪者選答「可以間中唔依法辦事，只要對破案有用」。這結果顯示，香港人認爲維護法律的尊嚴，甚至使一些實用價值（破案）受損也是值得的。這結果當然否定了我們上述的基本假設，不過這一條問題並不隱藏對抗、對付、提防統治者的因素，因此，法律是否有獨立性格和有超越價值，還不能判定。

讓我們看看下面這一題，似乎結論就和以上的不同。我們問「如果一個人確實犯過罪，但警察只能夠用一啲唔合法的方法去得到一些證據，證明那個人曾經犯過罪。你認爲法庭應該仍然使用呢啲證據去將那個人定罪呢，還是應該唔理會呢啲證據，判那個人無罪釋放呢？」調查的結果是，61.9％主張定罪，38.1％無罪釋放。問題牽涉的正是「適當程序」（due process）中的「非法證據之可受理性」（admissibility of illegal evidence）。香港人的反應似乎是重實質考慮，而並非形式考慮。寧願保障這一次的實用價值（破案），而輕視長遠的限制警權，以保障人權的超越價值。不過這些觀念是否表達於問卷之中，成爲被訪者面對的選擇？而且問卷中的「**確實**犯過罪」，和「**只能夠**用一啲唔合法的方法」的措詞不是具有引導作用嗎？

另一項的調查題目可以解釋爲，香港人還是難得接受法治的形式性，而較偏向於實質考慮的。對法治或適當程序的堅持，往往有助於避免寃枉好人，但却帶來使罪犯逍遙法外的可能。那一個代價較能被接受正是法律文化的關鍵問題之一。我們1985年的被訪問者是幾乎平分的，51.4％認爲讓罪犯逃離法網是較大的司法錯誤，而另外的48.6％認爲判錯好人才是較大的錯誤。

我們也可以從權利的問題看香港人的法律文化是傾向於實質考慮的，不過這實質考慮不是基於超越價值或類似Dworkin的權利論（嚴肅地對待權利）的。

我們1985年的調查因爲資源的限制只問及二種權利，屬隱私權的通信權利，和屬自由權的言論自由權。所以結論是有偏向性。無論如何，我們發現，香港人是支持這兩種權利的。53.5％認爲「政府沒有權去爲了偵查罪案而檢查我們的書信和郵件」，46.5％則持相反的意見；而97.8％的被訪者認爲「每人都應該有言論自由」。

不過，如果我們就言論自由作深入的分析，就會發現香港人會看實際情況來主張限制言論自由的。正如表2所顯示的，大多數的香港人不會把言論（表達）自由交給「說廢話」的人，「歪曲事實」的報紙和鼓吹異見的集會。換言之，自由權的行使要受到實質考慮的影響。在自由理論中，「能否讓人家有做錯事的自由」是一個老問題，不過隨着社會的進步，對權利的嚴肅看待，西方人已越來越能接受別人有做錯事的自由。無論如何，上述結論並不能視爲最後的，因爲我們涵蓋的範圍太窄，並不能充份照顧到人總是對某些人、某些事能容忍，而對別的人、別的事不能容忍。香港人是否不嚴肅地對待權利這問題還有待進一步研究。

表 2：言論（表達）自由（贊成之百分比）

「一個連自己都不知道自己究竟說甚麼東西的人不應該被容許當衆發言。」	72.8％
「我們只應該容許那些唔講大話的報紙去發表言論。」	77.2％
「政府應該禁止一個鼓吹一些市民唔贊成的東西（例如：同性戀合法化）的集會。」	68.7％

至於權利能否獨立於統治者、當今社會、和先於國家而存在，香港人的答覆似乎是淸楚的。當我們問：「一個人在社會裏面所擁有的權利不是生出來就有的，而是因爲他表現好，所以社會才給他一些權利作爲報酬。」，77.2％的被訪者是同意的。我們可以解釋爲，香港的法律文化還沒有接受天賦人權的說法，所以也不存在像自然法、權利等具有超越價值的法律原則，作爲現世政治、法律（實證法）秩序的批評者或衡量標準。問題是我們的問卷設計是不是眞正的表達出「天賦人權」說法的含義？如果換一個問法，會不會結果不一樣？則不得可知了。

Ⅵ. 展望進一步的研究發展

本文所提到的研究問題，不是一擧可以得到解決的。法律文化的研究從1985年到現在，包括1990年的調查都不曾是一項獨立的研究，而是依附於另一個大型研究的項目。資源的限制以及和大型研究的方法、理論上的配合，往往限制了自身的發展。今後，這個情況也許不會有太大改善。不過，每次新的研究機會可以集中鑽研一個主題，保證在有限範圍中，可以求得較可信的結論。1990年的調查是在上述理論假設的指引下集中針對法治的若干層面作出設計的。我們熱切希望不久的將來能夠有較可信的貢獻。

註 釋

1. 見Dworkin 1978；1985，特別是第17章"Do We Have a Right to Pornography？"
2. 見《法治與人治問題討論集》第 8 頁。

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10

社會指標與香港社會流動經驗

黃偉邦

I. 楔子

近年來，研究東亞地區華人社會的發展經驗，似乎有一共通的命題：經濟起飛帶來了廣泛的晋升機會，受益者固然攀升到較好的社會及經濟地位，而低下層則視他們爲目標對象。在受益者當中也出現了新的生活方式，精神面貌，甚至政治、價值取向。社會結構起了變化，經濟增長的成果雖未導致貧富懸殊、階級對立的局面，但民間社會力量的湧現，及其間的緊張角力形勢，卻又不容忽視，再加上個別國家的特殊歷史背景，及政治前景等異數，情形就變得更叵測，就更值得注意。隨著經濟發展而來的一連串社會及政治問題在這些華人社會無疑會以不同的形式出現，但因社會流動經驗衍生的信心及樂觀、進取精神，及潛伏在這些表象後的焦慮、對上向流動的期許等問題，卻是香港、台灣、新加坡等華人社會所共相面對的。

Ⅱ．中產階級：社會流動—主觀指標

無可否認，「中產階級」的現象是上述命題的核心。香港、台灣及新加坡的學者都很重視這問題。原因之一，當然是在客觀情況上，這些社會已擺脫了戰後初期的匱乏經濟，入息水平增高，創業累積財富的途徑多元化，小康之家及小資產者大量出現。撇開國民生產值、儲蓄及置業率等經濟指標不說，這三個社會在教育、職業結構及房屋等社會建設方面，均有極大成就，導至出現一個在教育、入息及職業與西方中產階級相若的中產階層。例如在新加坡，其「組屋」政策令到大部份人均無需爲房屋問題擔憂，沒有了後顧之憂，這直接幫助了他們在教育的投資及一般的財富累積。正因爲有八成多的新加坡人民擁有公共房屋的業權，所以李光耀曾說其社會是單一的中產階級社會。在台灣方面，教育的機會大量提高。雖然仍有不平等的情形（例如以受高等教育的機會來說，如果父母同樣有高等教育的話，其子女受高等教育的機會比教育背景差的對照組大三倍）(Chan & Chan, 1989：207-262），但總的來說，不平等的差距是縮短了；教育機會的普及或許不能阻止文化資本的**再生產**（即長遠來說，有高等教育與無高等教育的仍有鴻溝），但實質上卻能**創造**了文化資本。第一代的中產階級往往是這過程中的最大受益者。

至於香港方面，除了教育這一上向流動的途徑外，學者也將注意力放在職業結構的改變及小型企業這兩方面提供的流動機會。在職業結構方面，服務性及銷售性的職業隨著經濟的發展而大幅增多，造就了一大批非體力勞動白領性的中產階級職業。如果用個別年齡組別的列序分析來探討小僱主的增加，相信成績會很可觀。而有關小型工業在本港的性質及重要性，很多學者已提及，值得注意的是小型企業所提供的上向流動機會，在香港的獨特環境內似乎是特別多，其所代表的流動意義及重要性，在民衆的主觀感受上似乎越蓋了其他流動途徑。但無論怎樣，從教育途徑晋升至管理階層，或從實際參予工業生產體力勞動的途徑而達到創業的理想，兩者的結果都是中產階級的出現的社會事實。而一些學者也嘗用相似的客觀標準來描繪香港的中產階段。得出的結論是中產階級約佔社會整體（有經濟活動的成員）的兩成，與台灣相若（Sheu, 1989：117-149；許，1989：57-76）。當然在中產階級內的職業及「階級性」（自營作業，僱主或被僱）的分佈情形，香港與台灣不盡相同，但這是題外話，故不贅。

客觀上中產階級的出現，一方面提出了社會整合的問題——中產階級是經濟發展的既得利益者，它對於穩定社會的作用無容置疑，但它對未來社會及政治的取向及政治角色卻未明朗化，導至一些學者致力探究其「文化迷思」、其「何來何去」等問題，解釋其「政治兩面性」、「心理的雙重焦慮」。另一方面中產階級的出現也提出了東亞華人社會的不同社會流動經驗這問題。這內裏有一個更迫切的現象：如果中產階級代表了機會和希望，它也同時刺激了低下層或未得益者的流動慾望及期許。一方面，這表現在民衆的自我主觀階級認同上。以台灣爲例[1]，從1964年有兩成人自我認同中產階級，至1983年已增至六成（蔡，1989：83）。在新加坡1984年的調查中，十個被訪者中有八個視自己爲中產階層。而在香港，也有超過百分之七十被訪者爲自我認同中產階級者。雖然上述的調查所用的分類法不盡相同，多少會影響結果的比較性，而「中產階級」及「中產階層」的意義是否相通也有待進一步商榷。但整體而言，這種在主觀上認同「中間」或「中產」特性的傾向是十分明顯及值得深思的。

另一方面，在各個調查中，對上向流動的期許、對把握個人機會的信心及樂觀態度，也很直接的表現出來。在台灣，資

料顯示出超過五成人認爲他們現在的生活比五年前好，同時，也期待未來會更好。相對下，只有一成多人認爲他們的生活由過去至現在，甚而到未來，都沒有甚麼大變動。尤有進之，只有百分之一點七的人認爲他們的生活品質是一路下降的。在這個調查中，受訪者對未來的期待，是一般地高於對現在及五年前的評估（張，1988：61-84）。在經濟機會方面，對於個人努力所能得到的成果也是充滿信心的。被訪者對於「個人只要肯吃苦，就一定成功」這命題的回應是「非常」和「相當」的贊成。不贊成的不及一成。在各種背景變項中，沒有太大的差異（鄭，1988：85-131）。當然，這一發現或可代表一種傳統的中國經濟理念，並不是直接顯示出被訪者對經濟機會多寡及可即與否的看法，而這經濟理念也許並不是現代的、成功的東亞發展社會所獨有。但至少，在東亞華人社會這環境下，這種經濟理念反映出一般市民對上向流動的期待及對個人努力的價值肯定。最後，就「目前你事業上有這樣的成就是否公平？」這問題，台灣的資料中有差不多三成人認爲「非常」或「相當」公平。而超過半數認爲「還算」公平（鄭，1988：85-131）。表示出大多數人都沒有覺得流動機會閉塞或被其他人所壟斷。

新加坡和香港的調查也發現相似的現象。在新加坡，八成受訪者認爲成功與否，全看是否努力，與命運無關。有興趣的是，處於職業聲望低位置的人相比職業聲望高的，更堅信個人努力爲成功的不二法門。這發現可能顯示出晋升階級在其攀升過程中明瞭到他們的成功除有賴努力外，還要配合其他因素，包括命運。至於香港方面，從1988年的社會指標調查的資料中，我們可發現超過八成被訪者相信「打工仔可以有朝做老闆」；同樣地，超過八成認爲近十年來香港社會提供了更多給個人發展的機會。而差不多九成半人則肯定個人努力的價值。這些主觀評估及取向都全不受各種背景變項（年齡、在港年數、性別、職業、教育）所影響。主觀的階級屬性也未影響這一致的及强烈的進取、樂觀精神。同樣地，被訪者的社會意象模式（即被訪者以何種指標——權力、財富或生活方式——去勾勒地位，作爲地位的準則）也未構成差異。[2]

當被問及成功的要素時，百分之六十香港的被訪者認爲最重要的個人條件分別爲教育及不懈的努力，而被問及個人成功需要何種社會條件，差不多六成人覺得一個自由、可以競爭的環境至爲重要。相比下，其他社會條件（例如教育機會均等、全民福利政策等）受重視的程度極低。當然這並不表示在香港人的社會流動觀念中，只重視一個「有得搏」的自由環境，認爲地位晋升是宗極個人化的事情，社會結構性的支持（如教育、福利）並不需要。這裏我們或須將經濟及社會／政治兩個範疇分開考慮。在其他學者的研究中，有資料顯示出香港人在經濟活動及理念這範疇，是明顯地贊成有一個自由、未受干預的環境；但在社會（例如福利）及道德價值（例如打擊色情暴力）方面，香港人的精神風貌並不是傾向個人化、自由化，而是容許及某程度上贊成有社會（或政府）的干預和管制（Lau & Kuan, 1988）。但無論怎樣，在個人條件方面，或是在社會環境方面，一般香港人主觀上是有種「自致努力」的傾向，依靠自己的爭取，肯定「能者居之」的正面性，最基本的——或是最佳的——的社會條件是一個容許個人自由發展建樹的環境。在文化意識的層面上，我們或許可稱之爲一種在移民社會裏孕育出的「基本生存」的關懷。我們或可大膽進一步說，當西方社會式的階級意識並未在東亞的華人社會植根，而「身份」或「地位團體」又未衍生出相應的集體象徵及價值觀時，社會流動對個人的意義還是囿於一種「生存」的文化意識表現，而不是「身份」或「地位」的衍生上。[3] 這點容後再談。

上面的討論，主要目的不是將台灣、新加坡、香港三地有

關社會流動的主觀指標的資料作一專門比較。其目的是嘗試提出下列兩點：（一）在研究東亞華人社會的著作裏，不論是社會指標的研究，或是關於新中產階級的討論，都有相當多的共通命題。其中有關社會流動的主觀評估、期許或意向的資料，也呈現了很多重要的相同點及一致的趨勢。（二）三地的學者已蒐集了相當多的主觀社會指標資料，如果能有系統地將這些資料作比較分析，再加上階級研究（尤其是新中產階級）所搜集的客觀指標作配對檢驗，將無疑能幫助我們了解多些東亞華人社會在發展過程中的異同。

在下面的篇幅中，筆者嘗試就香港社會指標調查中有關社會流動的資料作一較仔細的探究，希望就某些命題可以提出一些理念上或理論上的討論。目的之一是進一步探索香港民衆對社會流動的主觀意義及其內裏的異質；另外的目的是希望對比較性的配對檢驗分析有所裨益，對華人社會指標的研究有拋磚引玉的作用。

Ⅲ. 社會流動：樂觀表象背後的焦慮

首先，正如上述，香港市民對社會的開放度、社會近年來提供的機會、對個人努力的重視，及對流動的可能性或可即性是十分有信心，是正面肯定的。這些主觀評估並不會受背景變項的影響而導致某一類組別（如高入息、或高教育水平）有異常的趨向，內部的歧異性十分少。尤其值得注意的是被訪者的年齡及在港居留的長短，並不影響整體的傾向。年紀大的和年輕的同樣顯露出樂觀及正面的態度。根據一份1954年的難民問題報告，在五十年代移居香港的人，有頗可觀數目的專業人士及知識份子，這些人定居香港時，是經歷了客觀的職業下向流動，有很多人淪爲體力勞動者。假設在我們的社會指標調查中

年紀較大的被訪者也在那時期有相同的下向流動經驗，則現時他們的樂觀評估及取向，似乎一方面顯示了這種樂觀及積極的態度是有其較根深蒂固的淵源和基礎。中國人的傳統價值一向重視個人努力，也存有「將相本無種」這種平等流動的思想，這些文化因素似乎和被訪者的認知有關。另外一方面，被訪者的傾向可能也反映出香港的發展，確實給很多人提供了很多機會，有上向流動經驗的大不乏人。

事實上，根據現有的資料，表示自己現有的社會階層位置比父母的社會地位（以被訪者在十四歲時的階段作參考指標）爲高的被訪者，佔適當樣本總數的百分之四十四。另外差不多一半的被訪者認爲自己現時的地位與父母的相同，而只有一成多的受訪者覺得比父母的差。相比其他工業社會，這一種上向流動的主觀感受在香港是十分强烈的。例如根據1984年英國的研究，只有百分之三十的被訪者覺得自己的社會地位比父母的爲高（Jowell & Airey, 1984：Ch. 6）。

社會流動的機會既然存在，那麼那一類背景的人會最受惠？他們攀升的途徑又是怎樣呢？又在這攀升過程中，有沒有一些凝聚的因素，導至某類攀升者有趨向一致的生活態度和意識？換句話說，社會流動的後果會否做成某類「階級」或「身份」意識呢？我們現時缺乏了這方面的客觀及主觀資料。但從調查所得，我們可發現在某些問題上，專業及管理階層的人士和其他對照組是有相當明顯的分歧。例如在社會階層觀方面，當從事行政管理職業的被訪者被問及「窮人與有錢人是否有無可避免的衝突？」，贊成的與不贊成的各佔半數。但在其他職業類別裏，大多數人的反應皆偏向於承認衝突的存在，跟專業職業的組別有相當大的分別。有趣地，台灣的研究發現大多數人否認階級衝突的存在(雖然香港的研究並非直接問「階級衝突」，但我相信兩項資料是有一定的比較性），而專業人才及受過大學

教育者卻相對地較多傾向於承認有這類衝突。香港和台灣的情況似乎大相逕庭，但也顯示了兩地的新中產階級比起其他階級而言，擁有獨特的社會階層觀，有自己對社會分化的看法。這種對於社會衝突的認知，是否階級意識的一種基礎或徵兆？這問題無疑對了解新中產階級的本質及社會流動對階級形成的影響有莫大的關連，而在這裏我們也可察覺到主觀指標對剖析客觀現象所能起的正面作用。

我們的調查還顯示了另一個值得注意的現象。雖然大多數被訪者都樂觀地認爲社會有機會、容許個人發展等，但當被問及他們本身的發展可能性時，他們的態度顯著地變得審慎，甚至有些悲觀。例如有超過七成的被訪者覺得他們轉去另一份較好的工作的機會是零或甚少。我們將這問題與「打工仔有朝能做老闆」的變項作交互表列，結果是在樂觀派中，也有七成人對於轉至較好的職業表示不樂觀。接着，我們要被訪者評他們在往後十年的事業發展機會，認爲甚少或少的比例是百分之三十三，而認爲前景甚好的比例只有百分之七。

從上面的資料，我們可發現到被訪者對整體的環境表示樂觀，但這似乎只是印證了社會廣泛存在的一種自由競爭的理念或理想。當我們要求他們評估自己的攀升潛力及流動機會時，他們變得不大肯定，有悲觀的傾向。其實如果我們考慮到被訪者的工作性質及工作環境這些「切身」的因素，就不難明白這種傾向。從政府在1982年做的調查，我們得知在一百人中，有十五個在過往一年中曾經轉換工作（ Hong Kong Government, 1983；1987 ）。很明顯地，大部份的變動是橫向的流動，工作性質相似（例如地盤及製作工人），升職的機會也沒增加。這是一般的體力勞動者的情形，但對於大部份白領工人來說，他們的轉工歷程也是大同小異。雖然說非體力勞動者或可以在工作中累積文書或電腦操作的經驗，但這些技能的「轉替性」是偏低的，對升職或轉至一份較好的工作作用不大。另外，一份研究中區文員的報告指出低級文員的轉工率是頗高的，每份工作維持不夠兩年，而轉工的總後果也不是上向的晋升（呂、陳，1987）。同一調查也指出樣本總數的百分之七十五有選讀工餘進修課程，但當被問及升職的機會時，有差不多四成人表示「升職機會好微」或「無升級機會」或「唔係無機會升職，但唔會升得高」。政府的資料也顯示通常一般文職人員參加工餘進修課程的比例比其他職業類別者爲高，在1984年，大概每六個文員中便有一個是有工餘職業或語文進修的。但在1988年，這比例降至每十人只有一個（ Hong Kong Government, 1989 ）。如果工餘進修可視爲非體力勞動者（尤以低層白領者）的一種上向流動的策略，則似乎整體的趨勢有下降的情況。這些片面、零碎的事實或可支持了上述的不肯定、不樂觀的主觀感受是有一定的客觀基礎。但無論怎樣，我們得出來的結論是一般的主觀指標需要結合到實際的勞動力市場、工作環境等客觀因素來考慮。

在流動策略方面，調查發現大部份（超過百分之八十）被訪者的主觀取向是趨向選擇自立門戶、自己成爲老闆及獲取專業資格這兩大途徑。兩種策略所佔的比例相差不大。當被問及實際上如果有機會給他們再選擇創立事業的話，他們會選擇何種策略，被訪者的反應也沒有大改變：一半被訪者選擇了「搞生意」這企業途徑，而有三成多傾向專業資格。其他途徑（例如「找一份升職機會好的工作」或「在大機構發展事業」）都得不到一成被訪者的支持。這個現象有數點值得留意，一般學者都指出香港社會有很强及廣泛存在的創辦企業精神，我們的調查資料提供了一個有代表性的佐證。但同時，爭取較高資歷及專業地位（ credentials ）的願望也不容忽視。尤其當我們將流動策略與被訪者的背景變項作交互表列後，可以發現創立企

業、躍升爲僱主這種取向，在不同職業組別中的分佈比例大不相同。在文職工作者及一些技術人員中這取向並不特別强烈，相反地，從事這些工作的被訪者有一半以上是選擇credentials爲其理想的策略，只有在銷售業、服務業受僱者、行政管理人員，及一般體力勞動工人中，選擇以搞生意、辦企業爲攀升途徑才有壓倒性的比例。這發現引伸出來的問題是：不同職業的工作環境、市場位置是否會直接影響主觀的流動策略？又或者說，客觀的「階級」特性與流動意識的關係是怎樣的？但整體而言，香港社會存有一種「雙軌流動途徑」的意識似是不移的事實，而兩種策略在被訪者的主觀認知層面上也似是涇渭分明的；一些研究指出，大部份香港的中小型工業的企業家的第一份工作是製作工人、管工或與生產有密切關係的技工／工程師，有文職及行政管理背景的很少。這些企業家的父親也絕少有專業或行政管理的職業背景（Sit & Wong, 1989：Table 7-11 & 8-7）。這些發現或可當作爲上述涇渭分明的雙軌流動意義的客觀參考資料。

最後，還有幾個值得將來再深究的問題。第一，如果「創業做僱主」這種取向在香港普遍存在，成爲了大部份人對上向流動的意願，這是否表示了從被僱的身份轉變至僱主的地位在社會流動的主觀認知中享有極重要的象徵意義？相比之下，體力勞動／腦力勞動這一鴻溝是否沒有那麼重大的主觀意義？對於這些問題的進一步研究相信會有助我們理解香港市民的社會流動價值觀。

第二個值得討論的問題是經濟態度對社會流動的認知的影響。在一項台灣的調查，受訪者被問及是否贊成這說法：「有錢人盡量賺錢，對大家都有好處」。結果贊成的有百分之三十六，而「非常」和「相當」不贊成的也有百分之二十八。背景分析指出低下層民衆較多支持這種「大餅經濟學」的說法（鄭，1988）。

從這裏引伸出來的問題是：這種「先富後均」的經濟態度是否暗示了在被訪者（尤以低下層民衆爲甚）的社會意象裏，社會流動及其所涉及的競爭等，並不是一個零合遊戲，一些人先富起來，對大家都有好處；社會流動並不會導至階級對立；相反地，社會流動對社會起了穩定的作用。香港的情況是否有相同之處呢？限於資料，在這裏我們不能提供一個答案。但明顯地，這個問題是將來研究香港市民對生活、對社會事物、對社會攀升的主觀認知和評估的重要的一環，對探測市民取向和意願的脈動也有同等的重要性。

Ⅳ. 結語

上一節主要引用了香港社會指標調查的資料，分別就被訪者對流動機會的評估及對流動策略的選擇這兩方面去討論，並嘗試指出社會流動的主觀指標往往需要結合到被訪者的一些切身客觀因素（例如工作環境）來一併考慮，而這些主觀指標亦耦合在被訪者的社會意象裏。長遠的目的應該是去建立這整體的社會意象的綜合指標，並與其他東亞華人社會的情況作一比較。

註 釋

1. 下列引述台灣、新加坡及香港的調查資料，除有特別註明外，分別出自「台灣地區社會變遷基本調查」（1983-86；論文收集在楊國樞、瞿海源編的《變遷中的台灣社會》）；新加坡的「社會流動研究」（1984）；及「香港社會指標調查」（1988）。
2. 在這方面，香港和新加坡的資料同樣顯示出財富及教育爲

決定地位的最重要準則。

3. 這個說法在葉啟政，"台灣「中產階級」的文化迷思"，已被提出來了。

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11

Communication Indicators in Hong Kong:

Conceptual Issues, Findings and Implications

Joseph Man Chan
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WE plan to achieve three objectives in this paper. One is to review the concept of communication indicators and discuss the methodological as well as the theoretical issues involved in communication indicators research. The second is to piece together the existing communication indicators in Hong Kong, and the third is to examine their implications.

Conceptualizing Communication Indicators

Definition and Scope

Communication indicators are indexes of the state of production, distribution and reception of messages in a social system.[1] Indicators of message production refer to the characteristics and encoding practices of media institutions and communication professionals. Indicators of the message distribution system pertain to the availability and capacity of communication channels. Reception indicators are the audience's consumption and evaluation of various forms of communication. Associated with production are the messages that constitute the symbolic system. It can be analysed in volume and orientation as communication indicators too.

Media, communication and culture are three interrelated concepts with one being the subset of the other as far as the scope is concerned. Culture, in the broadest sense, includes social actions, values and beliefs (Rosengren, 1986). Media are usually restricted to communication via mass-oriented channels. Communication includes not only mass-mediated communication but also telecommunications and interpersonal communication. However, it is not as encompassing as culture. With communication so delimited, big and modern media like satellite television and super computer as well as small and traditional media such as storytelling and photocopying machine should all be included in the study of communication indicators. In fact, the simultaneous monitoring of both the modern and traditional media is essential for a developing nation that attempts to harness all communication resources for the sake of development (Tehranian, 1979).

At the industrial and organizational level, communications can be viewed from the perspective of ecological theory which relates environmental pressure to organizational structure and resource acquisition (Dimmick and Rothenbuhler, 1984). It is the survival of species that is at the heart of ecological theory in biology. In our case each species is a set of communication organizations composed of television stations or newspapers. Communication, as a social subsystem, is interrelated with other social subsystems. The social context in general and the regulatory framework in particular set the parametric constraints on communication. Any change in the environment will set pressure for communications to adapt. It follows that socio-economic indicators such as per capita GNP, average education and occupational structure are relevant to the study of communication indicators as well. The global context can also affect communications within a nation. In this shrinking world, no society can afford to be a closed system, and international exchanges of information is inevitable. The import and export figures of television programs, films, videos, transborder data and the like are therefore legitimate indicators.

Like social indicators, communication indicators can also be distinguished as objective and subjective ones. Objective and subjective indicators are complementary in revealing a full picture of the communication environment as they have different emphases. The former relates to facticity. The penetration of video-cassette recorders and the average time people spent on television are illustrative examples. The latter relates to the people's subjective evaluation of the objective media environment. In this case, what matters is people's perception. Perceived reality and actual reality should be equally stressed as they often interact in shaping social outcome.

Methodological Issues

Communication indicators can be observed at all levels of analysis — individual, group, institutional and societal. While individuals may be the unit of observation, indicators are often analysed at the group level or above. The specific level of analysis is determined chiefly by the nature of the communication component in which one is interested. For instance, media consumption, often observed on an individual basis, is presented as group statistics. Media imports and exports are aggregated data on institutional or societal basis.

The methods that are particularly useful for the study of communication indicators include survey, content analysis and data aggregation. The survey method can be used for generating indicators about all aspects — excepting the content — of communication. Examples include media penetration, audience's evaluation of the communication environment and communicators' encoding practices. Content analysis is applicable to indexing the symbolic system carried by the media or artifacts in terms of volume, content orientation and type. Data aggregation is useful for recording the monetary value of communications, the proliferation of information technology, the imports and exports of information goods and the like.

Despite that economics and sociology are more developed as social science disciplines, the indicators they often use have not won universal acceptance. For instance, people are still debating whether per capita GNP is a valid measure of the welfare of a nation. Communication being a younger discipline, indicator measurement poses even greater problems. This is particularly true in measuring subjective indicators. The change in question wording and measurement scale, for example, may change the results. Without equivalent indicators, it becomes very difficult to compare the state of communication across nations.

Another striking problem with communication indicator measurement relates to the nature of communication messages. While practical formulae can be devised to measure the supply and consumption of all messages, audio, visual or print, in terms of a basic unit, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish *information* from *misinformation* (Ito, 1980). The quality of communication is so difficult to measure that, to our knowledge, it has never been mapped before. The measurement of contents may also involve the interpretation of meanings which is vulnerable to subjective evaluation. Controversy often creeps in as a result. This implies that the development of universal indicators of message meanings will be a long and painstaking process.

The measurements of communication indicators in a given society may have to change as new communication technology is introduced because new ways of storing and retrieving information can render traditional measurements obsolete. The video-cassette recorder (VCR) which many people use for time-shifting purpose provides a good illustration. VCR has changed the way many people watch television. To measure television consumption by merely asking for the time respondents spend watching television, as traditionally practised, will be confusing to the VCR users. Distinctions have to be made of the time they spend with 'direct' television watching and time spent with 'pre-recorded' TV programs. The summation will provide a better answer.

Theoretical Issues

The basic function of communication indicators, and for that matter, social indicators, is to reflect the state of the situation, serving as feedback to a communication system and as basis for forecasting communication development and for planning social change. They can serve theoretical purposes too. To say the least, theoretical consideration is implied in conceptualizing and measuring these indicators.[2] This theoretical value of communication indicators can be further enhanced if they are (1) measured longitudinally, (2) grounded theoretically and (3) subjected to analytical and theoretical use.

Social change is at the core of the problematics in social science. Without longitudinal measures, it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw meaningful conclusions about the processes of change and the development trends. In fact, merely as feedback indexes for policy-making, communication indicators are much more useful if they are measured over time. Longitudinal indicators provide a basis for testing hypotheses and theoretical assumptions too. In this case, the indicators should be so structured that they serve the testing purpose.

The analytical and theoretical values of an indicator may change as a result of the way it is conceptualized and measured. For instance, while the box office of movies in a nation may be a relatively straightforward indicator of cinema attendance, the ratio of the box office of local productions to foreign films may serve as a criterion for testing if western media necessarily dominate local productions in a third world country, as the theory of media imperialism expects.[3] In the latter case, the ratio serves an analytical and theoretical purpose. Certainly, the ratio itself can be viewed as nothing but a communication indicator.

The value of a given indicator also depends on the way it is used. When used alone, the indicator is merely descriptive in nature. However, when used to correlate with another variable or when used to answer a research question, it can serve an analytical or explanatory purpose. The advertising revenue, for instance, is a common index of the media market environment. A longitudinal correlation between this advertising index and the gross national products over the years, however, will test the relationship between advertising and economic growth. Likewise, the increase of the advertising index can be used to explain the rise of commercial centrist newspapers in Hong Kong in the 1970s (Chan and Lee, 1991).

While the theoretical use of communication indicators is desirable, we shall not limit ourselves to such use. Otherwise, the study of communication indicators can be equated to the study of communication theories. We maintain that communication indicators *per se* have their own values. They are meant, first of all, to index the messages as well as the state of production, distribution and reception of messages.

There are three orientations in the study of communication indicators. The first is the cultural indicators approach pioneered by George Gerbner and his colleagues (e.g. with Gross, 1976; with Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1986) since the early seventies. The major concern of this approach is to test if television has cultivation effects on the audience. According to this theory, exposure to the symbolic reality portrayed on television will cultivate the audience's social perceptions. The testing of this theory involves analysis of the symbolic content and survey of the audience's perceived reality.[4] Along similar lines and broader in conceptualization is the cultural indicators studies performed by Erik Rosengren (e.g. 1984; 1986) and his European colleagues. They are more interested in finding out the cultivation effects of mass communication on people's values and beliefs.

A second orientation is the 'Johoka Shakai' or 'information society' approach initiated by researchers in the Research Institute of Telecommunications and Economics in Japan (e.g. Ito, 1980).[5] The chief concern of the Japanese researchers is to measure and compare the degree to which societies are informatized. To do this, they develop information-based indexes to measure people's information-related expenditure as well as the supply and consumption of information in society per year.[6]

Akin to the 'information society approach' is the study of communication indicators as an extension of the social scientists' and social planners' concern for development. Within this orientation, development indicators are broadened in scope to include economic, social and cultural (communications) indicators. Majid Tehranian (1979) has provided an illustrative study of this type. He has amassed the statistics for various media, ranging from the number of libraries to the length of telecommunications network, in his effort to relate communications to development. The 'information society approach' and Tehranian's study differ in their choice of the criterion for social evaluation and level of methodological sophistication. However, both are concerned about development in a general sense; the information-based indexes and communication indicators are meant to measure comparable items. There is no conceptual distinction between the 'information society approach' and the 'communication indicators approach' that restricts the former to developed societies and the latter to the less developed nations. The concepts and measurements that are developed out of the Japanese context should therefore be applicable, possibly with adaptations, to developmental study of communication indicators in less developed countries.

The above three approaches have all informed us one way or the other when conceptualizing communication indicators. However, our general orientation at this point is closer to the 'information society approach' and the 'development indicators approach.' We are more interested in mapping the state of communication in Hong Kong than testing for the effects of media as cultural indicators. The next tasks facing us is to synthesize existing communication indicators in Hong Kong and to examine their implications. A synthesis as such, we deem, is fundamental for communication research in Hong Kong in general and for the study of communication indicators in particular.

Mapping Communication in Hong Kong

Despite the increasingly facilitative environment in Hong Kong, the small size of the communication research community is limiting the volume of output and scope of specialization (Chan, 1990). Unwittingly, communication indicators scattering over various researches in the last fifteen years constitute the area that is most persistently monitored. We shall pool together such indicators for this synthesis. The sources include: (1) the government-sponsored surveys; (2) commercial researches and (3) academic studies.

To make communication policies, the government regulatory agencies in Hong Kong have commissioned a number of large-scale surveys of broadcasting audience in the last decade. Being policy researches, they centre around media evaluations, preferences, program standards and other regulatory issues. Only questions about television, radio and cinema are asked. The print media and other media are left untouched as they are subject to much more relaxed control. However scattered they may be, these government surveys are valuable sources of subjective communication indicators.

The bulk of objective communication indicators are derived from marketing companies. In Hong Kong where advertising and marketing form an integral part of the corporate strategies, the communication patterns need to be constantly watched. It is the marketing research companies that are the most persistent in this effort, thereby producing valuable longitudinal data about the penetration and consumption of a broad range of media — television, publications, radio and cinema. However, a blind spot of these surveys is the audience's evaluation of the state of communication.

So far communication indicators have received only scanty attention from academic researchers. Some communication indicators have been incorporated as a minor part of a large-scale social indicator studies (Lau and Wan, 1987). Other surveys usually have special groups like students and teenagers as samples, thus rendering the results less useful as communication indicators (e.g. Ng, 1987). To remedy this neglect, we are completing an indicator survey of the population at large which places equal emphasis on both objective and subjective measures. For this paper we shall make use of existing communication indicators in the domain of television, radio, cinema, newspaper, magazine and telecommunication. Results from the on-going survey will be reserved for later reports.

The Overall Environment

First, we would like to set the stage for the development of communications in Hong Kong. It is a colonial administrative city-state that has transformed itself from a fishing village into a metropolitan center that boasts a per capita income of about US$11,000 in 1990, trailing close behind England, its political master.[7] Hong Kong has a population of about 6 million in 1991. The by-census in 1986 showed that the educational attainment had improved markedly in the previous decade, particularly at the matriculation level and beyond, accounting for more than 11% of the population (Census and Statistics Department, 1986). About 40% had received secondary education. Occupationally, about 43% of the working population in 1986 were production workers whereas 54% were clerical, sales, service, professional and managerial workers. All these characteristics have important implications for the mass media which, as we shall observe in a moment, thrive on the formidable advertising industry that has grown in tandem with the formation of a relatively affluent society in Hong Kong.

In spite of the stringent laws, press freedom in Hong Kong is second only to Japan in Asia (Chan and Lee, 1991). Mass media and other forms of communication operate primarily within a market structure whose parameters are set by the government regulators. Anyone can apply for a business licence and start a publication. The government takes greater precautions with the electronic media. In 1987, the government formed the Broadcasting Authority, a public statutory body chaired by an unofficial member, to supervise the implementation of the ordinance governing broadcast television, cable television and broadcast radio and to advise the government on broadcasting policies that range from selecting licensees to establishing the codes of practice.[8] The government department that shares the concerns of the Broadcasting Authority is the Culture and Recreation Branch.[9] The responsibility of the regulation of telecommunications and technical policies in broadcasting rests with the Economic Service Branch. While the government has set some limits on the publication of pornographic and politically sensitive materials, the government's interference in mediated content is minimal in practice. Without an explicit and elaborate cultural policy, Hong Kong is also a free port in information as there is no strict control over the flow of media in and out of Hong Kong.

Consequently, the media market is left in full operation; the state of the advertising industry becomes very reflective of the general media environment. In the early seventies, Hong Kong's economy suffered from the oil embargo and the collapse of the stock market. The advertising industry suffered as a result. From Table 1, the average annual growth rate from 1972 to 1974 is calculated to be only 3.7%.[10] The advertising industry in Hong Kong started to grow rapidly in the mid-seventies, with an average yearly rate of about 32.2% between 1975 and 1980. For the period 1985 to 1989, the advertising expenditure increased from HK$2,821,000,000 to HK$5,541,000,000, with an average growth rate of about 18.0% per year.[11] Heavy advertising expenditure as such has become the life-blood of Hong Kong's many communications.

It is interesting to notice how the advertising pie has been shared by various media over the years. The newspaper was the dominant advertis-

Table 1 Advertising Expenditure by Media, 1972-1989 (%)

	1972*	1974*	1976*	1978*	1980*	1985**	1986**	1987**	1988**	1989**
TV	34.0	41.0	53.8	58.5	49.0	60.2	58.3	57.4	55.4	50.6
Radio	5.5	4.6	2.7	3.4	4.6	3.7	3.0	2.5	2.8	3.7
Newspaper	54.7	49.1	39.2	31.8	38.4	23.5	25.6	26.1	26.3	28.6
Magazine	3.7	3.3	3.0	5.4	7.7	9.6	9.7	10.3	11.5	12.9
MTR	—	—	—	—	—	1.8	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.5
Cinema	2.1	1.9	1.4	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.4	1.4
Others	—	—	—	—	—	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Expenditure in HK$ Millions	(222)	(239)	(280)	(460)	(939)	(2,871)	(3,376)	(3,899)	(4,711)	(5,541)

* Source: Programming Research Division, TVB Ltd.

** Source: HK Adex, 1990.

ing medium in Hong Kong in the early seventies, accounting for more than 50% of the total expenditure in 1973.[12] Its importance declined over the years to a low of 23.5% in 1985.[13] Since then, the newspaper has been slowly regaining some of its lost ground, to 26.6% in 1989.

In contrast, broadcast television, the second advertising medium in the early seventies (shortly after its introduction in 1967), climbed over the years to take up 60.2% of the advertising expenditure in 1985.[14] Television remains the dominating medium since 1985, but its share has been nibbled by newspapers and magazines. The magazine has never been a major advertising medium but its importance has risen steadily in the last two decades, from 3.7% in 1972 to 12.9% in 1989.[15] Because of low listenership and weak purchasing power of its audience, radio fares poorly in attracting advertising money. In 1986, for instance, it got 3% of the total advertising expenditure, lagging far behind the U.S.A. (6.9%), Korea (6.5%), Taiwan (6.4%) and Japan (5.2%).[16] The cinema is a relatively unimportant outlet for advertising and its share fluctuates over the years, averaging less than 2%.[17] The Mass Transit Railway (MTR) has now surpassed the cinema in advertising revenue, increasing from 1.8% in 1985 to 2.5% in 1989.

Television

Television is an important institution in Hong Kong. In 1990, it took up 4.2 hours of people's daily activities on average (TELA, 1990). If the average time needed for work and sleep are 16 hours, a person is left only 3.8 hours to do all other things. TV viewing has become the major pastime. Its impact on Hong Kong people's daily life cannot be overlooked when people spend so much time on it.

In 1990, 100% of Hong Kong households had at least one TV set. Nineteen per cent had two TV sets and 4% had three. Ninety-eight per cent of the population watched TV last week (TELA, 1990). The popularity of TV viewing is also reflected in the rating of TV programs. A top-rated program in 1990 could catch as many as one million of the 1.5 million TV households.[18]

At present, Hong Kong has two Chinese TV channels provided by two different companies, Television Broadcast Ltd. (TVB) and Asia

Television (ATV). The TVB Chinese channel, Jade, has commanded the bulk of the Chinese-speaking audience. Its top-rated program can get as high a share as 90%.[19]

Closely related to television consumption is the use of VCR. The penetration rate of VCR rapidly increased from 11% in 1985 to 70% in 1990 (SRH, 1990). Many people use it for viewing rental video tapes or for time-shifting function. Thirty-three per cent of the population aged over 9 watched rental tapes while 32% watched self-recorded video tapes in the week prior to the audience interview (SRH, 1990). Four per cent of the population used VCR to record TV programs as often as everyday, 34% at least once a week and 38% at least once a month in 1990. Most people kept the commercials when recording TV programs. However, 82% of the viewers watching these pre-recorded programs zapped the commercials. How this change in TV viewing pattern will affect the effectiveness of TV advertising and the overall effects of TV should be interesting topics for further study.

To many people's surprise, Hong Kong's Chinese TV channels have never been dominated by foreign programs since the inauguration of broadcast TV in 1967. As indicated in Table 2, foreign programs have taken up only one-third of the air time at most in the past two decades. In 1969, two years after the inauguration of broadcast TV, 62.7% of the programs of TVB Jade were already locally produced and foreign programs accounted for 33.8%. By 1985, local production increased to 80.2% and foreign programs decreased to 19.3%. Similar pattern is observed with RTV1 or ATV1. As of 1989, as much as 90% of TV programs on the two Chinese channels were locally produced (Lee & Yung, 1990). In recent years, the local TV stations have started exporting video programs to overseas Chinese communities. The TVB markets 1,000 hours of its 2,000-3,000 hours of annual production to 25 countries whereas the ATV markets 520 hours overseas (Pomery, 1988).

The export testifies to the competitiveness of Hong Kong TV productions in neighbouring countries. They have domestic appeals too. A study in 1987 showed that 87% of the people were satisfied with the TV programs (TELA, 1987). This finding is consistent with a survey in Kwun Tong which is a typical industrial-residential community in Hong Kong. It was found that in 1986 less than 20% of the population were

Table 2 Sources of TV Programs of a Selected Week on the Two Chinese Channels (%)

	1969		1972		1975		1979		1982		1985	
	RTV1	TVB Jade	RTV1	TVB Jade	RTV1	TVB Jade	RTV1	TVB Jade	RTV1	TVB Jade	RTV1	TVB Jade
Local	71.6	62.7	73.7	51.8	65.4	61.7	77.2	50.6	78.5	62.4	78.0	80.2
Foreign	19.8	33.8	16.5	33.0	24.8	17.3	11.5	30.9	8.8	15.3	21.5	19.3
Not Classified	8.6	3.5	9.8	15.2	9.8	21.0	11.3	18.4	12.7	22.3	0.5	0.5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average Daily Transmission Time in Hours and Minutes	14H20m	13H53m	15H50m	13H6m	14H26m	14H18m	15H45m	21H43m	19H13m	24H0m	19H40m	23H45m

Source: Adapted from Lee & Yung (1990) who derived the data from the *Report of the Television Advisory Board on the Progress of TV in Hong Kong*.

dissatisfied with the TV (Lau & Wan, 1987:84).

Nevertheless, the government conceived that there is still room for TV program improvement and wanted to introduce more competition to the TV scene. In 1985, the Broadcasting Review Board decided to bring cable TV to Hong Kong. In August 1989, a cable TV franchise and a cable network franchise were awarded to Hong Kong Cable Communications (HKCC). The communication field changed rapidly in 1990. In April 1990, Asia's first regional communication satellite, AsiaSat I was launched. The Hutchison Whampoa Group, one of the shareholders of AsiaSat I immediately put up a proposal to the government to launch satellite TV services. It was opposed vehemently by the cable company. After a tug of war, the government devised a regulatory regime in October 1990 aiming at both protecting the cable project and making satellite TV viable. The cable company decided to withdraw from the cable project in November due to different opinions of the shareholders about the future of the cable project and their apparent discontent with the introduction of satellite TV services.

The government is still reviewing the terms for cable franchise at the time of this writing. It is also contemplating whether satellite TV should be further deregulated. If the Hutchvision, a subsidiary of the Hutchison Whampoa, was allowed to broadcast Cantonese (the local dialect) programming, which was restricted in the October decision, a third local TV station would be in effect inaugurated. Its impact on the existing broadcast TV and the forthcoming cable TV is no smaller. The nineties will witness a series of interesting changes in the TV industry of Hong Kong.

Radio Broadcasting

Compared with television, radio is playing a marginal role. Although 94% of the population have radio receivers (TELA, 1987), radio listenership has declined steadily since 1980. In 1980, 48% of people listened to radio while in 1985 the figure dropped to 43. In 1990, it reached the lowest of 40% (SRH, 1990). The prime time for radio was between 3 pm and 6 pm when 19% of the population listened to radio in 1988 (SRH, 1988). The bulk of listeners were factory workers, students and housewives who comprised 76% of the radio audience in the same year.

Despite its low radio listenership, radio listeners did not seem to be dissatisfied too much with the radio programs. A survey in 1987 showed that the majority of listeners were satisfied with existing radio programming (TELA, 1987). The Kwun Tong study in 1986 also indicated that only 4% of residents in the community were dissatisfied (Lau and Wan, 1987). It must be pointed out, however, that less than half of the Hong Kong people listened to radio every day. And when they listened, the highest number was no more than one-fifth of the total population at one time. All this indicates that radio is much less important than TV as a mass medium in people's daily life.

At present, Hong Kong has only one commercial radio licensee, the Commercial Radio. The only radio competitor is the Radio Hong Kong which is a government station taking no commercial advertising. In the nineties, the radio should witness big changes following the issue of a second commercial radio licence and the independence of the Radio Hong Kong from the government in 1991.

Telecommunication

In contrast to radio broadcasting, the telecommunication industry in Hong Kong is thriving. The basic telecommunication services are provided by two franchised companies, the Hong Kong Telephone Co. Ltd. and the Cable & Wireless (HK) Ltd. The former monopolizes the local public telephone service until June 30, 1995 while the latter has an exclusive right in a range of public international telecommunication services until September 30, 2006. In January 1988, these two companies merged. They are now owned by the Hong Kong Telecommunications International (HKTI). The HKTI is in turn a subsidiary of the Cable & Wireless plc. of the United Kingdom.

Hong Kong has one of the highest penetration rates of residential telephone in the world. In 1989 there were 3.1 million telephones served by 2.4 million exchanges. It had a density of 54 telephones per 100 population (GIS, 1990). More than 94% of households in Hong Kong have subscribed telephone service. As the market for local telephony is almost saturated, the growth of local telephone has been slowing down in recent years. But the international and non-franchised telecommunication services made remarkable progress in the eighties.

The international telephone traffic in 1989 amounted to 970 million minutes, registering an average annual growth of 53% since 1985 when the traffic totaled 266 million minutes (HK Telecommunications Ltd., 1990; GIS, 1990). The International Direct Dialling (IDD) service is available to more than 190 overseas destinations. The number of IDD connections in 1989 were more than 880,000, growing at an average annual rate of more than 70% since 1985 (HK Telecommunications Ltd., 1990). The growth of facsimile lines is even more dramatic. In 1985, there were only 1,906 faxlines, but by the end of 1989, the number reached 83,500, representing an annual increase of 856% during this period.

For the non-franchised telecommunication services, the growth is equally impressive. Cellular telephone was introduced on a competitive basis in 1985, by February 1991 there were already 130,000 sets, causing occasional frequency jams.[20] The government decided to introduce CT2 to meet the demand and ease the congestion problem of mobile telephony by issuing four competing licences in March 1991. In 1991 Hong Kong has more than 700,000 subscribers of radio paging service. One out of nine persons uses the paging service (HK Economic Journal, 1991). The penetration rate of radio paging in Hong Kong is one of the highest in the world.

From the above data, we can see that Hong Kong is a telecommunication rich society and the people are information-conscious. In the nineties, the telecommunication industry will continue to grow with the growth of Hong Kong's economy and the likely introduction of the second telecommunication network for competition.

Cinema

Hong Kong is a regional film production center, exporting pictures to Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Southeast Asian nations and other parts of the world. Important as the overseas market is, it is the internal market that constitutes the financial base. Cinema attendance has been quite stable over the years, registering 66,000,000 in 1988 (Law, 1990). Thirteen per cent of the population visited the cinema in the week prior to the interview of the audience survey in the same year (SRH, 1988).

The characteristics of the most frequent cinema-goers in the eighties persist over time. Out of those who attended a cinema one week prior to the audience survey 58% were male from 1983 to 1989 on the average. Young people aged 15-24 were the most enthusiastic cinema attendants, accounting for an average of 49% in the same period. They were followed by the age group 25-34, with an average of 31%. Like their American counterparts, the very young and those beyond the middle age visit the cinema much less frequently (Dominick, 1987). Cinema audience were quite well educated. The majority, averaging 64% from 1983 to 1989, had attained secondary school education (SRH, 1989). Eighteen per cent had received tertiary education. Occupationally, the core cinema-goers were students (22%), office workers (18%) and factory workers (34%).

Table 3 shows that number of cinemas had been increasing for decades, reaching a maximum of 133 in 1988 (Law, 1990). Since the early eighties, mini-theatres with about 500 seats each began to crop up in many new estates and cinemas with capacity of over 800 are being replaced by such mini-theatres. In 1989, the number of cinemas dwindled to 111 and the number of screens was boosted to 155. How this change in exhibition venues affects the film industry remains to be studied.

An average of about 340 films were shown every year between 1977 and 1989 (Law, 1990). The annual attendance was relatively stable over the years, averaging about 63 million per year. However, the box office revenue in the same period has increased by more than 500%. This was due to the frequent increase in cinema admissions throughout these years.

A major concern in international communication has been with the domination of western media in the developing nations. Cantonese films that dominated the market in the fifties were outcompeted by foreign productions, particularly those from Hollywood in the late sixties. This domination persisted until the mid-seventies when local films clearly surpassed imported films in popularity. The proportion of the box office revenue scored by local films averages 61% from 1977 to 1989 per year while the comparable ratio for foreign films is about 36%. Similar pattern

Table 3 Films and Box Office Revenue (BOR) in Hong Kong

Year	No. of Cinemas*	No. of Films Shown*	Attendancy** No:000	Total BOR* $000	BOR of Local Films*	BOR of Foreign Films* %	BOR of China & Taiwan Films* %
1977	75	337	60,000	208,012	50.3	46.1	3.6
1978	75	344	65,000	229,350	52.6	46.5	1.0
1979	80	349	65,000	252,309	47.7	48.8	3.5
1980	83	361	63,000	352,585	46.8	47.4	5.8
1981	82	363	63,000	434,656	56.3	40.5	3.2
1982	89	300	66,000	661,809	60.9	38.0	1.1
1983	90	273	61,000	656,009	64.4	33.6	2.0
1984	95	292	61,000	795,974	70.2	27.4	2.4
1985	104	331	58,000	869,385	64.0	33.7	2.3
1986	105	369	60,000	912,692	67.4	28.9	3.5
1987	115	375	67,000	1,209,660	71.1	25.8	3.1
1988	133	355	66,000	1,410,775	76.5	21.4	2.1
1989	Cinemas:111 Screens:151	376	NA	(1,335,121)	(69.2)	27.9	(0.6)

* Based on MPIA

** Based on *Hong Kong Annual Reports* (GIS)

() excluding BOR of soft-porn films.

is observed when using top 10 box office films as an indicator (Lee, 1991).

This rise in popularity of Hong Kong-made films can be attributed to the successful generation of uniquely 'Chinese' genres and the overall improved quality of local productions. Spearheaded by the successes of swordplay and Kung Fu films in the late sixties and early seventies, the domination by the western films began to crack. Since the mid-seventies, the new breed of production personnel had not only mastered western techniques but, many being local-borns and television veterans, are more attentive to the cultural tastes of the young audience. In tandem with this development was the growth of numerous independent studios since the late seventies which further strengthened the local films industry. As a result of decline in the quality of local productions and competition from rental video tapes and laser discs, the films market is becoming sluggish since 1989.

The cinema is primarily an entertainment medium. An analysis of the box office revenue of the top 20 films classified by genre confirms this (Law, 1990). The all-time hit belonged to the comedy, scoring an average of about 59% between 1977 to 1989. This was followed by action films and melodrama, averaging 15% and 11% of the box office revenue respectively. Kung Fu and swordplay were popular only in the late seventies and early eighties. Gangster films began to make its mark in the late eighties as the comedies fared less well.

Newspaper

Hong Kong has been a hotbed of publications. For a city with a population of 6 million, there are more than 20 daily newspapers, not counting the 'mosquito' papers that cater to horse-racing. This is in stark contrast to the case of U.S.A. where two-newspaper towns are an endangered species (Bagdikian, 1983). This can perhaps be explained by the low start-up cost, the existence of partisan newspapers and the extraordinary appeal of features and columns among Chinese readers in Hong Kong (Chan, 1986).

Yesterday readership has increased slightly from 61% to 63%, 71% and 76% in 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1990 respectively (SRH, 1990).

Seventy-one per cent of the population aged over 9 read at least a Chinese newspaper in 1989 (SRH, 1989). Only about 5% mentioned that they read English newspapers. About three-fifths of the readership were men. A major portion of the readers were from the 15-34 years old, averaging 53% of all yesterday audience per year between 1983 and 1989 (SRH, 1989). They were followed by those over age 35, accounting for 40%. The bulk of the readers were factory workers, followed by students, housewives and office workers. More readers had been coming from the middle and higher household income groups in 1988 and 1989. This was a reflection of the general income advancement made by the population at large.

Table 4 Newspaper Readership, 1985-1990 (%)

Newspaper	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Oriental Daily News	36	38	39	33	30	32
Sing Pao	19	19	18	17	17	18
Tin Tin Daily News	5	6	7	8	10	12
Ming Pao	9	9	9	9	8	9
Hong Kong Daily News	5	6	5	5	5	4
South China Morning Post	5	6	6	5	5	5
Sing Tao Jih Pao	4	4	4	3	3	4
Express	3	2	2	1	2	2
HK Economic Journal	2	1	1	1	2	2
Professional Racing J.	—	—	2	2	2	—
Sing Tao Wan Pao	—	—	—	—	1	1
Wen Wei Po	—	—	—	—	1	—
Wah Kiu Yat Po	—	—	—	—	1	—
Base: All age 9+ ('000)	4,533	4,594	4,718	4,803	4,866	4,953

Source: SRH, 1990.

Shifts in the relative market strengths of various newspapers have occurred in the last four decades. The leftist newspapers, popular before

the riots in 1967, fail to recover their readership even up to now (SRH, 1990). As indicated in Table 4, the leftist flagship newspaper, *Wen Wei Po*, could hardly catch more than 1% of the readership in the eighties. The rightist Kuomintang (KMT) controlled newspaper, the *Hong Kong Times*, had only insignificant readership. The market shares of some of the traditional leading newspapers such as *Wah Kiu Yat Po* and *Sing Tao Jih Pao* which are ideologically-inclined towards KMT have decreased in the eighties. *Sing Tao* and *Wah Kiu* had 4% and less than 1% of the yesterday readership respectively in 1990. The most-read were commercial newspapers that maintained an editorial distance from both the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).[21] The *Oriental Daily News* was by far the market leader with a readership of 32% in 1990. Trailing far behind were *Sing Pao*, *Tin Tin Daily News* and *Ming Pao* which scored 18%, 12% and 9% respectively. It should be noticed that *Tin Tin Daily News* doubled its readership between 1985 and 1990. The evening dailies that were popular in the sixties either folded or dwindled in readership. *Sing Tao Wan Pao*, the leading evening newspaper, commanded just 1% of the readership in 1990. *South China Morning Post*, an influential English newspaper in Hong Kong, was read by about 5% of the yesterday audience in the same year.

Magazine

Hong Kong is teeming with magazines, many of which have mushroomed in recent years. If comics and horse-racing periodicals are included, they number more than 700 in 1990 (Capital, 1990). Following magazine development in the United States and many other places, content specialization and audience fragmentation are the trends in Hong Kong. More magazines are born as a result of marketing considerations. That is why the growth of magazines that cater to the tastes of up-scale women or men is phenomenal. Many of these are glossy magazines about life-styles or other specific themes. With the exception of *Racing World*, all the top ten monthlies in advertising in 1990 are about life-style one way or the other. In descending order, they include *Hong Kong Tattler*, *Capital*, *B Magazine*, *Elegance*, *Style*, *Racing World*, *City Magazine*, *Peak Magazine* and *Cosmopolitan*. These magazines owe their prosperity to the increase in advertising which, in turn, is a result of the consumption surge among the public in general and the middle-class in particular.

With earlier examples set by the *Cosmopolitan*, *Penthouse* and *Playboy*, a growing number of foreign magazines have published or are planning to publish Chinese editions in Hong Kong. Notable examples include *Elle*, *Lui*, *Esquire*, *Car and Driver*, *Marie Claire*, *Monthly Style Magazine*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Focus*, *Soen*, *Golf*, *Omni*, *Forbes*, etc. They originate from the United States, France, Japan and other western nations. While sharing the same title and format, the contents of the Chinese editions are oftentimes localized to cater to the tastes of Hong Kong readers. They owe their appeal to advertisers to the established fame their originals have achieved internationally. Some other magazines are started to imitate foreign titles in format and outlook. The *Capital Monthly* that models after *Forbes* and others is a remarkable example. Two years after its inauguration in late 1987, it was ranked second among the top ten monthlies in advertising in 1990. The most popular magazines in Hong Kong are weeklies that focus on 'gossips,' in pictures and words, about television and movie stars and social celebrities. Almost all of the top ten weeklies in advertising, as indicated in Table 5, are of this type. Only *Yazhou Zhoukan* (the Chinese edition of *Asia Week*), a regional magazine in Asia, is about current affairs. *Ming Pao Weekly* and *Hong Kong Television* have by far the largest readership. The *Next* weekly that was launched in 1990 represents an attempt to mix current affairs with entertaining information under one cover. It succeeded in attracting more than 232,000 readers in the latter part of 1990.[22]

Magazines that specialize in China reporting and commentary have been a fixture of the magazine market in Hong Kong for two decades. While the circulation of these magazines cannot match the entertainment weeklies, they are important sources of information and interpretation about current development in China for Hong Kong and for the world. The notable ones include: *The Nineties*, *Cheng Ming*, *Wide Angle*, *The Mirror*, *Pai Shing*, *The Contemporary*. . . . With the exception of the *Wide Angle* and *The Mirror*, the others are not sympathetic to the CCP. The *Contemporary* News Weekly was established by journalists who had deserted the Communist-controlled *Wen Wei Po* after the Beijing military crackdown in June 1989.

Table 5 Top Ten Weeklies in Advertising in 1989

Weekly	Advertising Revenue in millions of HK$*	Readership/ Issue**
Ming Pao Weekly	96	405,000
Metropolitan Weekly	75	161,000
Affairs Weekly	45	98,000
TV Week	33	314,000
Fresh Weekly	30	117,000
Sisters (Biweekly)	28	134,000
Headline	17	—
Yuk Long TV	14	276,000
TV & Entertainment Times	13	—
Yazhou Zhoukan	8	—

Sources: * HK Adex, 1989: Based on the face value of advertising rates.
** SRH, 1989.

Discussion

Communications in Hong Kong appear to have benefited from its economic advancement by virtue of the advertising revenue and social consumption power that economic growth has generated. Hong Kong has not only achieved a high penetration rate of mass communication hardware but has also succeeded in supplying its channels with predominantly local products. A major concern in international communication is about the prevalent domination of western media in developing countries. Hong Kong has proven itself to be a deviant case of the theme of 'media imperialism' as far as the origins of its media fare are considered.

Added to this growth of indigenous popular culture, Hong Kong is evolving into a regional communication center in the Asia-Pacific region. It continues to export television programs, films, videos, music records, newspapers and magazines to Asia and other parts of the world.

Despite fierce competition from Singapore and Tokyo, Hong Kong remains a formidable regional hub of telecommunications, particularly in data-processing (PRINP, 1990; Chan, 1991). The status of Hong Kong as a regional communication center will be enhanced when the Hong Kong-based Hutchvision launches the first Pan-Asia satellite television in 1991.

While mass culture in Hong Kong has its critics, it has provided the people of this British colony with a local and unique cultural identity without which Hong Kong will not be such an integrated society. The development of this identity is closely linked to the growth of mass media. The leading role is played by television, followed by the cinema and radio which interact with each other and with other forms of mass media like the record and newspaper in forming the popular culture of Hong Kong.

Television and other media owe their cultural force to the entertainment function they perform. The cinema, television and radio are primarily used for entertainment purposes (Lau and Wan, 1987). In contrast, the newspaper is considered to be the most important channel for news. However, this should not be overemphasized as to slight the informative uses that some people make of television and radio. Given the wide range of choices within and between different mass media, audiences in Hong Kong appear to be quite satisfied with what they receive on the whole.

The media development in the last two decades indicates that the introduction of new communication technology often intensifies competition and puts the media market in a state of flux. The case of television is a vivid example. With its inauguration of broadcast television in 1967, the newspaper and radio lost their advertising money to the new competitor. Despite its pervasive influence, television has never displaced the newspaper, radio and other media. They continue to serve as functional alternatives and complements at the same time.

Profound changes are expected of the communication scene in Hong Kong in the nineties. The introduction of the second commercial radio, cable television and satellite television in the early nineties will have great impacts on other media. The availability of more channels will certainly sharpen intra-media and inter-media competition, resulting in a redistribution of the advertising pie. That the government has banned tobacco, the biggest advertiser in Hong Kong, from advertising on television in Hong Kong in late 1990 will have its effects too. With the likely increase of tobacco advertising in publications, newspapers and magazines will have a better chance of survival and development.

The on-going political transition in Hong Kong will have important implications for the mass media as well. At present, the news media are politically pluralistic, ranging from the left to the right. However, there are signs indicating that the news media have been organizationally and editorially accommodating the power shifts in Hong Kong (Chan and Lee, 1991). It is expected that the pace and extent of accommodation as such will accelerate in the run up to 1997. The influence of China, real and anticipatory, will likely leave its mark on communication policy making in Hong Kong as well. As long as China's existing press policies last, communications in Hong Kong will have to face quite an uncertain environment as its sovereignty changes hands.

The impending changes in communication in Hong Kong call for timely monitoring and research. As the above review has demonstrated, existing communication indicators, scattered and partial as they sometimes are, have provided valuable information about media consumption and the shifts in the media market in the last two decades. Future communication indicators in Hong Kong should expand to cover people's evaluation by media type and content, information expenditure, the state of telecommunications and traditional media, the norms and practices of professional communicators, as well as the volume and orientation of media content. To render such studies more meaningful and useful, communication indicators should be measured comparably and longitudinally.

Notes

1. This definition is informed by works such as Tehranian (1979), Rosengren (1986), Gerbner et al. (1986) and O'Brien et al. (1979).
2. In his discussion of the comparative method, Smelzer (1976) has discussed similar ideas.
3. For a detailed discussion of media imperialism, see for instance, Lee

(1980), Boyd-Barret (1977) and Lee (1990).

4. For the past two decades, researchers have been analyzing the content of American television programs and surveying the public's social perceptions. They have consistently demonstrated that heavy television viewers' conceptions of social reality are markedly different from those of light television viewers, and that heavy viewers tend to choose responses that accord with the 'symbolic reality' of television. Despite the criticisms about George Gerbner and his colleagues' methodology (Hirsch, 1980a, b), cultivation theory has attracted a large following in the United States and around the world (Signorielli and Morgan, 1990).

5. The notion of 'information society' can be traced to the works of, for instance, Fritz Machlap (1962) and Daniel Bell (1973) who broke ground in their analysis of the economic importance of the knowledge industry and the transformation of the occupational structure respectively.

6. Two such indexes are the 'information ratio' and the 'johoka index.' The information ratio is the ratio of the expenditure for various kinds of information-related activities to the total expenditure of a household. The johoka index is designed to reflect the amount of information, distribution of communication media, quality of information activities and the information ratio. The supply and consumption of information are further measured by a formula whereby all information, be they printed or audio-visual, are converted into 'words.' With the 'word' as common unit, comparison within and across nations are rendered possible.

7. The "Social Indicators" column in every issue of *Asiaweek*, December 1990.

8. The Television and Entertainment Licensing Authority serves as the executive arm of the Broadcasting Authority.

9. Prior to the formation of the Culture and Recreation Branch in 1989, it was the Administrative Services and Information Branch, now disbanded, that was responsible for broadcasting policies.

10. Based on data from Programming Research Division, TVB Ltd.

11. Based on data from Hong Kong Adex, 1989.

12. Based on data from the Programming Research Division, TVB Ltd.

13. Based on data from Hong Kong Adex, 1989.

14. Programming Research Division, TVB Ltd.; Hong Kong Adex, 1989.

15. Hong Kong Adex, 1989.

16. Data supplied by Oglivy & Matter Advertising Company.

17. Hong Kong Adex, 1989.

18. AGB Research Services, *1990 TV Audience Survey: Weekly Summary*, Oct. 15-21.

19. AGB Research Services, *1990 TV Audience Survey: Weekly Summary*, Oct. 15-21.

20. *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, 7 February, 1991.

21. For a detailed analysis of party linkage of newspapers in Hong Kong, see Chan and Lee (1991).

22. Based on data released by SRH in early 1991.

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12

工作取向與價值：社會指標與香港勞工研究

呂大樂

I.

世界經濟形勢的轉變，對工業社會學研究產生了巨大的衝擊。最新提出的研究及討論題目——如彈性專門化（flexible specialization）、婦女就業、失業及非正規工作（informal work）等(Piore and Sabel, 1984; Dex, 1985; Pahl; 1984)，可以說是工業社會學面對種種社會轉變的回應。而近年關於工作取向與價值的研究再度引起廣泛關注，亦與形勢轉變有著密切關係（Rose, 1985, 1988）。一方面，由於西方工業社會在七、八十年代出現大規模的失業問題，不少人士便開始討論：大規模及長期性失業會否對勞工的工作態度產生影響（例如出現「逃避工作」的態度）？西方工業社會走下坡是否「工作道德」(work ethic)衰落所造成的後果？另一方面，東亞經濟抬頭，亦促使部份研究員重新考慮工作行為的文化及道德成份。簡單

的說，要了解當代（無論是西方或者東亞）工業社會的狀況，我們總不能忽視工作取向與價值的問題。

本文內容主要分為兩個部份。第一部份將集中討論有關工作取向與價值的問題。參考過往香港勞工研究的文獻，指出過往的討論過份突出「個人主義還是集體主義？」、「只注重經濟報酬還是會考慮工作的其他方面」之類有關工作取向的二分分析，而這種二元論對進一步了解香港勞工的心態其實幫助不大。但這並不就是說從此可以放棄有關工作取向與價值的討論。第二部份的討論正是嘗試提出這類研究的重要性。未來研究的發展，有賴在處理工作取向與價值研究時做足理論的準備功夫，與及為發展比較研究做好基礎。

Ⅱ.

大部份香港勞工研究都是圍繞著這個主題發展出來的——儘管香港擁有一個殖民地政治制度，僱主與僱員之間存在明顯的差距，工會運動卻沒有如西方工業社會或發展中國家的情況般發展起來。香港這種特殊的、和平的勞資關係，是有待解釋的現象（England and Rear, 1981：1-2；England, 1989 ：1-2；Turner et al., 1980：7）。

香港勞工研究的傾斜性——傾向於針對勞資關係的問題，及以工業關係的角度來考慮問題——多少影響了研究命題的提問方法。有關工作取向與價值的研究，亦由於這種傾斜性而造成有所偏差。這個問題明顯表現於有關「工具取向」（instrumentalism）的討論。

李雲（D. Levin）將目前關於工作取向的研究及討論歸納為「香港勞工是否傾向個人主義及工具主義？」這個問題（1990：98-104）。而領先這個討論的人物是英格蘭（J. England）。

根據李雲的總結（同上：98），英格蘭認為香港勞工抱有一種工具取向的工作態度；在選擇工作時，他們往往只重視經濟報酬，而較少考慮工作其他方面的意義。基於這種工作取向，香港勞工並不積極於投入工作間的社會關係；與此同時，他們對專橫的管理階層通常都會容忍。這種取向在具體的工作行為的表現，就是只要在經濟報酬方面能夠得到滿足，香港勞工對長工時或惡劣工作環境不會有太大反應。他們追求高工資，造成經常轉職的情況。而他們對工作間的社交及聯繫，只會看為可免則免的活動。

李雲的總結可以說是將英格蘭的論點大大簡化了。英格蘭在他的著作中（England and Rear, 1981：52-68；England, 1989：39-52），基本上是以文化及價值觀作為主線。所以，他的討論其實是頗能顧及各方面的問題（例如傳統文化、「面子」等問題）；而在討論工具取向時，也是放在難民心態的大題目之下，可見英格蘭是意識到工作取向與人口構成的關係。或者可以這樣說，英格蘭並不認為工具取向便是香港勞工的工作取向與價值的唯一元素。過份突出工具取向的方面對英格蘭是略欠公允。不過，話雖如此，英格蘭認為香港勞工重視工資，並因此而影響他們在勞動市場裏的行為，這一點倒是真確的。

英格蘭從他在「工業關係在香港」（England, 1971）一文初步探討香港勞工的心態開始，到後來在《香港的勞資關係與法律》（1981及1989年兩版）一書中更詳細討論工具取向的問題，其間工具取向的論調逐漸成為廣泛受落的論點。英格蘭最初提出工具取向的論點時，主要是引用了米歇爾（Mitchell, 1972：383-385）在六十年代所做調查所得的資料（香港人對工作意義的理解，比曼谷、馬來西亞、新加坡、台北的人口更重視工作所帶來收入的方面），作為支持的根據。在此以後，其他研究的結果（如Ting-Chau and Ng, 1983），亦同樣突出了香

港勞工那種經濟主義與工具主義的性格。

今天事後看來，這個關於工具取向的討論，在很多方面都是欠缺說服力和吃力不討好的。其中最主要的批評，是注重經濟利益，視工作爲解決生計的手段的想法，絕非是香港勞工所獨有(Goldthorpe et al., 1968)。單以工具取向來解釋香港工業關係的狀況，實在很難令人信服。這樣看來，特納(H. A. Turner)在《最後的殖民地：但屬於誰的呢？》(1980)裏嘗試運用調查資料來爲香港勞工另塑新像，也可以說是事倍功半的做法。

基本上特納認爲中國文化、工具取向、個人主義之類的文化解釋，並不能爲分析香港那種和平的勞資關係提供圓滿答案。特納的做法，是引用他在1976年所做調查的資料，來說明香港勞工的工作取向及價值，其實並非如英格蘭等人所描繪的模樣。首先，他認爲香港勞工並非只注重工資，而不考慮工作其他方面的問題。據他調查所得資料，當被訪者在調查中問及他們如何衡量與工作有關的十二個方面的問題時，最多選擇的答案依次序爲「工作穩定性」、「友好的同事」及「薪金」。而當問及如何在福利及津貼與工資之間作出選擇，不少被訪者亦會考慮前者，而並非以即時得到的經濟利益爲最先選擇。第二，特納認爲香港勞工也不完全是個人主義者。他的調查資料顯示，某程度的集體主義、勞工團結的傾向是存在的。差不多所有被訪者(95％)認爲工友遇到困難，他們應該盡量幫忙；而接近八成被訪者亦認爲多人合作比個人單幹有更高的成功機會(關於特納所用的調查資料，詳見Turner et al., 1980：Appendix B)。簡而言之，特納認爲英格蘭的論點未能得到實證資料的支持；而他以此進一步引伸出另一種解釋——影響香港勞資關係的主要因素不在於文化，而是在於香港工會的特性，它們的「政治任務」比較團結工友、爭取改善生活來得重要。

特納的做法之所以吃力不討好，主要原因有二。一是特納顯然忽略了一個重要的事實：就是英格蘭早已指出了組織取向與目標對工會運動的影響(England and Rear, 1981：162；England, 1989：137-9)；以工會的政治取向來解釋香港勞工組織脫離車間鬥爭的論點，其實無甚新意。二是不少研究亦曾指出，工具取向與集體主義並非兩種互相對立的態度(Goldthorpe et al., 1968；Goldthorpe, 1978)。事實上，抱有工具取向的工人亦極可能會對工會及集體行動產生興趣；他們在參與工人組織及行動時所作的考慮，會集中在集體行動能否幫助爭取實際利益的問題之上。只要有利於利益的爭取，工具取向的工人亦一樣會是工會運動的參與者。簡而言之，特納的研究問題是有誤置之嫌，基本上，他所引用的調查資料，並未足以推翻工具主義的論點。而他試圖憑這些資料，來推出另一個香港勞工的圖像——由以前是短視、經濟掛帥轉爲有集體傾向、看重福利的描繪——顯然是有點輕浮。

總結這個關於工具取向的討論，基本問題是它在一些方面說得太多，而另一些方面則說得太少。說得太多的方面，是上文曾引述的好些研究，均有傾向認爲可以(或否定)工具取向來形容香港一般勞工的心態，並以此連繫到本地工業關係的特性。這裏的問題是工具取向是否能夠代表香港一般勞工的心態目前尚待進一步實證研究的支持；而另一個問題，則關乎工具取向與勞工參與工運兩者的關連。目前的討論很少處理這個問題。就這些方面，所謂說得太多，就是上述種種論點，往往都是「想當然」的推論，變成有欠缺足夠支持證據的情況。至於說得太少的，是工具取向這個概念本身，還是處於一個「低度發展」的狀況，應該怎樣看待工具取向這個問題；實在有需要進行更深入的討論。

Ⅲ.

關於工具取向的討論，可以說是問題多多。一類回應是將研究轉向另一個方向——從工業結構的特性、僱傭制度、及工人社羣的動員基礎等結構及制度因素出發，解釋東亞勞工如何在工業發展的過程中給壓制下來（Deyo, 1989）。我無意在此對所謂結構分析、文化分析作出深入的評論。事實上，將這兩類分析對立起來，是沒有必要的。問題不單只是它們往往可以互補不足；更重要的，是落實到具體分析時，兩者實在是難以分割。就算是經濟結構的政治經濟學分析，還是難免要再碰上滲透於社會關係的文化因素(例如見Deyo, 1989：Chapter 5)。所以，儘管工作取向研究無論在理論或分析方法上還有不少地方值得討論，它的參考價值是可以肯定的。換言之，工作取向研究或者不可以說是勞工分析最重要的部份，但卻肯定是其中的一個重要環節。

我在上文簡述關於工具取向的討論時，曾提及這個討論的局限。過份集中在工具取向及其與工業關係的相關性的問題上，大大收窄了工作取向研究的視野。有見於過往研究及討論的局限，我們實在有需要重新考慮工作取向及價值研究的發展方向。我在這裏提出的建議，是從最基本的問題出發——即是重新將研究放在工作的意義與價值這個大前題之下，以了解勞工對工作的理解和態度作為出發點。

這正是近年不少有關工作取向的研究的發展方向（MOW, 1987；Rose, 1988）。它們提問的問題倒是相當簡單：勞工將工作看為個人的責任（每個有勞動條件的人都應該工作）？還是個人的權利（政府應該為市民提供就業的機會）？究竟工作對勞工有多大的重要性？它是否人生中最重要的活動？勞工是否擁有（無論任何性質的工作）將工作做好的自覺性？勞工怎

樣看工作本身的價值？這些問題其實都是指向同一個研究方向——將工作取向及價值理解為整體的工作意義及道德的問題。

「工作道德」這個名詞或者會受到一些研究員的抗拒。一來它似乎有引導他人將工作意義理解為道德問題的傾向。再者，其實韋伯（M. Weber）在討論資本主義精神時，也沒有提過這樣的名詞（Rose, 1988：132）；將韋伯討論新教倫理與資本主義精神隨意地引伸到勞工的工作態度與精神的問題上，當然是有值得商榷的地方。但這也不就是說「工作道德」這個概念已沒有可以參考的價值；至少它能點出了一個重要的問題，這就是工作取向中的價值與道德成份——問題涉及勞工對工作的投入感、對工作本身的看法、對工作本身的價值的肯定。

我想指出的，是工作取向與價值研究是多方面、多層次的。事實上，只有這樣重構研究的方向，才可以突破以往關於工具取向的討論的局限。單只集中在勞工是否只注重經濟利益、是否投入工作機構及工友的社會關係之中的問題，顯然是有所不足與偏狹的。要更全面地了解勞工的心態，在探討工具取向與否的問題之前，先要討論更重要的前題——工作的意義。而缺乏對工作意義的了解，我們實在也很難充份掌握工具取向的意思。

要進一步發展工作取向與價值的研究，除有需要突破以往討論的局限之外，還要考慮到比較分析的重要性。這裏所謂比較分析有兩種意思。一是透過累積多年的調查資料，從而分析工作取向與價值的變化與趨勢。二是不同地區所得資料的比較分析，這對了解不同社會裏勞工的工作取向與價值的差異，甚有幫助（參考MOW, 1987）。

以目前香港勞工問題研究的狀況而言，上述兩類分析都可以說是極有需要的。首先，關於工作取向與價值的變化，隨着香港經濟不斷成長，人口構成亦有所轉變，這個問題已引起了

一定的關注。其他問題暫且不談，就是近年有關勞工短缺的辯論，便帶出了工作取向的轉變與人力供應的關係這個話題。這當然可以再引伸出更多的討論題目。但有一個話題是相當引人關注的，就是在經濟成長的過程中，年青一代對工作的態度，逐步變得與上一代有顯著的分別。而對這類問題感到興趣的，相信除了香港之外，亦會包括其他東亞工業社會。

另外，關於跨國比較分析，它的作用在於凸顯不同國家勞工的工作取向與價值的分別。而這對探討工作取向的問題有不少幫助。而其中最重要的，是透過跨國的比較，我們才可以認眞估量工作取向與價值的差異（例如工具取向在程度上的差別、重視工作的不同程度等）。這類比較不但可以豐富過往的研究（例如分析不同程度的工具取向與工運發展形態的關係），而且更可補充目前研究東亞經濟發展的不足——過往的討論較少考慮勞工心態與東亞工業化的關係，但明顯地，只有企業家經濟文化的分析，不可能給東亞經濟發展一個圓滿的解釋。要介入這個討論，香港的工作取向及價值研究，可以放入國際比較（如MOW, 1987）的議程，同時亦可以較具針對性，集中在東亞的華人社會，討論勞工的「創業策略」(entrepreneurial strategy) (Stites, 1985) (即勞工視其工作爲過渡性的活動，由於他們希望最終可以自行創業，所以對眼前工作上各種問題甚少反應），或「宿命論」(Kung, 1981；Chiang, 1985)（即認爲工作是旣定事實，旣然沒有改變的可能性，因此也很少會對問題有所回應）等論調。可以想像，這些比較研究不單只可以加强我們對不同社會勞工的工作取向的了解，而且也可以在比較分析的過程中，重新探討香港的獨特性。

Ⅳ.

總結上文的討論，可見社會指標調查這一類研究可以就工作取向價值的問題，提供分析資料。事實上，在去年(1990年)進行的社會指標調查中，我們亦加入了工作取向的部份，這對日後探討問題，至少可以提供一些參考的實證資料。當然，要深入研究工作取向的問題，並不一定要依靠社會指標這類問卷調查的方法；重質的深入訪問是另一常用的研究方法（Chiang, 1984；Lui, 1990）。相對於前者，深入訪問較能掌握影響工作取向的處境因素(contextual factors），及勞工的主動角色。而社會指標則可抽取較大樣本及以系統化的問題提供分析（如男女勞工、不同職業勞工在工作取向的分別，甚至國際比較)。以目前香港勞工研究的狀況而言，一切尙在起步階段，首要考慮的問題是這兩類研究如何互相補足。

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13

Prosperity and Anxiety in Hong Kong Reexamined

Wong Siu-lun

HONG Kong people had few immediate worries, but they suffered from deep anxiety. This was one of the major findings from the pilot study on social indicators conducted in 1986 in the Kwun Tong district (Lau and Wan, 1987; Lau and Kuan, 1988). Most of the respondents were free from economic want. Only a small minority of them said they had frequent worries in the six months prior to the interview, but the major issues troubling them were not financial ones. Poverty was not regarded as a serious social problem, and the respondents were generally satisfied with the performance of the government, with their family life, and with their prospects for advancement.

However, this general satisfaction with the existing social condition was mixed with a pervasive sense of foreboding about the future. They foresaw deterioration on every front after 1997. They anticipated curtailment of civil rights, reduction of personal liberties, decline of the judiciary, and a stagnation or lowering of living standards. Their anxiety was intertwined with a distrust of the government of the People's Republic of China which would reclaim sovereignty over Hong Kong.

In reaction to the anxiety, Hong Kong residents sought individual rather than collective solutions. They shied away from politics, convinced that they could not influence the course of political events. Quite a number of them resorted to emigration, though the majority knew they could not leave. The impact of emigration was not confined to the actual number of people leaving or about to leave. In a more fundamental way, it undermined commitment and community among the Hong Kong inhabitants. It induced and intensified a refugee mentality.

In an earlier paper (Wong, 1988a), I argued that this refugee mentality had been and would continue to be a main source of economic vitality. Infused with this mentality, people in Hong Kong worked hard and would not relax in spite of the steady improvement in livelihood. They also studied feverishly. They showed an insatiable appetite for education, probably because knowledge and qualifications as human capital made them feel more mobile and secure. They were vigilant, keen to acquire information, alert to changes in the world, and ready to react if necessary. These qualities of hard work, thirst for education, and constant vigilance were positive forces contributing to Hong Kong's economic development.

Our prosperity, I asserted, was spurred by anxiety. I stated my view as follows (Wong, 1988a:553-554):

> One of the striking features of Hong Kong society is the large component of refugees in its population. In this regard, Hong Kong is not unique among the Asian NICs. Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea have similarly experienced large influxes of immigrants in the post-war period, and all of them have been living with uncertainties and threats to their very existence. I think it is here that we can find the parallel to Max Weber's theory of Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism. The refugee mentality prevailing in Hong Kong and the other Asian NICs has instilled in their inhabitants an inner psychological tension not unlike that experienced by the Calvinists as described by Max Weber. They were similarly troubled by their precarious existence, though the perceived threats were more mundane — the proximity of the political force of communism from which they recoiled; the uncertain political future and the lack of natural resources of their new enclaves. By struggling to obtain this-worldly 'salvation' and some assurance of security, they also seemed to have unleashed a transformative social force.

My thesis, based on the preliminary findings of the 1986 pilot study, can be stated baldly: People in Hong Kong have few immediate worries but much anxiety; the anxiety breeds a refugee mentality; the refugee mentality engenders economic dynamism. Is this thesis sound? In order to test it, it is necessary to clarify the key concepts of anxiety, refugee mentality, and economic dynamism and to examine their interconnections empirically. Problems of measurement and correlation have to be tackled. In addition, it is necessary to identify the major ramifications and implications. One of the critical issues is whether the refugee mentality, while giving spur to economic endeavour, will generate forces tearing Hong Kong's social fabric apart and push it towards anomie and disorder. In other words, will prosperity and stability become incompatible in the future? With the availability of the data from our 1988 social indicator survey covering a representative sample of 1,662 adults living in Hong Kong[1], I shall reexamine the different chains in my 'prosperity and anxiety' thesis and to explore the issue of anomie in the following sections.

Deep Anxiety

In my earlier paper, I have used the perception of future deterioration and the distrust of the Chinese government as crude indicators of anxiety. These two measures are not adequate and need to be supplemented by others. I think an index of anxiety should be composed of the following four variables: confidence in the future, trust in governments, anticipated deterioration, and recent worries. Our 1988 findings on these variables will be briefly described in turn.

More than a quarter of our respondents, 26.1 per cent, declared they had no confidence in the future of Hong Kong. Another 18.4 per cent were uncertain and did not give a definite answer. Slightly more than half of the respondents, 55.5 per cent, expressed confidence in the future. When they compared their present confidence level with that of three years ago, 32.2 per cent reported an increase, 33.7 per cent remained the same, 24.1 per cent said it had decreased, and 10.1 per cent did not express a definite view. It is of course premature to deduce a trend from these responses which has to await the accumulation of data from subsequent surveys. But as a baseline measure, we can say that in 1988 nearly half of the respondents (44.5 per cent) had no confidence or felt uncertain about the future of Hong Kong.

Distrust of the Chinese government was pervasive. Around 43.8 per cent of the respondents expressed a lack of trust in the Chinese government, in sharp contrast to the small 18.2 per cent who said they distrusted the Hong Kong government and the 29.5 per cent who distrusted the British government. This pattern of responses was very close to the one discovered by Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi in their 1985 survey in Kwun Tong (1988:84). In that survey, 42.9 per cent of the respondents said they did not trust the Chinese government. It appears, therefore, that the distrust of the Chinese government was rather persistent besides being widespread.

Perception about possible socioeconomic changes after 1997 was gloomy. A large majority of the respondents anticipated as likely or very likely a curtailment of civil rights (75.5 per cent), a reduction of individual liberty (73.2 per cent), a decline of the legal system (61.1 per cent), and a deterioration in living standards (66.9 per cent). Only a quarter of them believed that life would be better and happier after 1997, while 53.5 per cent thought that to be unlikely or very unlikely to happen and a further 20.7 per cent said they did not know what to expect. These expressed attitudes were broadly in line with those found in the 1986 pilot survey.

As observed earlier, Hong Kong people on the whole had few immediate worries but suffered from deep anxiety. Although 'worries' and 'anxiety' should be kept analytically distinct, it is reasonable to assume that there are considerable overlap in reality. For some people at least, anxiety about distant events may be manifested as present worries. Among the respondents, 37.6 per cent of them indicated that they were sometimes troubled by problems in the past six months before the interview, and 14.0 per cent revealed that they had frequent worries. Close to half of them, 48.4 per cent, said they had few worries or none at all. For

those who had occasional or frequent worries recently, the majority were troubled by matters related to their education, their work, or their families. Financial difficulties afflicted less than a quarter of them. The major problems troubling the respondents were clearly not materialistic ones.

Table 1 Indicators of Anxiety (%)

Indicators	Yes	No	Don't Know	(N)*
Lack of confidence	26.1	55.5	18.4	(1662)
Distrust of Chinese govt.	43.8	43.3**	11.9	(1662)
Better life unlikely	53.5	25.7	20.7	(396)
Recent worries	51.5	48.2	0.4	(1662)

Source: Social indicators survey 1988.

Note: * Some of the questions are in the core section covering all respondents while others are in special modules answered by a subsample, thus the difference in the total number of responses.

** This includes 23.3 per cent who said they neither trust nor distrust the Chinese government.

Table 2 Correlations among Indicators of Anxiety

Correlations	P*
Lack of confidence with distrust of Chinese government	0.00000
Lack of confidence with worries	0.01566
Lack of confidence with better life unlikely	0.00069
Distrust of Chinese government with worries	0.00735
Distrust of Chinese government with better life unlikely	0.00002

Source: Social indicators survey 1988.

Note: * P = Level of significance (chi-square). A relationship is regarded to exist between two variables when the value of P is smaller than 0.05.

Lack of confidence in the future of Hong Kong, distrust of the Chinese government, anticipated deterioration in livelihood, and worries in the past six months can serve as indicators of anxiety. Table 1 presents in summary form the distribution of responses in these four areas. Table 2 shows further that these variables are closely related to one another. There are thus grounds to believe that these four indicators can be combined to form an index of anxiety, though the appropriate weighting to be given to each variable has yet to be determined.

Refugee Mentality

How do the people of Hong Kong cope with their anxiety? They can be fatalistic or pragmatic; they can adopt expressive or instrumental forms of action; and they can seek collective or individual solutions. Put in the terminology of Albert O. Hirschman (1970), they face the options of 'exit' or 'voice.' They can leave, or they can press for improvement. The alternative is between invoking market or nonmarket forces, adopting economic or political means.

The choice made by the Hong Kong people is clear-cut. The great majority prefers exit over voice. They choose to emigrate and to stay clear of politics. In spite of the accelerated political reform introduced by the Hong Kong government in recent years, there is a growing sense of political impotence among the local population. The pervasive sense of political powerlessness has been documented by Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi in their 1982 study of four localities. 'Several years later,' according to them (Lau and Kuan, 1988:94-95), 'the feeling of political powerlessness not only persisted, in fact, it became more severe. In our 1985 survey, 66 per cent of respondents agreed and 9 per cent agreed strongly that politics and government were complicated and difficult to understand. An alarmingly large percentage of them (84.7 per cent) thought that they had little or very little influence on the policy of the government. In the 1986 survey, an even larger proportion of respondents (87.9 per cent) denied that they had any power to change the actions of the government.'

This trend of growing political impotence continued, as we found in

the 1988 survey. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (93.3 per cent) thought they had no influence over government policies. Apparently, just a tiny and dwindling minority believed that 'voice' was an effective course of action in dealing with future uncertainties.

In choosing the 'exit' option, the majority of the Hong Kong residents took on a refugee mentality with several manifestations. First of all, the mentality was expressed in a desire to emigrate. In 1988, 17.6 per cent of the respondents said they had plans of moving to other countries while 74.3 per cent had no such plans. The rest were either unsure or already in possession of foreign passports. When asked whether they would actually emigrate before 1997, 8.5 per cent said 'yes' and 15.8 said they did not know. About 70.4 per cent believed they would not leave before then. It should be noted that most respondents, whether they intended to emigrate or not, had suspended moral judgments on those who opted for exit. In response to the question 'As the year 1997 is approaching, many Hong Kong people are emigrating. Do you think their action is right?', 24.2 per cent expressed approval, 45.2 per cent neither approved nor disapproved and 9.4 replied 'don't know.' Only 21.2 per cent indicated disapproval. Such a neutral stance reflected a pragmatic and instrumental outlook which was not conducive to strong community commitment.

The second indicator of refugee mentality, therefore, should be a tenuous sense of belonging to Hong Kong combined with a confused conception of identity. About 63.5 per cent of the respondents in 1988 declared that they had a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong, while 25.4 and 8.9 per cent indicated a moderate and weak sense of belonging respectively. It is significant to find that a weak sense of belonging was particularly prevalent among those with a high level of education who also tended to expressed a lack of confidence in the future, a distrust of the Chinese government, and a desire to emigrate. When asked whether they regarded themselves primarily as 'Hongkongese' or 'Chinese,' 63.6 per cent chose the former identity instead of the latter. Again, a positive relationship was found between educational attainment and the choice of a Hong Kong identity.

The third manifestation of the refugee mentality is a dissatisfaction with the existing political situation and an expectation of political decay.

When asked to assess the overall condition of Hong Kong, our respondents in 1988 were apparently satisfied with the economic situation, moderately contented with the social aspect, but clearly ambivalent towards the political scene. More than half of them said they were satisfied with the economy. In contrast, only 26.3 per cent indicated satisfaction with the political situation and 17.7 per cent said they were not happy with it. A substantial proportion, 28.7 per cent, said they did not know how to evaluate the political situation. In response to the question 'Is the political system of Hong Kong getting better or worse,' 9.4 per cent thought it was getting worse and 22.6 per cent gave 'don't know' as an answer. But nearly half of them (47.7 per cent), no matter whether they felt the political system was improving or degenerating, said they were worried about political instability before 1997.

A fourth measure of the refugee mentality is a self-help ethos with a preference for individual autonomy. In the 1988 survey, respondents were asked to evaluate the relative importance of various ingredients of happiness. Personal freedom was highly valued, being ranked third in importance after health and money, with 91.8 per cent of the respondents upholding it as an important ingredient. Since it was nearly universally treasured by the respondents, it would not be a sensitive indicator of various intensities of the self-help ethos and preference for autonomy. A more discriminating measure would be the importance being attached to career development. About 61.2 per cent of the respondents thought that career development was important. This group, being more oriented towards individualistic values instead of collectivistic ones, should be expected to exhibit stronger signs of the refugee mentality as measured by the three other indicators already identified.

As Table 3 shows, cross-tabulations reveal that this is indeed the case. The four indicators — emigration tendency, tenuous sense of belonging, expectation of political decay, and preference for autonomy — are closely related to one another and the cluster can be developed into an index measuring the refugee mentality. It is further shown in Table 4 that these indicators of refugee mentality are in turn correlated with those of anxiety, thus establishing the linkage between the first two chains in my thesis.

Table 3 Correlations among Indicators of Refugee Mentality

Correlations	P*
Plan to emigrate with weak sense of belonging	0.00000
Plan to emigrate with political dissatisfaction	0.00000
Plan to emigrate with career development	0.00003
Sense of belonging with political dissatisfaction	0.00004
Sense of belonging with personal freedom**	0.01334
Political dissatisfaction with career development	0.00000

Source: Social indicators survey 1988.

Note: * P = Level of significance (chi-square). A relationship is regarded to exist between two variables when the value of P is smaller than 0.05.

** Personal freedom is treated as interchangeable with career development.

Table 4 Correlations among Anxiety and Refugee Mentality

Correlations	P*
Lack of confidence and plan to emigrate	0.00000
Lack of confidence and weak sense of belonging	0.00000
Lack of confidence and political dissatisfaction	0.00000
Lack of confidence and career development	0.00000
Distrust of Chinese government and plan to emigration	0.00000
Distrust of Chinese government and weak sense of belonging	0.00000
Distrust of Chinese government and political dissatisfaction	0.00000
Distrust of Chinese government and career development	0.00000
Worries and plan to emigrate	0.03151
Worries and career development	0.00000
Worries and political dissatisfaction	0.00000
Status quo unlikely** and plan to emigrate	0.00017
Status quo unlikely and political dissatisfaction	0.00586

Source: Social indicators survey 1988.

Note: * P = Level of significance (chi-square).

** This stands for the view that the maintenance of the status quo after 1997 is unlikely which is treated as interchangeable with the view that a better and happier life after 1997 is unlikely.

Economic Dynamism

Emigration is a heterogeneous phenomenon. People leave their home communities for a variety of reasons, and they behave differently as a result. 'A migrant may be a voluntary one in that he chooses to leave for better prospects or for a more congenial environment. Or he may be an involuntary migrant, compelled to depart because he has lost control over his own fate or is threatened with persecution. Having left home, a migrant may regard his stay abroad as permanent, and will sever his home ties, becoming uprooted and transplanted. Or he may consider his stay as temporary, though it can last for decades or even a lifetime' (Wong, 1988b:174). With these analytical distinctions, I have classified migrants into four main types, each with its own characteristic pattern of economic behaviour. They are the settlers, the sojourners, the refugees and the captives.

Compared with the others, the refugees constitute the most enterprising type of migrants for two main reasons. First, 'they are deprived of the safety net available to the sojourners in times of economic adversity. With no haven to return to, they must depend on themselves. Their ultimate insurance for safety is mutual assistance and their own wealth and skills which cannot easily be taken from them.' Second, they are 'normally the native elites who flee because they have much to lose after political changes. They tend to be far better endowed in competitive resources than the sojourners' (Wong, 1988b:177).

In Hong Kong, the majority of the potential emigrants identified in the 1988 survey could be classified as refugees in orientation. Their dominant outlook has already been described in the preceding section. Their social composition also indicated that they belonged mostly to the ranks of the local elite. Those who said they were planning to emigrate tended to be young in age (P=0.00000), high in educational attainment (P=0.00000), and superior in their self-placement on the social ladder as members of the upper-middle or middle class (P=0.00000).

In their economic attitudes, they were keen to achieve advancement in their careers, setting great store on education, eager to save, and alert to changes in the world around them. Their strong achievement motivation was reflected in the perception of availability of advancement opportunities and their own chances of career development in the future. An overwhelming majority of the respondents, 83 per cent, believed that an employee in Hong Kong was not destined to remain in that position and could become a boss if he tried. About 29 per cent of them thought that they had great to very great chances of career development in the next ten years, and 37 per cent felt that they had average chances. Only 35 per cent rated they chances to be slim. In order to achieve advancement, they emphasized educational attainment (33 per cent) and the capacity to work hard (28 per cent) as two of the most important personal qualities. The most promising route for moving ahead, in their view, was to start one's own business (41 per cent) or to acquire professional qualifications (39 per cent). Only a small minority (9 per cent) regarded salaried employment with good promotion prospects as promising. There was a palpable entrepreneurial drive, and the urge was to maximize opportunities of social and geographical mobility.

As educational qualification was widely seen as a valuable asset in the competition for advancement, most respondents were eager to improve upon their academic attainment and held high expectations for their children. When asked whether they were satisfied with specific aspects of their life, education stood out as the only domain about which massive dissatisfaction was expressed. Over half of them (52.1 per cent) were dissatisfied with their educational attainment, about a quarter were relatively neutral, and only 21.4 per cent were contented with their qualifications. The high level of educational aspiration was fully expressed in the respondents' expectations about their children. Without any apparent sexual bias, 61.9 and 62.1 per cent respectively wanted their sons and daughters to have a university or a postgraduate degree. This insatiable appetite for education was probably the combined product of a strong Confucian tradition, an astute assessment of the economic returns attached to credentials in Hong Kong, and a preference for knowledge and skills as mobile and transferable assets.

Prospective refugees are expected to save for a rainy day. Although the 1988 social indicators survey did not cover individual investment and consumption behaviour, official statistics show that people in Hong Kong have a high propensity to save. In 1987, gross domestic savings in Hong Kong amounted to 31 per cent of the gross domestic product, a percentage that was higher than the average of 21 per cent for all high-income economies in the world (The World Bank, 1989:181). Paradoxically, Hong Kong is also well-known for the conspicuous consumption among its citizens, ranking first in the world in the per capita possession of luxury cars such as Rolls Royce and Mercedes Benz and the consumption of French cognac (see e.g., *Sunday Morning Post Magazine*, 8 July 1990:7-11; *Ming Pao*, 28 August 1990). However, the paradox is only apparent. The luxury goods were apparently bought as a status symbol in a community where wealth was the major determinant of social status, and wealth had to be displayed to be recognized. Such conspicuous consumption, moreover, did not go hand in hand with the existence of a leisure class. In Hong Kong, the idle rich was a rare species. In their subjective view, the respondents in 1988 treasured money as the most important ingredient of happiness after good health, but the possession of money was not meant for personal enjoyment which was regarded by just one per cent of the respondents as important. Thus when those with means spent lavishly, they were in effect accumulating savings in the form of status and prestige that had economic utility in the community.

Potential refugees also had to be alert and vigilant. This trait was found among the respondents who paid a lot of attention to changes in the world around them. Though they were politically inactive, they were not politically uninformed. Over half of them (56.1 per cent) reported that they followed local political news in newspapers frequently. Nearly 40 per cent of them were attentive to international political news. However, it is worth noting that political news about China received far less attention, with only 27.6 per cent reading about them regularly. Significantly, the younger age group (those under 30) showed the lowest level of interest in political news about China. Besides interest in political news, the vigilance of the people in Hong Kong was also reflected in the multitude of newspapers published locally, the high per capita consumption of newsprint, and the large number of fax machines installed in the territory which made Hong Kong ranked second internationally after Singapore in 1990 in the per capita possession of such machines (*Ming Pao*, 5 March 1990).

If we take the expectation of career advancement in the next ten

years, educational aspiration for one's son, and interest in international political news as the principal indicators of economic dynamism, we will find in Table 5 that they are closely linked with the other indicators of anxiety and refugee mentality. Thus the empirical ground is reasonably strong for us to uphold the 'prosperity and anxiety' thesis as basically sound.

Table 5 Correlations among Indicators of Anxiety, Refugee Mentality, and Economic Dynamism

Correlations	P*
Distrust of Chinese government and future career development	0.00498
Plan to emigrate and future career development	0.00755
Importance of serving society and future career development	0.01291
Importance of career development and future career development	0.00000
Confidence and educational aspiration for son	0.00015
Distrust of Chinese government and educational aspiration for son	0.00001
Worries and educational aspiration for son	0.00007
Plan to emigrate and educational aspiration for son	0.00001
Sense of belonging and educational aspiration for son	0.03480
Satisfaction with political situation and educational aspiration for son	0.00000
Importance of career development and educational aspiration for son	0.00002
Distrust of Chinese government and international political news	0.01266
Plan to emigrate and international political news	0.00463
Importance of career development and international political news	0.00424

Source: Social indicators survey 1988

Note: * P = Level of significance (chi-square)

Concluding Remarks: Anomie and Disorder?

The main aim of this paper is to test my 'prosperity and anxiety' thesis against the findings of the 1988 social indicators survey. Simple chi-square tests are used to discover clustering of variables and interconnections among the major theoretical chains in my argument. I have tried to single out the variables which can be used to construct indicators of the phenomena of anxiety about the future, refugee mentality and economic dynamism. More sophisticated statistical analysis is needed to combine the individual indicators into indexes and to establish causal relations among them instead of merely demonstrating correlations.

In the course of reexamining the thesis empirically, the need for theoretical extension also becomes apparent. In the initial formulation of the thesis, I am primarily concerned with the economic ramifications of the feeling of uncertainty about the future among the local population. The impact of that uncertainty, I hope to have shown, proves to be generally positive in enhancing economic dynamism. But will anxiety simultaneously induce moral anomie and social disorder? In other words, will anxiety sustain prosperity but undercut stability in Hong Kong? Many of our respondents in 1988 had that apprehension. Nearly half of them said they were worried about political instability before 1997. About a quarter of them believed that public order would deteriorate in the near future. That apprehension was shared by another group of respondents surveyed by the Independent Commission Against Corruption of the Hong Kong Government in 1990. Initial findings from that survey revealed that one-fifth of the respondents believed that corruption cases would increase in the next few years mainly because of the mentality fostered by the problem of 1997 (*Ming Pao*, 26 October 1990:5). Local insurance companies were also reported to be concerned about the growth in 'moral hazards,' that is, a proliferation of false or fraudulent claims as 1997 approaches (*South China Morning Post*, 6 August 1990).

Will the social fabric of Hong Kong be torn apart by anxious individuals trying to maximize their economic self-interest? This question is too weighty to be fully tackled here, and I will confine myself to a few preliminary observations. One possibility for social disintegration to occur is a self-fulfilling prophecy: people believe in the imminent decline in social order and act on that belief to bring it about. But there is a paradoxical piece of finding from the 1988 survey which casts doubt on that possibility. The paradox is the coexistence of collective pessimism about the future social situation and individual optimism about prospects of advancement for oneself and one's children. As noted in the section on deep anxiety, most respondents anticipated deterioration in important

aspects of social life after 1997. Yet at the same time, the majority believed that the socioeconomic status of their children would be better than their own both before and after 1997. Nearly 80 per cent of them, irrespective of their own social standing at present, thought that their children would reach the middle or upper-middle social stratum in the future.

How can collective pessimism be reconciled with individual optimism? There is one clue to help us solve this paradox. A social class difference, broadly defined, in attitudes relating to these questions has been found. The manual workers, the residents in public housing estates, the less educated and the poorly-paid ones were more optimistic about their children's future socioeconomic status. They were the ones who professed that they had no plans to leave, presumably because they did not have the means to do so. They were the ones who saw little prospects for themselves. Yet with people in the upper social echelons leaving town, they were hopeful that rooms for mobility would be opening up for their children, even though the overall social condition in the future might not be as good as the present. That hope probably reduced frustration and fostered commitment to existing social norms.

As for the non-manual workers, residents in the private housing sector, the highly-educated and well-paid ones, they had the option of exit and could pursue their dreams of advancement abroad. They probably saw the prospects for their children in a cosmopolitan context. Emigration also acted as a safety valve in relieving their dissatisfaction with various aspects of local life. Those with plans to emigrate tended to be less satisfied with the economic, political and social situations in Hong Kong, more concerned with social problems such as education, youth, medical and health services, social welfare and the elderly, and less impressed with the government's ability in handling those problems. They were the disgruntled ones who would disperse through emigration. It is of course possible that emigration, instead of acting as a safety valve, may actually create dissatisfaction with the local situation by altering the framework of reference of the potential emigrants. This alerts us to the interesting phenomenon of the choice of reference groups in the process of emigration which deserves attention. But whatever the cause of the higher level of dissatisfaction among potential emigrants, that discontent is unlikely to fester because of their transient status.

Will potential emigrants, being less concerned with the public weal, resort to dubious means to extract as much benefits as possible for themselves before they leave? That possibility certainly exists in individual cases, but as a trend it will be circumscribed by several important factors. The emigrants, though more individually oriented, are not totally atomized and free from moral constraints. They may not be bound by strong group loyalties, but they have to rely on social networks to prepare for their exit and to facilitate their relocation abroad. Personal reputation has to be protected in order to gain the trust and good will of one's kinsmen and friends, and a Certificate of No Criminal Conviction has to be maintained so as to obtain official approval for admission into the country of adoption. Through emigration, these social networks will expand rather than contract. They will be strengthened rather than weakened. Since these networks often overlap and are rarely self-contained, it will be difficult for a small band of individuals to collude in deviant acts with impunity. With interwoven networks serving as mechanisms of control, the social cohesion in Hong Kong is not as fragile as it seems at first glance.

Social integration through networks, effective as it is as one form of maintaining moral order, exacts its own price. Without strong group identities and loyalties, individual hopes and fears are diffused and muffled. Reliable feedback mechanisms in monitoring public opinion are intrinsically hard to devise under such circumstances. Personal discontents and apprehensions, not being marshalled through institutionalized channels, may suddenly coalesce and erupt into outbursts of mass disturbance and panic. These propensities to panic, if not properly contained, will threaten social stability. Their handling constitutes therefore a tough test on the mettle of the Hong Kong government. Yet, however serious and intermittent as they are, such outbursts should not be mistaken as signs of anomie and disintegration. They are very much part of our social constitution, that odd yet potent mixture of collective insecurity and individual endeavour which creates a supple form of order. Incredible as it may seem, this reexamination leads me to the conclusion that not only does a ground swell of anxiety sustain Hong Kong's economic prosperity, it actually buttresses social stability as well.

Note

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14

Randomized Controlled Trials for the Human Services in the Modern Chinese Context

William M. Epstein

HONG Kong, Singapore and Taiwan are laboratories for social experiments in the Chinese culture. Although small, they command a vast audience. Their social compatibility with mainland China (PRC) makes their social welfare experiences particularly relevant for the 1.2 billion people who live there, almost one quarter of all humanity. But they are not command economies and this difference threatens the dogmatic authority of the PRC, particularly its claim that the current system is uniquely important for the development of the nation.

The influence that Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan exert on the PRC depends upon credible communication — the degree to which their economic, social and political experiences are accurately measured and interpreted. In this sense, human services in these Chinese laboratories carry a cultural obligation and perhaps even a pointed political stake in recording and evaluating their outcomes. Because of the PRC's economic poverty, the credible evaluation of attempts to improve the human condition is itself an act of compassion.

Randomized controlled trials (RCTs) are the most credible method

— perhaps the only credible method — to evaluate the outcomes of human service programs. The RCT is the critical test for objective knowledge about human services, especially those provided through a 'clinic.' However RCTs are costly, organizationally disruptive, complicated and inconvenient.

A far greater use of the RCT will also discipline the social sciences by providing empirical tests of their theories and by focusing scholarly interests in the human services on their defining function — program effectiveness. Without objective facts, especially credible proofs of program effectiveness, the applied social sciences will remain immature fields, leashed to orthodox social myth.

This essay argues for rigorous, objective, critical tests of effectiveness in the human services. Without RCT the human services will probably not achieve intellectual coherence. This is not a practical approach to human service research. Yet the difficulties are worth the effort to protect the emerging social sciences in the Chinese context from many of the pitfalls of social science practice in the West — especially its unfortunate susceptibility to the siren songs of funding sources.

This position is taken specifically in response to the growing preference among Western social scientists for a more common-sense approach to research and evaluation.[1] Yet this, the practical approach to research in the human services, has not resolved the dilemma of human service scholarship: methodological rigor on the one hand and pressures for political accommodation on the other. Moreover, the practical approach to research in the human services has served neither the needs of the social welfare professions for credible program information nor the interests of its service recipients for effective services.

Current arguments for a more moderate standard of research — the practical position — seem to have improved during the 90's (Zimmerman, 1989). Nevertheless the debate itself, and especially the practical point of view, neglect the risks that methodological compromises pose to the basic quality of human service scholarship — the essential determinant of both its social value and its various claims to professional standing.

All methods of accumulating facts are not equivalent in the pursuit of professionally useful wisdom about the human condition.[2] At a minimum, in making the commitment to science, a field acknowledges that objectivity and replicability play central roles in structuring tests of its theories, that is, in providing a standard of proof for its assertions that must transcend the motives of its researchers.

Ironically, the social sciences hold ambivalent attitudes toward science, especially as it defines their roles in program evaluation. On one hand, their essential scientific quality influences their public credibility, and by extension, their social prestige, salaries, and professional status. On the other hand, science imposes a rigor on proofs of program effectiveness that they have rarely been able to meet. Consequently, political sensitivity presses many subcommunities of scholars to assert their scientific expertise at the same time that they try to lighten the burden of scientific proof.

Recent publications in the human services argue to abandon even the frail objectivity of the social sciences. An important portion of the community of human service scholars, especially in applied fields, is attempting to restore the respectability of subjective methods. Heineman argues that:

> We must loosen the methodological constraints on the judgment and common sense of our researchers, practitioners, and administrators and welcome the fruits of human perceptiveness, experience, introspection, and judgment. In particular, we will respect the trained judgments of clinicians rather than scoff at them as 'soft' and inherently unreliable, and we will cease to use worthless statistical tests to make decisions about the substantive value of research. (Heineman, 1985:8-9)

This is the problem. The West has not produced credible statements of its social responses to the challenges of industrialization. Western social scientists have not armed their social workers with credible program information. As a result, there are few credible lessons for the industrializing Chinese culture to follow for its own social development. The failure of the West in this regard leaves an empty world podium for the social sciences in the Chinese context.

This problem of credible program information has followed from the inability and reluctance, first of the social sciences and then, of their applied fields such as social work and clinical psychology, to test the impact of social interventions on social problems. Outside of medicine (and even with limited frequency inside of medicine) credible methodologies — RCTs — have rarely been employed to test the effectiveness of human service programs (Epstein, 1990).

Nevertheless, credible evaluation of human welfare programs is at least possible in principle. The technical problems have largely been solved. Even while they are inconvenient, RCTs avoid most methodological pitfalls.

Trials

Controlled experiments — trials — are the most definitive methods to establish the outcomes of social interventions.[3] They utilize four different types of controls: randomized, non-randomized, historical and cross-over groups. In addition to standard scientific procedures — operationalization and objective measurement — trials also incorporate prospective experimentation and 'blinding' in order to control for placebo effects, biases and other potential threats to validity. While randomized controls may be the only definitive method to test outcomes, Their applicability to human services may be limited by a number of factors: subject compliance, ethical and legal issues, cost, complexity, and research preparedness (the quality of prior scholarly work). Nevertheless, a far more common use of these definitive methodologies is ethically, technically and theoretically possible.[4] Particularly in the human services, an appropriately administered RCT is far more powerful than any other method to establish credible outcomes.

The RCT[5]

RCTs are prospective experiments that randomly assign subjects to experimental or control groups. Experimental group subjects receive the intervention; control groups subjects do not. Instead, control subjects

receive a placebo, the standard intervention or some other intervention. Some RCTs utilize more than one control group. Under optimal conditions, the subjects, the providers of the intervention and even the evaluators of the intervention's outcomes are 'blind' as to whether any subject is in an experimental or control group.

A small amount of attrition also guards the credibility of trials. This requires a considerable amount of effort — on the part of researchers: to retrieve data and follow-up with subjects, to train research staff, and to maintain appropriate communication among researchers, care givers and subjects (in part to minimize the subjects' 'stress of uncertainty' as a confounding variable).

In contrast with medical services, clinical social services offer unique challenge to the researcher. Adaptive randomization techniques cannot usually be applied to social services; since the elapsed time is usually great between the introduction of the experimental condition and the subject's response.[6] This increases the ethical problems of trials because it reduces the number of subjects who might benefit from the presumably superior intervention.[7] Adaptive techniques might still be applied when the effects of the intervention emerge clearly and in a short amount of time (e.g. crisis services, very short term psychotherapy).

Blinding is very difficult in the social services. The interventionist and the recipient are frequently aware of the nature of the assignment. This reduces protection against demonstration effects, unwarranted placebo deterioration (deterioration of actual or reported outcomes for placebo patients due to the motives of researchers or care-givers) and distortions of the intervention itself (e.g. improvements of services for experimental subjects by 'concerned' therapists).[8] Furthermore there is the possibility of evaluator bias in measuring outcomes. The objectification of outcome measures and their application by neutral parties, instruments or techniques is necessary to guard the accuracy of reported outcomes. The problems of blinding are eased when control and experimental conditions are truly equivalent but for the difference in treatment.

In addition, measurement reactivity and other biases are differential concerns in different research subcultures. A tradition of detached clinical observation encourages good research in contrast to a situation in which care givers and researchers are embedded in the political problems of their practice.[9]

Controls

Only random controls can offer definitive comparison. Random controls remove biases in allocating subjects, tend to produce comparable groups and guarantee the validity of tests of significance. Non-random, historical and cross-over controls pose particularly difficult problems for the social services.

Historical controls may even be inappropriate for trials (Meinert, 1986:3). In any event, establishing the comparability of different historical trial periods is very difficult, requiring powerful proofs and a powerful theory of change (to explain differences between test periods). In this regard cross-cultural comparisons are particularly troublesome because social meaning is so difficult to establish among different cultures.[10] But these problems may be minimized for Chinese comparison to the extent to which Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong are culturally compatible with the PRC.

Cross-over designs provide ethical benefits in that all subjects receive the experimental condition. They also 'avoid between subject variation in estimating the intervention effect' (Friedman, 1982:37). In cross over designs, each subject is his or her own control:

Group		Time 1		Time 2
A	———	Treatment 1	———	Treatment 2
B	———	Treatment 2	———	Treatment 1

The cross-over design is based upon a very strict assumption that the effects of the intervention *do not carry over into the next treatment period* and thus confound the intervention (Friedman, 1982:37). Yet successful social service interventions customarily endure with the effect of suppressing differences between experimental and control conditions.

The principal problem with non-random, concurrent controls is that the experimental and control groups are not strictly comparable. The proof of comparability is the burden of the researcher. A client's selection of his own services (experimental or control, resulting in non-randomized comparisons) may possibly produce biologically comparable groups. Yet this will not produce comparable social equivalents; social preference is itself an important difference.

Multicenter Trials

Multicenter trials are both administratively and methodologically complex although necessary to control for differential influences of administration and geography. They are also valuable where subject recruitment is a pressing issue either because the effects of the intervention are slight or the researched condition is rare; a short trial with many subjects is preferable to a long study period with few subjects. Multicenter trials may be possible across the Chinese experience, in order to explore youth services, as one example. Many different locations seem to utilize essentially similar strategies for youth recreation, fostering, day care, protective services, adoption, and so forth.

The Ethical and Legal Issues

The principal ethical considerations in administering trials to human subjects relate to the safety and effectiveness of both the experimental intervention and the standard procedures. Specific legal issues may grow out of the subject's consent to participate in the research and the degree to which he or she has been adequately informed about possible risks (including, in the use of placebo controls, the possible loss of the standard procedure's benefits). A subject's informed consent depends upon his or her ability to assess the psychological, social, medical and otherwise personal risks. Yet as Spriet and Simon observe, the subject's 'consent is never truly "free and informed," but most (subjects) generally accept the idea of clinical trials and their methodology if explained to them in comprehensible terms' (Spriet & Simon, 1985:198). A fully informed subject may confound the experiment, and therefore some degree of deception is desirable to protect the integrity of the trials. Deception of subjects is ethical when:

> It is difficult, if not impossible, to study behavior in certain

contexts if the subjects are told the purpose of the research ... current attitudes and regulations make it very difficult to conduct research involving deception unless the deception is very mild and benign.[11]

A number of procedures, in addition to informed consent, assure ethical research on human subjects. Review and oversight committees should screen the research proposals and the conduct of the trials. Where the issue of cost is pertinent, no individual should be financially harmed by participation (as would occur where costs are averaged between control and experimental subjects).

A number of procedures have been developed to address the ethical implications of withholding possibly superior interventions from control subjects. The number of subjects who receive the experimental intervention can be maximized by adaptive sampling techniques and when possible by eventually providing all controls with the experimental intervention (if indeed it proves to be superior). The possible loss of the standard treatment's benefits can be minimized by using it as the control.

Nevertheless, adaptive techniques are usually not feasible for social services while their use only minimizes but does not eliminate potential violations of ethics. Moreover, the use of standard treatment controls prevents testing the standard treatment's effectiveness (superiority to a placebo, that is, to no treatment at all).

Therefore the size of the ethical problem (and by extension, the legal problem) is a function of both the degree of harm caused by withholding the standard treatment and the number of subjects affected. In this way, the size of the problem is closely related to the standard treatment's effectiveness.

The ethical problem of withholding standard treatment is great when the effectiveness of that treatment is credibly proven to be large. The ethical problem is minimized when sufficient doubt toward the effectiveness of the *standard treatment* has not been credibly dispelled.[12] In contrast, where prior research still leaves sufficient doubt about the efficacy of the *experimental intervention* the trials themselves should not be conducted.

Professional opposition to trials that emerges from belief in the

unproven effectiveness of standard treatments is irrational. Indeed, untested standard treatments should be viewed as innovative, experimental and tentative, thereby justifying placebo and other controls as necessary and ethical to provide knowledge.

Yet the professional literature frequently reaches a consensus on treatments for particular social problems without credible evidence of their effectiveness. The effectiveness of what become orthodox interventions, especially when they promise to cure, to prevent or to rehabilitate, is typically not established by either RCTs or even by substantial preliminary investigations (Epstein, 1990). But without credible proofs of efficacy, withdrawal of standard treatments is not a credible harm to the subject.

Ethically, the burden of proof for demonstrating the efficacy of an intervention rests on the shoulders of those who promote it (Smith, 1980). Sufficient doubt about the outcomes of interventions eliminates ethical grounds for refusing to conduct controlled experimentation. An untested service orthodoxy itself creates legal and ethical problems for 'it is more ethical to perform a trial than to use treatments of unproven efficacy' (Spriet & Simon, 1985:199).

Other Limitations on the Use of Trials

Greater use of trials have been inhibited by a number of political considerations. However the importance of a service to its recipients or to a field is not adequate in itself to stimulate expensive research. Money for trials is budgeted in a competitive political environment. Current service patterns that conform to social expectations for effectiveness and cost or that create useful social symbols are accepted without rigorous evaluation. Some notable event must arise to instigate more thorough scrutiny of any social service.

In addition, more RCTs have not been conducted because the scholarly literature on the social services has not been prepared to justify them either technically or theoretically. Credible pilot tests are very rare. Moreover, credible pilot studies when they exist may not report the effectiveness of new interventions. The scholarship has infrequently developed adequate measures of a new intervention and its effects. Finally, the theoretical meaning of much of the preparatory scholarship is too trivial to justify full blown trials.

Nevertheless, scholarly preparation for RCTs — the measures, pilot tests, justifications of cost, and so forth —should be the central obligation of social scientists who specialize in human services.[13]

RCTs as a Communal Process in the Chinese Context

The application of RCTs to human services is the final step in a communal process of research that proceeds from descriptive and analytic studies to these formal tests of efficacy. The quality of prior research is a crucial determinant of the feasibility of conducting RCTs. The research process largely follows the logic of technological development: innovation, adaptation, development, production, monitoring. In this sense, the quality of the scholarly enterprise in the human services depends upon the scientific rigor and communal standards of its researchers.

The real barriers to the application of RCT to human services emerge principally from the role that the human services plays in the social competition for control, resources and rewards. In many societies, the human services, their professionals and their communities of scholars are caught up in a basic conflict over the principal goal of human services, especially welfare services: to produce specific, material outcomes, or to create symbols in the maintenance of orthodox cultural myth. Typically the costly production functions of services (the provision of surrogate services and greater cultural parity) benefit social, cultural and economic minorities while their relatively inexpensive symbolic functions tend to affirm the legitimacy of established authority.

The need for social indicators of the outcomes of human welfare services is particularly pressing in developing and underdeveloped nations, whose allocations for social services are far more limited that in wealthier nations. Consequently, these are the places where the conflict between the production function and the symbolic function of human welfare expenditures is particularly acute.

This conflict may indeed be exacerbated in contemporary Chinese societies that are struggling with the transition from an 'orientative' social system to a far more stressful economic system (Lao, 1989). RCTs will permit a rational estimate of the role of social services in this transition. The role of the applied social sciences in these cultures — their professional standing — will also be greatly affected by their commitment to credible scrutiny of their own activities.

Conclusion

The previous argument can be inverted. Instead of beginning with methodological observations and proceeding to their cultural implications, the logic of the discourse could begin with an estimate of the social reality and then go on to define its influence over the conditions of research. The creation of a rational social truth is heroic but culture is probably the most powerful determinant of social inquiry. Knowledge is rarely independent of its political context.

Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore are relatively prosperous; the PRC is still poor. Hong Kong at least seems to have made the transition to modern industrial life without many of the attendant social problems of the West: high rates of crime, suicide, violence, drug addiction, mental disease and family dissolution. Few people live on its streets; there are few feral children. Satisfaction with the culture seems high.

While still only a proto-democratic society, Hong Kong seems to have avoided the characteristic third world choice: prosperity *or* freedom. Yet Hong Kong seems to have reconciled this paradox, and this reconciliation may be the point of social service research in the Chinese laboratories. At least here, free markets, prizing competitiveness and change seem to be compatible with 'orientative' demands for social harmony. Instead of pursuing the etiology of social disease, as in the West, research in the Chinese context might more profitably seek to identify the cultural strengths that have led to such a relatively high degree of social integration, a phenomenon that is usually incompatible with industrial society. The identification of these characteristics will provide the central design imperatives for social services in the Chinese context. RCTs will test the effectiveness of these services.

Notes

1. See J. Zimmerman (1989); M. B. Heineman (1981); C. Piele (1988); M. M. Heineman Pieper (1985, 1989); C. Geertz (1983); G.O. Haworth (1984); E. K. Proctor (1990); E. J. Mullen (????); J. B. Brekke (1980); M. Rein and S. H. White (1981); M. K. Rodwell (1987); M. Siporin (1989); D. Saleebey (1979); D. Scott (1989); J. D. Kagle (1982); R. A. Ruckdeschel and B. E. Farris (1981); W. R. Nugent (1987); A. M. Rivlin (1971); R. A. Ruckdeschel (1985).
2. Specifically stated to contrast with A. Hartman (1990).
3. See *Blackwell Scientific Publication* (1977); L. M. Friedman et al., (1985); A. Spriet and P. Simon (1985); F. L. Iber, et al.(1987); The Association for Clinical Research (1988); C. L. Meinert (1986); J. H. Fleiss (1986); S. H. Shapiro and T. A. Louis (1983); D. Schwartz, et al., (1980); M. Bloom and J. Fischer (1982) in presenting a very compromised process for evaluating practice acknowledge, however, reluctantly, that '*clear* evidence of effectiveness *generally* requires the traditional type of research — experimental, control group designs' (p.15, emphasis added). Presumably when clear evidence is not required, their case study approach will suffice. Meinert is the most thorough and detailed, Fleiss contains the most comprehensive statistical treatment. All agree on the basic logical justification for trials (within scientific assumptions). The philosophic debate about the applicability of science itself is mentioned briefly in following sections of this paper and is documented in more detail by Heineman's references #1 and #2 (1985).
4. C. L. Meinert, op. cit. His analysis (of the methodological quality of medical research reported in the 1979 NIH Inventory of Clinical Trials) also takes the blush off the bloom of widespread sophistication in medical research (pp. 11-15). Nevertheless the acceptance of RCTs within the medical community as the definite clinical methodology (a position also reflected in the law governing the US Food and Drug Administration) shapes the entire clinical literature of the field.

5. Portions of this section first appeared in: William M. Epstein "Randomized Controlled Trials in the Human Services" (Unpublished).
6. See L. J. Wei (1976, 1978) and L. J. Wei et al. (1990).
7. A controversial effect of adaptive sampling ('play the winner rule') emerged in R. H. Bartlett et al. (1985); only three of eleven patients received the control intervention. Some adaptive randomization studies have provided as few as one patient for the control group.
8. The California Youth Authority studies of community care are cases in point. See P. Lerman (1975).
9. Some examples, D. Shapiro (1976); R. A. Feldman, et al. (1983).
10. Indeed, Joan Higgins (1983) concedes the possibility of definitive comparisons between cultures.
11. J. Schuerman (1983); J. Sieber (1989).
12. As examples see V. Mike (1989); M. Fetter, et al., (1989) and J. Sieber (1989).
13. P. E. Konicki and S. C. Schuly (1989). This is an example of the preparatory research that leads to a justification for trials. It is notable for the quality of prior research.

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15

An Estimate of the Incidence of Mental Disorder in Hong Kong

Jenny Mak

IT is apparent that a significant amount of mental disorder and emotional distress is suffered by people in the community. Only a fraction of the need is met by hospitalization. This demonstrates the clear requirement for cohesive planning of community based mental health services.

The scope of study on Social Indicators includes an assessment of the prevalence of mental health problems in Hong Kong. The issue of mental health is complex and controversial because there is often a misconception that mental health problems mean the equivalence of mental illness. The World Health Organization gives a positive definition of mental health, 'Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.' Health is related to the concept of well being, including successful adaptation to one's environment. Mental health is characterized by self-acceptance, a satisfactory sense of self-esteem, the ability to communicate and enjoy satisfactory relationships with others and freedom from lengthy periods of severe anxiety and depression.

The vast majority of mental health problems are related to the so-called neurosis, depressive and anxiety states which usually do not lead to long term admission to psychiatric hospitals but significantly affect the individual's relationships and functioning in life, affecting, in essence, his capacity for happiness. The modern approach in psychiatry reserves the term mental illness for severe disorders and chronic conditions and advocates the use of mental ill-health for those less severe ones which only result in emotional distress and mal-adjustment. Many individuals have mental health problems, or suffer from mental ill-health but have not deteriorated to the extent of being classified as mentally ill.

There are various ways and means to assess the status of mental health of an individual. Some research studies employ a kind of functional approach, that is, subjects are asked whether they have been hampered from going to work, or to perform daily life tasks which they usually have, purely on account of an emotional problem; for one day, or two days, or a week. If the answer is positive, they can be classified as suffering from mental ill-health. I think there will be difficulties in applying this criteria to a Chinese population, as Chinese people have a strong tendency to somatize emotional problems; they will not say they are unhappy, they prefer to say they have headache.

A commonly used tool of assessment of mental health status is David Goldberg's General Health Questionnaire, known as the GHQ. With 60, 30 or 20 item versions, it consists of questions on symptoms about abnormal feelings and thoughts and patterns of overt behavior, including questions testing the respondent's ability to cope and to maintain interpersonal relations. The GHQ has good predictive value, in the sense that there is a significantly strong correlation between the respondent's score on the test scale and a second stage assessment by a diagnostic psychiatric interview.

The questionnaire is not designed to detect cases of dementia, chronic schizophrenia or hypomania, or cases with very long standing disorders, it is concerned with the accurate assessment of the prevalence of neurotic illnesses and the extent of mental ill-health in the community. This is how the GHQ can make a contributions to the community as a screening instrument for epidemiological research. The present study is an application of the GHQ as a screening instrument, based on a random sampling of the local population.

The results indicated that 26.3% of the population scored above the cut off point of 4 in a 20-item version of the GHQ. In other words, 26.3% of the population can be regarded as 'potential cases' or as the 'at risk group.' The implication of 'at-risk' group is that the individual in this group is highly vulnerable, and in danger of a breakdown in the event of any high stress or serious crisis.

Such a finding is in agreement with previous research studies by social scientists and mental health professionals in this area. The general postulate is that over a quarter of the population experience high degree of stress.

The rapidity of social change, the competitive educational system, work pressure, overcrowding and the hassles of modern living contribute to a widen range of mental health problems in Hong Kong.

The 1997 Issue and the Confidence Crisis

There are clear research evidence showing that certain life events generate a high degree of stress, bereavement being top on the list. The process of decision making with regard to emigration is stress inducing.

A large proportion of population take the year 1997 as the deadline before which they should seek to emigrate to countries with which they may not be familiar. Although they may be truly reluctant, they have accepted the fact that they would have to quit their long-held and well-treasured jobs and perhaps sacrifice a possibly good pension as well. They have little idea of what kind of jobs they would happen to secure by chance, and what kind of climates they would have to endure. They have convinced themselves, and so are their families, too, that their move is necessary and entirely to their benefit, and that they have no other alternative but to slip away.

In this connection, their life-style has been drastically changed. They begin to sell their houses and instead rent smaller ones. They are more conscious of their expenses, in an attempt to save up more money. In order to procure more wealth before departure, they are ready to engage in additional part-time jobs for a long time. By the same token, they are more than ever before prepared to set up their own businesses and try their luck, a phenomenon quite akin to gamblers' psychology.

Moreover, they tend to set aside a much reduced proportion of time for leisure and recreation. Achievements and wealth rank at the top of their priorities in life aims, even at the expense of sleeping hours. All allowances are made to accommodate plans for prospective emigration. Family functions and even planning are affected, if not determined, by the emigration schedule. Already at-risk families become more vulnerable to adverse conditions. Couples separate for months or years and many marriages eventually break down. Quasi-single-parenting does affect the normal social and psychological developments of growing children. Generations suffer disunion when the elderly are left behind unattended to or placed in the homes for the aged against their wish.

It is evident that all this is highly conducive to a considerable level of stress in life and at work. People adjust their life-style to the requirements or needs of emigration, and nothing else. They would have to endure pressures and demands of all kinds.

As a result, health problems abound. Anxiety increase while feelings of depression are common place. Sleep troubles are frequent, and many medical consultations are sought under the guise of relatively minor complaints, like chronic fatigue, headache, dizziness or bodily aches.

For those who may not or cannot leave with similar ease, emotionality is understandable. They harbor a substantial degree of anxiety about their future and worry about their possible plight after 1997. They have little sense of purpose, and they believe they are at the mercy of fate. They simply feel helpless and treated unfairly. This uneasiness is further aggravated by witnessing their friends, and colleagues leaving them one by one, as if they were now being abandoned. The exodus is being seen and felt at the same time, as their acquaintances are by and by disappearing from their usual abodes. Then they turn to hatch an apparently more desirable political climate in the years to come. The local economy appears more and more unstable. Speculations prevail in the stock market which goes out of control at the slightest indication of political mutation. People become increasingly sensitized to bad news and readily turn panicky.

We cannot exactly quantify the number in the population who experience such feelings. In fact doctors' clinics, both in general practice and psychiatry, have recorded typical examples of patients showing that the origins of stress are related to psychological struggles about personal

decisions related to the 1997 issue.

Stress can be very disabling, it often leads to absenteeism from work or such other normal activities, disruptive to family or interpersonal relationships, and adversely affecting the individual's adaptation to environmental demands; in the long run it cripples productivity and lowers morale in the community.

Can relevant authorities help to alleviate stress brought about by people's reaction to the 1997 issue? Based on the theory of control and predictability, we know that people often attempt to control their own emotions or the environment. Perceived control is a powerful mediator of stress; providing individuals with a sense that they can cope effectively, be able to predict events and determine what will happen alleviates stress. Accurate expectations reduce stress. Power or mastery over the environment is likely to have an ameliorating effect on the threat. Hence, political authorities should seek to develop greater confidence amongst Hong Kong people. Political decisions have enormous impact on the psychological well being of the community. Also, the reliability of future developments or the predictability of outcomes provide greater assurance for members of the Hong Kong community.

As 1997 draws near, we expect that a growing sense of anxiety and uncertainly will prevail; a larger segment of the population will be at risk or vulnerable to developed symptoms or stress reactions, the magnitude of which will be dependent on the nature of key social events or political decisions which will affect the personal state of affairs and the future well-being of those who live in Hong Kong.

16

A Cross Validation Study of the Maslach Burnout Inventory

Steven Sek-yum Ngai

THE term burnout was first coined by Freudenberger (1974) to refer to people in the helping professions who wear themselves out in the pursuit of unrealistic and impossible goals. Since then, a number of research studies on burnout have been conducted in different fields of the helping professions including social work. Among the various researchers of burnout, Maslach and Jackson (1981) have made an important contribution to the definition. They define burnout as a multi-dimensional concept which consists of three distinct aspects: emotional exhaustion, personal accomplishment and depersonalization.

According to Maslach and Jackson (1981), emotional exhaustion is often central to burnout: a loss of feeling, a loss of trust, a loss of interest, and a loss of spirit. By emotional exhaustion, the authors state that helping professionals suffering from it feel that they can no longer give themselves to work as they intended to. The second aspect of burnout, personal accomplishment, is the tendency for the helping professionals to evaluate themselves negatively, leading them to believe that they are failing in their duty to help others. Depersonalization refers to change in the professionals' perception of clients through the development of cynical attitudes and negative feelings about their clients. This dehumanized or depersonalized perception of others can lead the helping professionals to think that their clients are responsible for their own problems. The measurement of burnout was accomplished by Maslach and Jackson (1981) by using the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI). This instrument provides a measure of perceived burnout in terms of the three subscales of Emotional Exhaustion, Personal Accomplishment and Depersonalization. The items comprising these subscales of the MBI are presented in Appendix 1. Each item is rated twice, once for frequency and once for intensity. The frequency rating ranges from one (a few times a year) to six (every day). The intensity rating ranges from one (very mild, barely noticeable) to seven (major, very strong). A place is provided for the respondent to check 'never,' if the feeling or attitude described is never experienced. For each of these subscales, separate scores are provided for the frequency and the intensity with which feelings are experienced. According to Maslach and Jackson (1981), persons with higher scores on the Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization subscales and with lower scores on the Personal Accomplishment subscale would be perceiving themselves as more burned out. Thus, a person is not classified as 'burned out' or 'not burned out,' but rather placed on a continuum from 'more burned out' to 'less burned out.'

Although considerable evidences supporting the reliability and validity of the MBI have been reported by previous research studies using persons in the helping professions (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Iwanicki and Schwab, 1981), the reliability and validity of the MBI have not been examined using a sample of Hong Kong 'outreaching social workers.'[1] The purpose of this study was to assess the validity and reliability of the MBI when used with Hong Kong outreaching social workers.

Method

The study is based on the responses of 155 Hong Kong outreaching social workers. The research design is in essence a mail survey. Due to the small number of the outreaching social workers and the uncertain response rate in mail surveys, the whole population of outreaching social workers was studied. The respondents completed the MBI during the period of January to February 1986. The return rate of the questionnaire turned out to be 96%.

Some modifications have been made on the original MBI in the present study. First, four items which might pose comprehension difficulties to the local outreaching social workers were excluded.[2] Secondly, two ambiguous items in the original MBI including 'I can easily understand how my recipients feel about things,' and 'I feel recipients blame me for their problems,' were replaced by two items devised by the writer, i.e. 'I feel I can establish a good working relationship with my outreaching social work clients,' and 'I feel emotionally very distant from my outreaching social work clients.' Thirdly, the words 'recipients,' 'callous,' 'a strain for me,' and 'exhilarated' in the original MBI were replaced by the words 'outreaching social work clients,' 'indifferent,' 'a tiresome job,' and 'cheerful' respectively. Finally, respondents were asked to rate the questionnaire items according to the intensity scale in order to save time in completing the questionnaire. This was based on findings of Iwanicki and Schwab's (1981) cross-validation study of the MBI that the scores of frequency and intensity scales were highly correlated and it would be more efficient to ask respondents to respond to the items according to either the frequency or intensity scales. Consequently, the modified MBI used in this study consisted of 18 items to be answered in a Likert five-point scale which ranged from one (none) to five (very strong). The items comprising the modified MBI are presented in Appendix 2.

Results

The Validity of the Maslach Burnout Inventory

As suggested by Maslach and Jackson (1981) and Iwanicki and Schwab (1981), principal factor analysis was employed in this study to assess the construct validity of the MBI.[3] The principal factor analysis resulted in three factor solutions with eigenvalues greater than 1 which accounted for 41.6% of the total variance. Because of the low correlations among the axes of the three factors derived through the principal factor analysis (average $r=0.252$), there were no major differences in factor loadings between the orthogonal and oblique rotations. As a result of these preliminary analyses, it was decided that the construct validity of the MBI would be examined by using principal factor analysis with iterations and a varimax rotation. This same approach was employed by Maslach and Jackson in their development of the MBI.

The factor loading matrix of the MBI is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Factor Loading Matrix Using Principal Factor Analysis with Iterations and a Varimax Rotation.

Item	Personal Accomplishment	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization
7	0.783		
8	0.665		
9	0.663		
10	0.585		
11	0.714		
12	0.640		
13	0.508		
1		0.708	
2		0.439	
3		0.606	
4		0.705	
5		0.501	
6		0.471	
14			0.591
15			0.647
16			0.405
17			0.600
18			0.638

Note: Only entries ≥0.350 were recorded for ease of interpretation.

From Table 1, Factor I, which was named as Personal Accomplishment, included items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13. This factor was synonymous in item structure with the Personal Accomplishment subscale of the MBI. It explained 22.2% of the variance. Factor II, which was named as Emotional Exhaustion, included items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. It was synonymous in item structure with the Emotional Exhaustion subscale of the MBI. This factor explained 13.4% of variance. Factor III contained items 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18, was named as Depersonalization. It was synonymous in item structure with the Depersonalization subscale of the MBI. Factor III explained 6.0% of the variance.

In summary, the results presented indicated that when used in outreaching social work, the MBI measured the same basic constructs as those identified by Maslach and Jackson (1981) in their work in the helping professions — Emotional Exhaustion, Personal Accomplishment, and Depersonalization.

Further evidence concerning the validity of the MBI was obtained by examining the subscale correlations for outreaching social workers on the MBI. These intercorrelations are presented in Table 2. As Maslach and Jackson (1981) have contended that higher levels of burnout are reflected in higher scores on the Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization subscales and by lower scores on the Personal Accomplishment subscale, one would expect the Personal Accomplishment subscale to be correlated negatively with the Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization subscales. From Table 2, it is clear that this pattern was evident for outreaching social workers on the MBI.

Table 2 Maslach Burnout Inventory Scale Intercorrelations for Outreaching Social Workers

	Emotional Exhaustion	Depersonalization
Personal Accomplishment	-0.170	-0.178
Emotional Exhaustion		0.410

Reliability of the Maslach Burnout Inventory

Internal consistency estimates of the reliabilities of each subscale of the MBI for outreaching social workers were determined by using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. These reliabilities as well as associated subscale statistics are reported in Table 3.

Table 3 Maslach Burnout Inventory Subscale Statistics and Alpha Reliabilities

Subscale	Emotional Exhaustion	Personal Accomplishment	Depersonalization
Number of items	6	7	5
Mean	2.87	3.46	1.96
Standard deviation	0.66	0.60	0.64
Reliabillity	0.76	0.84	0.75

From Table 3, the values of Cronbach's coefficient alpha for the Emotional Exhaustion, Personal Accomplishment and Depersonalization subscales were 0.76, 0.84 and 0.75 respectively. The results suggest a satisfactory level of reliability of the three subscales measuring burnout. As the Personal Accomplishment subscale was independent of the Emotional Exhaustion and Depersonalization subscales, the three subscales could not be combined to form an overall burnout scale. Thus, no reliability tests were performed on the whole group of items measuring burnout.

Summary and Conclusion

The MBI developed through research in the helping professions in the United States is sufficiently valid and reliable to be used with outreaching social workers in Hong Kong. In planning future studies of burnout among the local social workers, we would find it interesting to examine the validity and reliability of the MBI when used in other fields of social work. Besides, it is also worthwhile to examine the convergent validity of the MBI. One approach would be to administer the MBI to a small sample of social workers within an agency setting. Then colleagues would be asked to rate these social workers according to the behaviours assessed by the MBI. For married social workers, spouses would be asked to provide similar ratings. Once these data were collected, the convergent validity of the MBI would be assessed by comparing the

colleagues and spouse ratings by subscale. Through future research with social workers, it also would be helpful to gather data concerning the test-retest reliability of the MBI by subscale.

Notes

1. 'Outreaching social work' is a specific type of social work service for the young people in Hong Kong. The major job responsibility of outreaching social workers is to reach out and provide service to young people aged six to twenty-four with behavioural or social adjustment problems.
2. Four items including 'I feel like I'm at the end of my rope,' 'Working with people directly puts too much stress on me,' 'I feel very energetic,' and 'I feel burned out from my work,' which might pose comprehension difficulties to the local outreaching social workers were excluded.
3. According to Maslach and Jackson (1981) and Iwanicki and Schwab (1981), principal factor analysis results in subscales which are more conceptually meaningful and reliable than those derived through principal component analysis.

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Appendix I

Subscales of the Maslach Burnout Inventory

A. Emotional Exhaustion

1. I feel emotionally drained from my work.
2. I feel used up at the end of the workday.
3. I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.
6. Working with people all day is really a strain for me.
8. I feel burned out from my work.
13. I feel frustrated by my job.
14. I feel I'm working too hard on my job.
16. Working directly with people puts too much stress on me.
20. I feel like I'm at the end of my rope.

B. Depersonalization

5. I feel I treat some recipients as if they were impersonal 'objects.'
10. I've become more callous toward people since I took this job.
11. I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally.
15. I don't really care what happens to some recipients.
22. I feel recipients blame me for some of their problems.

C. Personal Accomplishment

4. I can easily understand how my recipients feel about things.
7. I deal very effectively with the problems of my recipients.
9. I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through my work.
12. I feel very energetic.
17. I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere with my recipients.
18. I feel exhilarated after working closely with my recipients.
19. I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job.
21. In my work, I deal with emotional problems very calmly.

* High degrees of burnout are reflected in high mean scores on A and B, and a low mean score on C.

Appendix 2

Subscales of the Modified Maslach Burnout Inventory Employed in this Study

A. Emotional Exhaustion

1. I feel used up at the end of the workday.
2. I feel I'm working too hard on my job.
3. Working with people all day is really a tiresome job.
4. I feel emotionally drained from my work.
5. I feel frustrated by my job.
6. I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.

B. Personal Accomplishment

7. I feel I can establish a good working relationship with my out-reaching social work clients.
8. I deal very effectively with the problems of my outreaching social work clients.
9. I feel I'm positively influencing other people's lives through my work.
10. I feel cheerful after working closely with my outreaching social work clients.
11. I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere with my outreaching social work clients.
12. I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job.
13. In my work, I deal with emotional problems very calmly.

C. Depersonalization

14. I feel I treat some outreaching social work clients as if they were impersonal 'objects.'
15. I have become more indifferent to outreaching social work clients since I took this job.
16. I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally.
17. I don't really care what happens to some outreaching social work clients.
18. I feel emotionally very distant from my outreaching social work clients.

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