

全球城市圓桌會議 **Global City Roundtable**

全球政經脈絡下的青年狀況 **The Situation of Youth in Global Contexts**



2. 12. 2016

09:45 - 15:30

學術對話：香港、台北、廣州和東京的經驗

Academic Dialogue: The Experiences of Hong Kong, Taipei, Guangzhou and Tokyo

社會對話：青年為何參與社會運動？

Social Dialogue: Why Do Young People Take Part in Social Movements?

政策對話：香港需要怎樣的青年政策？

Policy Dialogue: What Kind of Youth Policy Does Hong Kong Need?

地點： 香港教育大學大埔校園D1-LP-03 演講廳
Venue: Lecture Theatre D1-LP-03, EdUHK Tai Po Campus

語言： 粵語 / 國語 [設有英語即時傳譯]
Language: Cantonese / Mandarin
(with simultaneous English interpretation)



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會議程序

[09:45]	登記
第一節 [10:00-12:00]	學術對話：香港、台北、廣州和東京的經驗
	<p>主講： 趙永佳教授 (香港中文大學社會學系教授) 林宗弘博士 (台灣中央研究院社會學研究所副研究員) 黎熙元教授 (廣州中山大學港澳珠江三角洲研究中心教授) 倉田徹博士 (東京立教大學法學部政治學系副教授)</p> <p>評論： 周帆教授 (上海復旦大學港澳台行政研究中心主任)</p> <p>主持： 呂大樂教授 (香港教育大學香港研究學院總監)</p> <p>語言： 國語 [設有英語即時傳譯]</p>
[12:00-12:15]	茶敘時間
第二節 [12:15-13:00]	社會對話：青年為何參與社會運動？
	<p>主講： 岑敖暉先生 (前香港專上學生聯會副秘書長) 蘇嘉豪先生 (新澳門學社副理事長)</p> <p>主持： 方志恒博士 (香港教育大學香港研究學院副總監)</p> <p>語言： 粵語 [設有英語即時傳譯]</p>
[13:00-14:30]	午餐時間
第三節 [14:30-15:30]	政策對話：香港需要怎樣的青年政策？
	<p>主講： 劉鳴煒博士 (香港特別行政區政府青年事務委員會主席)</p> <p>主持： 呂大樂教授 (香港教育大學香港研究學院總監)</p> <p>語言： 粵語 [設有英語即時傳譯]</p>



Conference Programme

[09:45]	Registration
Panel 1 [10:00–12:00]	Academic Dialogue: The Experiences of Hong Kong, Taipei, Guangzhou and Tokyo
	<p>Speakers: Prof. Chiu Wing-kai, Stephen (<i>Professor, Department of Sociology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong</i>) Dr. Lin Thung-hong (<i>Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica, Taiwan</i>) Prof. Li Xi-yuan (<i>Professor, Center for Studies of Hong Kong, Macao and Pearl River Delta, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou</i>) Dr. Kurata Toru (<i>Associate Professor, Department of Politics, College of Law and Politics, Rikkyo University, Tokyo</i>)</p> <p>Commentator: Prof. Zhou Fan (<i>Director, Center for Hong Kong, Macau & Taiwan Governance, Fudan University, Shanghai</i>)</p> <p>Moderator: Prof. Lui Tai-lok (<i>Director, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies, The Education University of Hong Kong</i>)</p> <p>Language: Mandarin (with simultaneous English interpretation)</p>
[12:00–12:15]	Break
Panel 2 [12:15–13:00]	Social Dialogue: Why do Young People Take Part in Social Movements?
	<p>Speakers: Mr. Shum Ngo-fai, Lester (<i>Former Deputy Secretary-General, Hong Kong Federation of Students</i>) Mr. Sou Ka Hou, Sulu (<i>Vice President, New Macau Association</i>)</p> <p>Moderator: Dr. Fong Chi-hang, Brian (<i>Associate Director, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies, The Education University of Hong Kong</i>)</p> <p>Language: Cantonese (with simultaneous English interpretation)</p>
[13:00–14:30]	Lunch Time
Panel 3 [14:30–15:30]	Policy Dialogue: What kind of Youth Policy does Hong Kong need?
	<p>Speaker: Dr. Lau Ming-wai (<i>Chairman, Commission on Youth, Hong Kong SAR Government</i>)</p> <p>Moderator: Prof. Lui Tai-lok (<i>Director, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies, The Education University of Hong Kong</i>)</p> <p>Language: Cantonese (with simultaneous English interpretation)</p>



歡迎詞

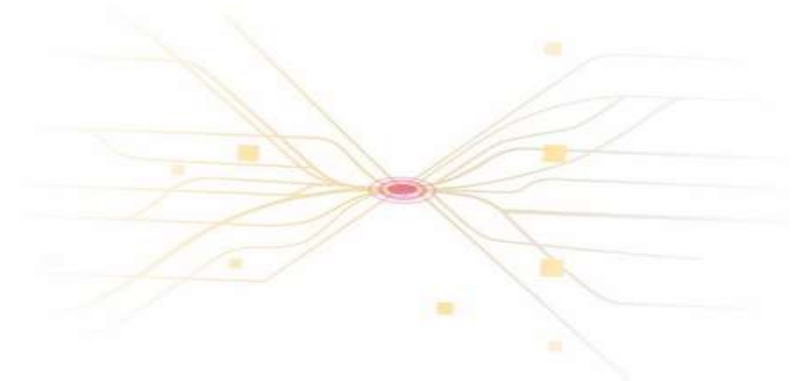
香港研究學院提出以「聚焦香港、超越香港」為發展香港研究的方向，是因為香港長久以來都是一個面向世界的全球城市；因此推動香港研究的一個重要方向，就是把香港放置在全球城市的比較研究脈絡中，從而一方面將香港經驗貢獻予國際學術文獻，另一方面也將國際經驗轉移到香港拉闊本地社會討論。「全球城市圓桌會議」，就是我們推動「以香港為中心的全球城市研究」的策略性項目。

「全球城市圓桌會議」旨在建立一個對話平台，讓來自不同全球城市的學者專家和政策持份者聚首一堂，進行公共政策討論和學術研究。首次會議將以「全球政經脈絡下的青年狀況」為主題，透過「學術對話」、「社會對話」、「政策對話」三場討論，讓政界、學術界、商界及公民社會的領袖，在全球城市研究的脈絡下，多角度地探討青年狀況。

我們熱切期待透過今次會議，與您建立各種合作機會。

呂大樂教授

香港研究學院總監





Welcome Message

The Academy of Hong Kong Studies (AHKS) adopted the strategic direction of “Focus on Hong Kong, Go beyond Hong Kong” in driving the development of Hong Kong Studies. Hong Kong is always a global city facing the whole world and therefore one of the effective ways to pursue Hong Kong Studies is to position Hong Kong within the context of inter-global city studies; by doing so, on the one hand we could make a contribution to international scholarly literature by theorizing Hong Kong as a case study of global city, while on the other hand we could enrich local discussion by transferring international experiences to Hong Kong. The Global City Roundtable is a strategic initiative which aims at fulfilling our mission to examine Hong Kong-centric subjects within the context of inter-global city studies.

The Global City Roundtable aims at providing a platform for informed discussions for academics, experts and policy stakeholders from different global cities. The first Roundtable will be divided into three sessions including “Academic Dialogue”, “Social Dialogue” and “Policy Dialogue” with a view to fostering multi-stakeholder discussions on the topic of “Situation of Youth in Global Contexts”.

We look forward to exchanging ideas and developing collaboration with you through this conference.

Professor Lui Tai-lok

Director, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies





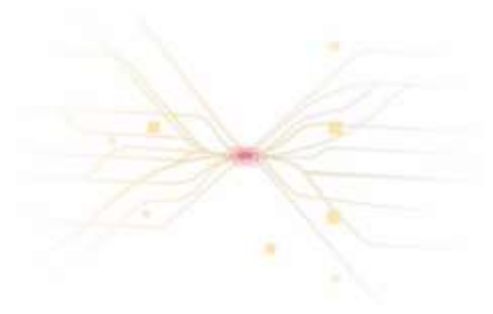
關於香港研究學院

香港研究學院成立於 2015 年 7 月，是目前香港大專院校中唯一專門推動香港研究的學院。香港研究學院以「聚焦香港、超越香港」為策略方向，從事以香港為中心的國際城市研究，創造和傳遞跨領域的知識，以提升香港的管治和決策水平、改善香港人的生活質素。

願景 —— 矢志成為一所世界級的研究學院，推動以香港為研究對象之學術研究、政策研究及相關教育活動。

使命 —— 以「聚焦香港，超越香港」為發展策略，並將推動多學科取的、注重跨地區比較的、以至全球城市之未來發展為研究議題下的香港研究及相關教育活動，以提高市民生活質素、改善政府管治及提升公眾議論水平為工作目標。

價值 —— 溝通與介入（在不同的持份者之間、於不同領域之間建構對話平台與溝通橋樑）、協力（將社會問題轉化為研究議題，再把研究成果推展至社區以及促進不同持份者之間的交流）、前瞻（推動有關長遠發展策略之研究及教育活動）





About The Academy of Hong Kong Studies

Established in July 2015, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies (AHKS) is the first academy dedicated to fostering Hong Kong studies within local tertiary institutions. Adopting the strategic direction of “Focus on Hong Kong, Go beyond Hong Kong”, the AHKS’ mission is to drive interdisciplinary knowledge creation and transfer initiatives related to Hong Kong-centric subjects within the context of inter-global city studies with a view to raising the standards of governance and public policy making in Hong Kong and improving the quality of life of Hong Kong people.

Vision: The vision of The AHKS is to become a world-class academy that synergizes Hong Kong-focused knowledge creation and transfer activities.

Mission: Adopting the strategic direction of “Focus on Hong Kong, Go beyond Hong Kong,” the mission of The AHKS is to drive interdisciplinary knowledge creation and transfer initiatives on Hong Kong-centric subjects within the context of inter-global city studies with a view to raising the standards of governance and public policy-making in Hong Kong and improving the quality of life of Hong Kong people.

Values: Our values are:

- **Engaging:** building bridges among stakeholders including government, political parties, business, universities and schools, civil society;
- **Energizing:** stimulating social discussions by communicating research findings to a wider community; and
- **Envisioning:** fostering research and education activities with a long-term strategic focus.





呂大樂教授

香港教育大學
香港研究講座教授
香港研究學院總監

Prof. Lui Tai-lok

*Chair Professor of Hong Kong Studies
Director, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies
The Education University of Hong Kong*

呂大樂教授現為香港教育大學（教大）香港社會研究講座教授、香港研究學院總監、大中華研究中心總監及副校長（研究與發展）。

加入教大（前身香港教育學院）前，呂教授曾任香港大學社會學系教授，期間並出任社會科學院副院長（2010-2011）及社會學系系主任（2011-2014）。他亦曾任教於香港城市理工學院（1986-1988）及香港中文大學（1988-2009）。呂教授早年畢業於香港大學，取得文學學士及社會學哲學碩士學位，期後於英國牛津大學取得哲學碩士及博士學位。

呂教授的研究範疇廣泛，涵蓋階級分析、經濟社會學、城市社會學和香港社會研究等領域。他一直熱心參與社會事務，除擔任多個與社會服務有關的志願機構的委員外，亦有出任政府及專業團體的委員會的工作。

Professor Lui Tai-lok is the Vice President (Research and Development), Chair Professor of Hong Kong Studies and Director of The Academy of Hong Kong Studies at The Education University of Hong Kong.

Prior to joining the University (the then Hong Kong Institute of Education), he was Professor at The University of Hong Kong (HKU) where he also took up the position of Associate Dean at the Faculty of Social Sciences (2010-2011) and the headship of the Department of Sociology (2011-2014). He has taught at Hong Kong City Polytechnic (1986-88) and The Chinese University of Hong Kong (1988-2009). Professor Lui obtained his B.A. and M.Phil. in Sociology at the HKU and then a Master of Philosophy and a Doctor of Philosophy from Oxford University.

Professor Lui has widely researched and published in topics including class analysis, economic sociology, urban sociology, and Hong Kong society. He also actively contributes to the Hong Kong community by serving on various committees in governmental and professional bodies as well as those related to social services over the years.



方志恒博士

香港教育大學

香港研究學院副總監

Dr. Fong Chi-hang, Brian

Associate Director, The Academy of Hong Kong Studies

The Education University of Hong Kong

方志恒博士現為香港教育大學（教大）香港研究學院副總監。

加入教大（前身香港教育學院）前，方博士曾任香港城市大學專上學院社會科學部講師。而方博士在投身學術界之前，曾於 2001 年至 2007 年間在香港政府任行政主任。

方博士研究範疇包括中心-邊陲關係、民主化、立法研究、預算政治和政治經濟學。他曾於多份國際學術期刊發表論文，例如《中國季刊》、《近代中國》、《亞洲調查》、《民主化》和《國際行政科學評論》等等。2014 年，方博士的論文〈The Partnership between the Chinese Government and Hong Kong's Capitalist Class: Implications for HKSAR Governance, 1997-2012〉，獲《中國季刊》頒發 Gordon White Prize 獎項，以表揚該論文的原創性及學術價值。

方博士是公共知識份子，經常於媒體發表卓見和撰寫評論。他同時熱心參與社會服務，領導多個民間團體的工作。

Dr. Fong Chi-hang, Brian is Associate Director of The Academy of Hong Kong Studies at The Education University of Hong Kong.

Prior to joining the University (the then Hong Kong Institute of Education), Dr. Fong was previously Lecturer in the Division of Social Sciences of the City University of Hong Kong. Before joining the academia, Dr. Fong was an Executive Officer of the HKSAR Government from 2001 to 2007.

Dr. Fong's research interests include center-periphery relations, democratization, legislative studies, budgetary politics and political economy. He has published extensively in international peer-reviewed journals such as *China Quarterly*, *Modern China*, *Asian Survey*, *Democratization*, and *International Review of Administrative Sciences*. Dr. Fong was awarded the 2014 Gordon White Prize by *China Quarterly* for his article entitled "The Partnership between the Chinese Government and Hong Kong's Capitalist Class: Implications for HKSAR Governance, 1997-2012".

Dr. Fong is a public intellectual. He is an active commentator for various media and regularly publishes commentaries. He is also very active in community services leading the work of several civil society organizations.



講者簡介

Speaker Profiles



趙永佳教授

香港中文大學

社會學系教授

香港亞太研究所聯席所長

Prof. Chiu Wing-kai, Stephen

Professor, Department of Sociology

Co-Director, The Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

趙永佳教授現為香港中文大學社會學系教授、香港亞太研究所聯席所長。趙教授主要以比較與歷史角度，對香港作社會學研究。他現時的主要研究題材包括：教育、社會分層與不平等、社會運動、文化產業、青年狀況、傳統中醫藥等。

Professor Stephen Chiu is Professor of Department of Sociology and Co-Director of the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. Professor Chiu's research interests involve the sociological study of Hong Kong from a comparative and historical perspective. His current projects include topics such as education, social stratification and inequality, social movement, cultural industries, youth and traditional Chinese medicine. Many of these projects have public policy implications and he is also an active contributor to public discussions of policy issues through the news media.



林宗弘博士

台灣中央研究院
社會學研究所副研究員

Dr. Lin Thung-hong

Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology
Academic Sinica, Taiwan

中央研究院社會學研究所副研究員，香港科技大學社會科學部博士。最感興趣的研究議題是兩岸三地華人社會的所得分配與階級流動，林博士最近與吳曉剛等學者合作的量化研究中呈現了中國大陸的階級分化議題，並與黃善國、胡克威等合作分析台灣的階級投票趨勢。其次，由於對比較政治經濟學與量化研究方法深感興趣，加上對全球跨國數據的好奇，林博士也對全球的堅尼系數及貪腐指標的 Panel Data 進行分析。近年，由於華人社會近年來天災頻傳，林博士也將研究領域延伸到災難社會學，尤其關注階級與受災風險、災後重建效率與貧富差距等議題。

Dr. Lin is an Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Sociology, Academic Sinica in Taiwan. He received his doctorate degree at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. He is most interested in the research on income distribution and social mobility in the Chinese societies of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China. Cooperating with Xiaogang Wu and others, Dr. Lin recent quantitative studies investigated in the social stratification of Mainland China; With Raymond Sin-kwok Wong and Alfred Ko-Wei Wu, Dr. Lin analysed the trend of class voting in Taiwan. Given his interest in Comparative Political Economy, quantitative analysis, and global transnational data, Dr. Lin has analysed the panel data of Gini Coefficient and Corruption Indexes around the world. In recent years, as a result of frequent occurrence of natural disasters in Chinese societies, Dr. Lin also extends his research into the Sociology of Disasters, especially on topics such as Class and the Risk of Exposure to Disasters, Post-Disaster Redevelopment and the Wealth Gap.





黎熙元教授

廣州中山大學

港澳珠江三角洲研究中心教授

Prof. Li Xi-yuan

Professor, Center for Studies of Hong Kong, Macao and Pearl River Delta
Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou

黎熙元教授現為中山大學港澳珠江三角洲研究中心教授，《當代港澳研究》執行主編，《大珠三角論壇》執行主編。1982年至1986年於中山大學學習經濟學，獲經濟學學士學位；1986年至1989年於中山大學社會學系學習，獲社會學碩士學位；1999年至2001年於中山大學人類學系學習，獲博士學位；2002年10月至2003年10月為美國加州洛杉磯大學社會學系訪問學者。1989年任中山大學教師；1994年任中山大學港澳珠江三角洲研究中心區域社會文化研究室負責人；1998年至2009年任中山大學港澳珠江三角洲研究中心副教授；2009年至今任中山大學港澳珠江三角洲研究中心及社會學系教授。

代表作有《香港的對外關係的發展及展望》《社區建設——理論、實踐與模式比較》《夢想與現實：香港的社會階層與社會流動》《現代社區概論》《社區論辯：轉型期中國城市社區的形態轉變》等。

Professor Li is a Professor at the Center for Studies of Hong Kong, Macao and Pearl River Delta (CSHKMPRD), Sun Yat-sen University (SYSU), Executive Editor of the journal "Studies on Hong Kong and Macao" and of the journal "Forum of Greater Pearl River Delta". She obtained her Bachelor Degree in Economics in SYSU in 1986, her Master Degree in Sociology in SYSU in 1989, and her Doctorate Degree in Anthropology in SYSU in 2001. From October 2002 to October 2003, she was in the University of California (Los Angeles) as a Visiting Scholar. Started teaching in SYSU since 1989, she took charge of the Research Office of Regional Society Culture, CSHKMPRD in 1994, was an Associate Professor at CSHKMPRD from 1998 to 2009, and became Professor at CSHKMPRD and the Department of Sociology since 2009.

Her publications include *The Development and Prospect of Hong Kong's External Relations*, *Community Building – Theories, Practices and Models in Comparative Perspective*, *Dream and Reality: Social Stratification and Social Mobility in Hong Kong*, and *Introduction to Modern Communities: Change of Urban Community in China's Social Transition*.



倉田徹博士

東京立教大學
法學部政治學系副教授

Dr. Kurata Toru

Associate Professor, Department of Politics, College of Law and Politics
Rikkyo University, Tokyo

倉田徹博士現為日本立教大學法學部政治學系副教授，東京大學大學院（或研究生院）總合文化研究科博士課程結業。倉田博士就讀研究所課程時，曾任日本駐香港總領事館訪問學者。倉田博士專門研究中國現代政治，著有《回歸中國後的香港——「小型冷戰」與一國兩制的推行》（名古屋大學出版會），獲 2010 年度三得利學藝獎。

Dr. Kurata is an Associate professor at Rikkyo University's College of Law and Politics in Japan. He received his doctorate degree from the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. During his graduate studies, Dr. Kurata served as a researcher for the Japanese Embassy in Hong Kong. Dr. Kurata is the author of *Chūgoku henkan go no Honkon: chīsana reisen to ikkoku niseido no tenkai* (Hong Kong after the Handover to China: A Small-scale Cold War and the Policy of One Country, Two Systems).





周帆教授

上海復旦大學
港澳台行政研究中心主任

Prof. Zhou Fan

Director of Center for Hong Kong, Macau & Taiwan Governance
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周帆教授為上海復旦大學港澳台行政研究中心主任、教授，曾任復旦大學國際關係與公共事務學院副院長。1984年安徽師範大學本科畢業，1987年復旦大學碩士研究生畢業，留校從事公共行政與行政法學的教學和研究工作，1997年攻讀在職博士學位。2000—2001年日本創價大學法學部訪問學者。主要著作有《當代公務員制度概論》、《現代政治制度論》，並參與撰寫著作10部。在境內外發表學術論文40餘篇，其中《邁向21世紀國際文化大都市的上海政府法制發展戰略》和《上海市級行政執法機關基本情況研究》兩篇論文分別獲得上海市政府決策諮詢獎。

Prof. Zhou is Professor and Director of Center for Hong Kong, Macau & Taiwan Governance in the Fudan University in Shanghai. He finished his Bachelor degree in Anhui Normal University in 1984 and obtained his Master degree in 1987 from Fudan University, where he stayed to teach and research in the field of Public Administration and Administrative Laws. In 1997, he did his Doctorate degree as he continued his work. From 2000 to 2001, he was a Visiting Scholar at the Faculty of Law, Soku University, Japan. His major work includes *Introduction to Contemporary Civil Servant System*, *Theory of Modern Political System* and co-authored 10 other works. He has published over 40 articles in Chinese and International academic journals. Among these articles, *Legal System Development Strategy of Shanghai Government: Towards a Cosmopolitan of the 21st Century* and *Research on the Situation of Shanghai Municipal Level Administrative and Executive Branch* were recognized by Shanghai Government with the Decision-Making Consultation Award.



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2015 年 3 月，劉鳴煒博士獲香港特區政府委任為青年事務委員會主席。

Dr. Lau Ming-wai is Chairman of Chinese Estates Holdings Limited. He is currently a Member of the Sichuan Committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Vice Chairman of the Bauhinia Foundation Research Centre, Deputy Chairman of the Ocean Park Corporation, Member of the Commission on Poverty, Member of the Financial Infrastructure Sub-Committee of the Exchange Fund Advisory Committee, Council Member of City University Hong Kong, etc..

In March 2015, Dr. Lau Ming-wai was appointed by the Hong Kong SAR Government as Chairman of Commission on Youth.



主題背景

近年，由青年帶領的社會運動在多個全球城市爆發，例如：佔領華爾街在 2011 年於紐約展開，並散佈到倫敦等城市；台北在 2014 年 3 月爆發太陽花運動，立法院被示威學生攻入佔領；同年 5 月，澳門的青年帶領群眾反對令離任高官獲得極優厚報酬的法案；9 月香港學生罷課爭取普選，發展成雨傘運動；2015 年，日本的學生在東京發動連場示威，反對政府重新解釋憲法及通過安保法案。

雖然觸發各地社會運動的原因不盡相同，但青年明顯變得更積極參與政治；而上述的青年的社會運動，恰恰都發生在全球城市。將近年的青年社會運動，放置在全球城市的政經脈絡之下，能否幫助我們更好地理解這些現象？

Sassen (2001) 在其「全球城市」的經典著作中指出，全球城市因為經濟結構轉變，普遍存在貧富日漸懸殊、工業生產職位流失、低薪兼職職位日漸普遍、高薪專業職位買少見少等問題。她亦指出兩極化不但在社會階級出現，亦在地理上、性別之間及族裔之間出現。在全球城市，青年是否對社會經濟環境有所不滿？全球城市的青年是否受困於貧富兩極化的趨勢？各全球城市的社會經濟結構，是否導致青年社會運動的深層成因？而在社會經濟結構以外，是否存在其他因素令全球城市的青年活躍於參與社會運動？我們將透過是次圓桌會議的四個全球城市案例，嘗試探討這些重要問題。

以下是香港、台北、廣州和東京的社會運動及青年狀況的簡介：

香港

2014 年 9 月底，爭取「真普選」的雨傘運動爆發，引起國際關注。警察發射胡椒噴霧和催淚彈嘗試驅散示威者，示威者則以雨傘為盾拒絕離開，本來有預設劇本的「佔領中環」，迅即變成無清晰領袖帶領的雨傘運動。隨民氣漸散，雨傘運動在十二月中完結，但政府並未有因為浩大的抗議而退讓分毫。運動中比較重要的人物，多數來自大學生組成的香港專上學生聯會和主要由中學生組成的學民思潮。(詳情見 Yuen 2015)。

在雨傘運動爆發前，香港早已有多次由青年帶領的社會運動：2006 和 2007 年分別有保衛中環天星碼頭和皇后碼頭的運動；2009 到 2010 年差不多同一群被傳媒稱為「八十後」的青年，帶領更大型的反對興建廣深港高速鐵路(反高鐵)運動。2011 至 2012 年更有由「九十後」中學生組成的學民思潮，帶領反對國民教育的運動。

近年，政府及民間智庫的多份報告，都指出青年面對各種困難例如向上流動困難、薪金增長停滯、樓價高難以負擔等等(新世界論壇與新青年論壇 2015，智經研究中心 2014，香港政府策略發展委員會 2013，香港立法會秘書處 2015)。Chin (2014) 指出香港青年正面對國族主義與地區融合兩套論述夾擊，逼使香港與珠三角地區融合。香港的青年則以殖民地香港的集體回憶抵抗這些官方論述。Chu (2016) 亦有類似見解，認為從上而下、新自由主義式、中港融合的發展模式，正剝奪青年成功的機會。

台北

2014 年 3 月 18 日晚上，上百名學生衝入立法院，展開歷時 24 日的佔領行動，反對《海峽兩岸服務貿易協議》(服貿協議)。事件持續多天未能解決，一直到立法院院長、執政國民黨的王金平承諾《兩岸議監督條例》完成立法前，不會將服貿協議提上議程後，學生始同意退場，結束佔領(詳情見 Ho 2015)。此次大型抗議稱為「太陽花學運」。

太陽花學運並非千禧年後首次學生運動。2008 年中國大陸官員陳雲林訪台時，示威者被警察拘捕及粗暴對待，觸發反政府、捍衛人權的「野草莓運動」。

太陽花學運前，台灣青年的困難狀況已經引起關注：薪金微薄、向上流動機會少、高等教育普及令大學生工資受壓、自置住屋越見困難、台灣經濟轉型令職位流失，簡單來說，社會不平等正在加劇(朱敬一、康廷嶽 2015，胡勝正 2015，林宗弘 2015，中華民國勞動部 2015)。

廣州

廣州除了 2010 年的保衛廣州話運動，並未見大型社會運動。但是，廣州青年面對的社會經濟困境，與香港和台北相比也不遑多讓。

早有研究顯示，中國的高等教育傾向有利於共產黨員的子女，而不利於無政府機關人際網絡的青年 (Tsang 2013)。Mok (2016) 比較廣州、香港與台北，發現三個城市都是高等教育變得普及，但向上流動並不普及。年輕移民工對生活和工作的滿意程度，比上一代移民工為低 (Cheng & Smyth 2014, To & Tam 2014)。

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東京

日本的社運自 1960 年代後沉寂多時，2015 年爆發新一輪學生社會運動，令不少人感到意外。安倍政府試圖重新解釋日本憲法第九條及推行安保法案，引起了名為「自由民主主義學生緊急行動」(Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy, SEALDs) 學生反對。SEALDs 成功發起了多場大型示威，而且成功令公眾視學生運動為「正常」，避免如 1960 年代學生運動般被標籤為「激進」(O'Day 2015)。(關於 SEALDs 的詳情見 Slater, O'Day, Uno et al 2015)。可是，在日本首相安倍晉三的自由民主黨成功贏得 2016 年 7 月的上議院選舉後，SEALD 在 8 月 15 日正式解散。

SEALDs 的運動被認為是建立在反核運動之上。2011 年 3 月 11 日的大地震及海嘯令福島核電廠的反應堆熔化，核災難觸發反核浪潮。2013 年底有參與學生組成 SASPL (Students Against the Secret Protection Law, 反對秘密保護法學生有志會)，並於 2014 年底轉型成 SEALDs。(關於 2013 年前一些日本的小型社會運動，見 Cassegård 2014。)

自從經濟泡沫爆破，日本的 1990 年代被視稱「迷失的十年」，甚至連同 2000 年代稱為「迷失的二十年」。在這經濟狀況下的青年也被視為「迷失的一代」。社會流動性低，社會階級結構被形容為成 M 字型，中產階級正在消失 (大前研一 2006)。樓價高企亦令青年的人生各個階段延後，例如長期與父母同住、延遲組織家庭和自置居所 (Izuhara 2015)。



Background of the Topic

In recent years, social movements led by young people have erupted in global cities around the world, for example: Occupy Wall Street started in New York in 2011, which was subsequently spread to London and other cities; During the 2014 Sunflower Movement in Taipei student protesters occupied the Legislative Yuan; Macao's youth leaders, in May 2014, initiated their protests against a bill offering massive benefits to retired officials; September 2014 in Hong Kong people's quest for "real universal suffrage" has been developed into the Umbrella Movement; and in 2015, Japanese students in Tokyo led protests against reinterpretation of their Constitution and security bills.

Although the issues that triggered the social movements were quite different, it is clear that young people are becoming more politically active around the globe. Interestingly, many of these youth-led social movements happened against the backdrop of global cities. Could we better understand the dynamics of youth-led social movements within the context of global cities?

In her classical studies on global city, Sassen (2001) has pointed out that these cities are becoming socially polarised due to economic restructuring. In global cities, manufacturing jobs are being replaced by low paid, often part-time, service sector jobs and high paid professional jobs are on a decreasing trend. Sassen's research showed that polarization not only happened across social class, but it also occurred across geographic, gender and ethnical fault lines. Are the young people of global cities dissatisfied with the socio-economic environment in their home cities? Are they the major victims in the process of social polarisation? Are the socio-economic structures of global cities the underlying cause of the youth-led social movements? Apart from socio-economic factors, are there any other factors that drive young people in global cities to participate in social movements? We are going to examine these important questions based on the four case studies of Asian global cities in this Roundtable.

The following paragraphs are a summary of the social movements and situation of the youth in Hong Kong, Taipei, Guangzhou and Tokyo.

Hong Kong

The Umbrella Movement demanding "real universal suffrage" happened in late September 2014. It broke out against the backdrop of pepper-spraying and tear gas firing by riot police, with protesters using umbrellas as their shields. The original idea of Occupy Central had

been developed into a leaderless Umbrella Movement and it sustained until mid-December 2014, but the government refused to make any concession. Prominent figures of the movement were mainly from the Hong Kong Federation of Students (undergraduate students) and Scholarism (secondary school students). (See Yuen 2015 for more details)

Indeed, social movements led by young people and students have been increasingly common in recent years, such as the preservation of the Star Ferry Pier in 2006 and the Queen's Pier in 2007. In 2009 and 2010, a similar group of youth leaders, labelled as "Post-80s" by the media, led a massive protest against the construction of the Express Rail Link between Hong Kong and Guangzhou. In 2011 and 2012, Scholarism, formed by "Post-90s" secondary school students, led the opposition movement against the implementation of national education.

In recent years, the government and think tanks have published a number of reports highlighting various problems facing the youth such as the decline of upward mobility, slow growth of income level, unaffordable and high property prices (NCF & NYF 2015, BFRC 2014; CSD 2013; Legco Secretariat 2015). Chin (2014) has argued that the youth in Hong Kong are facing tensions from both nationalist and regional narratives, forcing the integration of Hong Kong with the Pearl River Delta region. In response, the youth has drawn on collective memory of Hong Kong's history and culture so as to counter the official narrative. Chu (2016) similarly argued the top-down, neoliberal, integrationist approach of development has stripped the youth of their chance of success.

Taipei

On 18 March 2014, hundreds of students stormed Taiwan's Legislative Yuan and occupied it for 24 days protesting against the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA). Students finally agreed to withdraw after the Legislative Yuan speaker, Wang Jin-pyng of the ruling Kuomintang, promised to pass the bill on Cross-strait Agreement Supervision (CSAS), before CSSTA would be put back on the agenda (See Ho 2015 for more details).

That was not the first large-scale protest led by students since the new millennium. The 2008 Wild Strawberries Movement happened against the backdrop of suppression of protesters by the police during the visit of Mainland China official Chen Yunlin.

Before the outbreak of the student movements, the difficult situations facing the young people have already attracted public concerns: Low wage; lack of upward mobility; unaffordable housing; economic restructuring and loss of job opportunities – social inequality is becoming obvious (Chu & Kang 2015, Hu 2015, Lin 2015, Ministry of Labour 2015).

Guangzhou

Guangzhou did not experience tidal waves of social movements in recent years, except for the Defending Cantonese Movement happened in 2010. However, young people in Guangzhou do face similar, if not worse, situations to their counterparts in Hong Kong and Taipei.

Research indicated that higher education in China mainly benefits the sons and daughters of cadres of the Chinese Communist Party but not those young people with few political connections (Tsang 2013). Mok (2016) argued that while more young people in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Taipei have the chance of receiving higher education, upward mobility has become more and more difficult. Young migrant workers are less satisfied with their life and their jobs, compared to the older generation (Cheng & Smyth 2014, To & Tam 2014).

Tokyo

The new wave of student movement against the State Secrecy Acts, the “reinterpretation” of Article 9 of the Constitutions and the Security Bills in 2015, has come as a surprise to many people. SEALDs (Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy) was not only successful in organising large scale demonstrations, but they also succeeded in framing student movements as something “common” instead of “radical” student movements of 1960s (O’Day 2015). (See more about SEALDs in Slater, O’Day, Uno et al 2015). SEALDs was disbanded on 15 August 2016, after Prime Minister Abe’s Liberal Democratic Party won the upper house election in July.

The SEALDs movement has been built upon the anti-nuclear movements happened after the 2011 Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster (Slater, O’Day, Uno et al 2015). SASPL (Students Against the Secret Protection Law), before reforming into SEALDs, was established in late 2013. (For student movements happened before 2013, see Cassegård (2014)).

Since the bursting of the economic bubble, the 1990s and even the 2000s of Japan have been dubbed as “the lost decade(s)”. Under the sluggish economy, young people who grew up during this period of time are also considered as the “lost generation”. Social mobility is low and social structure is famously described as “M-shaped” with the decline of the middle class (Kenichi 2006). Unaffordable housing has also delayed life events such as leaving parent’s home, forming family and home ownership (Izuhara 2015).

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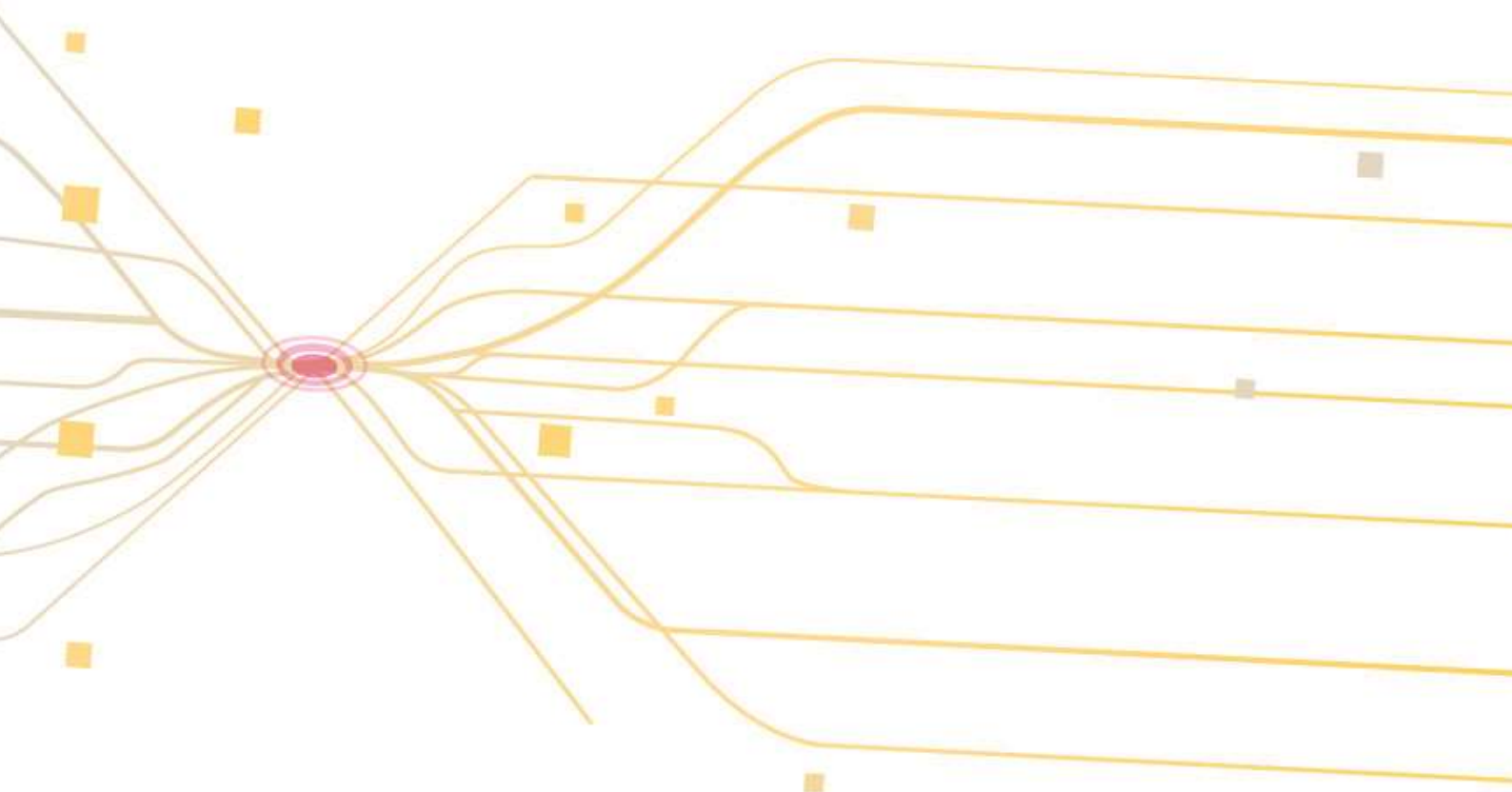
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論文摘要

Abstracts of Papers



全球政經脈絡下的香港青年狀況

趙永佳教授(香港中文大學社會學系教授)

本文會從三方面探討全球政經脈絡下的香港青年狀況。第一，全球高等教育「擴招」之下，大量青年人晉升至專上教育系統。這令到他們的生命歷程起了很大變化，如延長了所謂「青少年期」，推遲了就業、婚姻與生育等成長階段，亦改變了他們對生涯規劃的期望與要求。第二，隨著經濟全球化與結構轉型，再加上高等教育膨脹，大量擁有大專學歷的青年人進入勞動市場，造成資歷通脹情況而回報下降，青年人在勞動市場處境因此有惡化趨勢。第三，青年社會政治參與在二十世紀末的低潮期之後，在世界各地到了廿一世紀都有升溫趨勢，反全球化與反專制成了青年運動的標的。在香港在中港矛盾與內部政治結構制約之下，促成了本土反專制的民主運動，但也衍生了民粹式的「港獨」思潮，形成了本港青年社會政治參與的獨特風景。

The Youth Condition in Hong Kong under Global Context

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This paper will discuss the situation of the young people under a global context from three angles. First, globally we have witnessed the expansion of higher education. As a result, many young people have "progressed" to the higher education system that in turn leads to many changes in their life cycles, such as the prolonged adolescence, the delay in markers of maturity as employment and marriage, and also transformed their expectations on career and life development. Second, following economic globalization and structural transformations of the economy, as well as the expansion of higher education, a large number of degree-holding youth have entered the labour market, resulting in credential inflation and decrease in return, and also the deterioration of the terms of employment of young people. Third, after a period of low tide in youth social and political participation in the late 20th Century, in the new century there are signs of heating up. Anti-globalization and anti-authoritarianism have become the hallmark of youth movements all over the world. Hong Kong's unique Mainland-Hong Kong contradictions and internal political constraints have given rise to our localist anti-authoritarian movement in quest of democracy, but also spinned off a populist pro-independence movement.

台灣的世代政治：有關青年的迷思與現實，1995-2015

林宗弘博士(台灣中央研究院社會學研究所副研究員)

自民主化以來，台灣的年輕世代是否由於理性或情感因素，更為支持台獨、反對統一、或始終支持民進黨？過去的研究由於數據與方法上的困難，無法完整地解釋台灣世代政治的變化。本文採用了交叉分類隨機效應模型 (Cross-Classified Random Effects Model，簡稱為 CCREM) 來探討過去二十年間台灣社會變遷調查 (Taiwan Social Change Survey，簡稱為 TSCS) 數據裡所呈現的世代政治分歧。大致發現，(1)就所得(每月收入的新台幣對數)而言年輕群體收入較少，但無法證實青年世代所得偏低影響其身分認同、統獨偏好與投票行為；(2)就台獨/統一的傾向或台灣認同而言，1970 年代後的出生世代確實較高的台灣人認同且較支持台獨；(3)就民主價值而言，無論任何時期的樣本裡，年輕群體都比較支持民主價值；(4)就最後投票給泛綠陣營的傾向而言，所得對投票的世代差異影響有限，國族或本土認同則影響最大，民主價值居中而產生部分的中介效應。以時期效應來看，本土認同與民主價值的發展隨時間遞增，然而 2010 年是最支持獨立與最反對統一、青年所得也最低的時期，然而綠營得票亦偏低。本文也發現網際網路對青年政治意見的影響主要是提高了民主價值而非本土認同。

Generational Politics in Taiwan: Myth and Truth about Young Adult, 1995-2015

Dr. Lin Thung-hong

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Did younger generation support Taiwan independence more than re-united, and therefore vote the pan-green camp for economic or physiological dissatisfaction in Taiwan? Earlier studies imply the argument but their empirical results are biased by some methodological flaws. In this study I introduced the Cross-Classified Random Effects Model (CCREM) to estimate the economic return, political attitudes and identity politics among different cohorts. The statistical results are more complex than the simplified argument of the earlier studies. According to the results, it is difficult to argue that economic inequality is associated with the political attitudes of youth. In contrast, national identity and democratic value may be the most important determinants of the generational cleavage of voting behavior in Taiwan. In addition, evidences show that the participation of Internet activities is improving the democratic value rather than stimulating the local identity of youth.

全球化與區域化的進程中廣州青年的處境與策略

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在全球化和區域化的大背景下，具有不同功能角色的城市，其經濟特徵與發展空間不同。身處其中的青年其處境與適應策略也不同。對廣州青年來說，當前生存的壓力主要來自國家內部，來自新舊移民之間，這種特徵使青年難以成為一個邊界清晰的意識形態群體。並且，雖然生存壓力越來越大，但廣州青年似乎依然傾向樂觀，感覺憑藉個人努力仍然有改善工作生活狀態、即實現向上社會流動的可能性。廣州青年的經驗從一個角度反映出，國家制度和地方政府對區域範圍內的社會群體和產業結構，仍然發揮著及其重要的型構作用，進而對青年群體的構成和認同的形成也產生重要影響。

Environment Change and Strategy Modification of Guangzhou Youth in the Globalization and Regionalization Context

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As Guangzhou developed to a gateway city of South China which connects Hong Kong global city and mainland cities, the environment of Guangzhou Youth has changed. They have to adapt to the fierce competition and the changing and unstable demand of labor market. Fortunately, Guangzhou Youth seem to have optimistic expectation for upward social mobility so that they have kept modifying their strategy for coping with their situation. The experience of Guangzhou Youth reflects that, more or less, the governance and policies of the state and local government are still critical in reconstructing the local social group and industries, as well as to the environment and identity of youth under globalization and regionalization.

日本東京的新型青年社會運動:從東亞角度分析

倉田徹博士 (東京立教大學法學部副教授)

2011 年 3 月，日本東北發生大地震，引起福島核電站的極大事故，造成了東日本廣大範圍的嚴重污染。此事催生了東京國會議事堂前的大規模反核示威活動，標誌了沉寂幾十年的日本街頭政治運動的復興。2015 年夏天，有違憲之嫌的安保法通過在即，主要成員來自東京各大學的學生組織「SEALDs」，發動了成千上萬的民眾，每週末於東京國會議事堂前集會，要求政府撤回法案。

日本的新型青年社會運動發生在世界（佔領華爾街、茉莉花革命等）以及東亞（太陽花運動、雨傘運動等）街頭政治活躍的年代，但其主題完全具備日本本身的獨特性。同時，與台灣太陽花運動不同，日本的青年社會運動並未能成功迫使政府接受其要求。本文將通過比較研究，試圖探討日本青年社會運動的特徵。

Exploring Japan Tokyo's New Youth Social Movements: An East Asian Perspective

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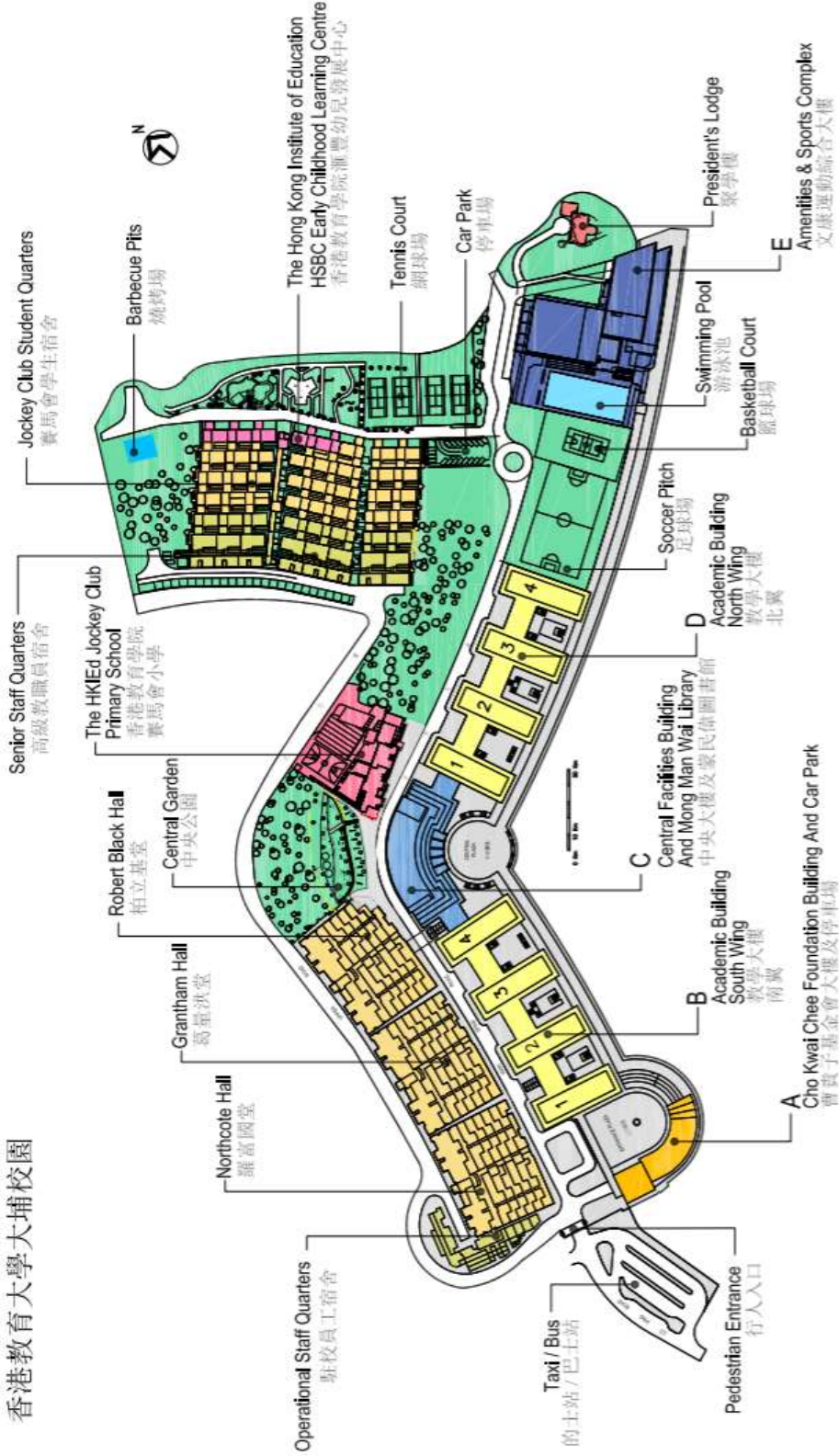
On March 2011, a huge earthquake hit eastern part of Japan and caused serious accident of Fukushima nuclear plant. Thousands of Japanese citizens gathered in front of the National Diet building in Tokyo to join an anti-nuclear movement, which heralded the revival of Japan's street politics after decades of silence. In summer 2015 when national security bills, which was claimed to be unconstitutional by many scholars, were under discussion, a student organization called SEALDs, which was mainly comprised of students from universities located in Tokyo, organized protests every weekend near the National Diet successfully attracting tens of thousands participants to join them in demanding the government to shelve the bills.

Japan's New Youth Social Movements occurred in a time when street politics are very active worldwide (Occupy Wall Street, Jasmine revolution etc.) and in East Asia (Sunflower movement in Taiwan and Umbrella movement in Hong Kong), but its theme are totally about Japan's specific issues. And different from Taiwan, Japan's youth movements failed to force the government to accept their demands. This study aims at exploring the factors that structure the characteristics of Japan's youth social movements through comparative study.



校園地圖 Campus Map

The Education University of Hong Kong Tai Po Campus 香港教育大學大埔校園








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全球城市圓桌會議 **Global City Roundtable**

全球政經脈絡下的青年狀況

The Situation of Youth in Global Contexts