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城市贫困人口的群体认同与社会融合

——对北京市丰台区城市贫困人口的调查

何汇江 著

新华出版社

中原工学院学术专著出版基金资助

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图书在版编目(C I P)数据

城市贫困人口群体认同与社会融合/ 何汇江著. —北京:
新华出版社, 2005. 12

ISBN 7-5011-7361-3

I. 城... II. 何... III. ①城市—贫困—问题—研究—中国
②城市—人口—问题—研究—中国
IV. F124.7②C924.24

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2005) 第 156505 号

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何汇江 著

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新华出版社出版发行

(北京石景山区京原路 8 号 邮编:100043)

新华出版社网址:<http://www.xhcbbs.126.com>

中国新闻书店:(010)63072012

新华书店经销

新华出版社激光照排中心照排

山东鸿杰印务有限公司印刷

*

850 毫米×1168 毫米 32 开本 8.5 印张 200 千字

2005 年 12 月第一版 2005 年 12 月第一次印刷

ISBN 7-5011-7361-3 定价:22.00 元

内容摘要

本研究是对城市贫困人口的认同研究,这是城市贫困问题研究的一个方面,但由于认同主要是一个社会心理学的概念,所以本研究主要侧重从心理与文化的角度研究城市贫困问题。对城市贫困人口的认同研究主要分为三个方面:对贫困群体的认同、对社区的认同和对未来归属的认同。通过对这三个方面认同的分析来把握他们与社会融合的状况,进而为城市反贫困提出对策建议。研究的重点在于分析城市贫困人口的认同,并从中概括出贫困人口所具有的群体特征。研究的内容共分为六章。

第一章是导论部分。本章内容中,主要论述了为什么要选择城市贫困问题作为研究的课题和使用什么研究方法进行研究的问题。这一章首先概述了城市贫困概念的发展和城市贫困的类型,接着是对已往有关城市贫困问题的研究综述,在此基础上分析了城市贫困人口认同研究的理论意义和现实意义。这一章还对本研究所使用的方法进行了说明。研究主要运用文献分析法和实地调查法,实地调查法是主要的研究方法。实地调查法采取抽样调查的方式,通过向城市贫困人口发放问卷的形式进行调查。调查对象总体为北京市丰台区所有享受城市居民最低生活保障的人口。这一章的最后对调查样本的基本特征进行了介绍。被调查的城市贫困人口以下岗、失业人员为主体,他们具有年龄偏大、文化程度偏低、职业技能偏差等特点。

第二章提出问题并建立研究的假设。研究从认同概念出发,指出在社会变迁的过程中,社会上处于劣势地位的少数人群体为了摆脱社会地位低下的影响,都存在着对主流社会的认同问题。

认同主流社会，有助于他们更好地融入主流社会。因此，我国在社会变迁过程中所产生的城市贫困人口也存在认同与融合的问题。认同是人们对自我以及与他人关系的定位，在某种意义上，认同是对自我在社会中的某种地位、形象和角色以及与他人关系的性质的接受程度。依据不同的标准，可以将认同分为不同的类型。我们的研究假设是城市贫困人口大多认同贫困群体，具有较强的贫困群体归属感；城市贫困人口对他们所生活的社区认同程度较低，具有与社区分离的倾向；城市贫困人口对他们未来归属的认同表现出模糊的倾向，缺乏明确的脱贫归属取向。本研究就是要通过抽样调查的资料来验证这些假设，进而得出研究的结论。

第三章是城市贫困人口对贫困群体认同的分析。对贫困群体的认同是指他们的贫困群体归属感。贫困群体尽管不是一种制度上的身份实体，但它是一种社会标签，一种社会地位的标志。本章首先了解城市贫困人口对社会贫富分化的认识，他们大多认为社会已经分化出了贫困群体和富裕群体。其次在了解被调查者是否属于贫困群体时，他们中的多数人认为自己属于贫困群体，说明这些人具有贫困群体归属感。研究表明，他们对贫困群体的认同基本不受性别、年龄、文化程度和家庭人数这些自变量的影响，从而使贫困人口作为一个群体在这些自变量方面表现出了很强的一致性。城市贫困人口在个人贫困归因的认同上，把失业或下岗放在了首位；在归因倾向上，他们大多把贫困归因于社会而不是个人。城市贫困人口在对城市中外来民工的社会分类中，他们大多不把外来民工看作是城市贫困群体的成员。本章还对城市贫困人口的贫困群体认同程度进行了分析。由于认同贫困群体主要表现在对贫困群体特征的态度上，我们将贫困群体的特征概括为八个方面的指标，再通过因子分析的方法对这八个指标进行因子分析，抽取了一个因子，我们把这个因子命名为“认同度”，即它反映了城市贫困人口对贫困群体的认同程度。把因子在观测量上的因子得分换算成从 0 到 100 之间的数值，计算出因子得分的平

均值,这个数值超过了因子得分的中位数 50,表明城市贫困人口对贫困群体的认同程度较强。另外,在分析哪些因素影响城市贫困人口的贫困群体认同程度上,我们把因子得分作为因变量,把性别、年龄、文化程度、职业状况、身体状况和家庭人数作为自变量,通过多元线性回归的方法研究它们之间的关系。结果表明,这些自变量对因变量的影响也很小。

第四章是城市贫困人口对社区认同的分析。社区是社会的一个缩影。城市贫困人口生活在社区中,他们与社区的关系,在一定程度上反映了他们与社会融合的状况。本章首先从人际关系方面研究了城市贫困人口的社区认同。从城市贫困人口与他们的亲戚、邻居、朋友的关系来看,他们大多对亲戚、邻居关系比较满意,而且他们大多与亲戚、邻居、朋友有着较多的交往关系。但有着这些交往关系并不一定表明他们对社区的认同程度较高。从另一个角度看,他们中的大多数人更倾向于同社会经济地位相似的人交往,而这种交往是不利于他们的社区融合的。因此,从人际关系的角度看,他们虽有一些较亲密的人际关系,但交往对象缺乏异质性,这种交往很大程度上属于群体内交往,并不一定能增加他们的社区认同与社会融合。本章还从社会支持方面研究了城市贫困人口的社区认同。研究表明,当他们在生活中遇到困难时,最有可能给予他们经济支持和生活支持的,是他们的亲戚。城市贫困人口的就业支持研究表明,他们最有可能找到工作的途径是通过亲朋好友的介绍。不论是经济支持、生活支持,还是就业支持,他们都把亲戚放在了首位,这表明他们更倾向于从群体内部的非正式社会支持网络中获得社会支持。这一结果说明城市贫困人口对社区的认同程度并不高,他们的社区融合程度也不高。

第五章是城市贫困人口对未来脱贫归属认同的分析。这是一个贫困是否会长期的、持续性的,贫困是否会传递给他们的下一代的问题。本章首先分析了城市贫困人口的脱贫认同,结果表明大多数被调查者对未来能否脱贫说不清,持一种模糊的认同。

把城市贫困人口的性别、年龄、文化程度、职业状况、身体状况和家庭人数作为自变量,分析这些自变量对他们未来脱贫认同的影响,结果表明,只有文化程度有一定的影响,其他自变量对因变量几乎没有什么影响,这同时也表明了城市贫困人口作为一个群体的一致性。在对依靠谁可以让他们脱贫的问题上,他们大多数人的选择是依靠政府;在对怎样才算脱贫的标准上,他们大多数人的选择是获得就业机会;他们最希望政府为他们解决的困难也是提供就业机会。本章接着分析了城市贫困人口对贫困生活的适应。他们适应贫困生活的方式主要是尽量节省生活费用,减少消费。他们也试图通过就业而增加收入,但是他们找不到就业的机会。本章最后分析了城市贫困人口对解决贫富分化问题的看法,他们在政府能否解决这一问题上,没有表现出明显的肯定态度。

第六章是结论与建议部分。本章先从城市贫困人口认同的角度分析了城市贫困人口与社会融合的状况。通过对抽样调查资料的分析,证实了我们所提出的研究假设。从这一结果来看,由于他们认同贫困群体而非贫困群体划清了界线并相应地拉开了他们与社会的距离;较低的社区认同不利于他们的社会融合;而对未来缺乏明确的脱贫归属认同更是表明他们难以克服与非贫困群体的差距,实现与社会的融合。本章紧接着进一步从文化的角度分析了城市贫困人口与社会融合的状况。在分析这个问题之前还先对贫困研究的结构取向的解释和文化取向的解释进行了理论上的归纳。从文化的角度看,当城市贫困问题成为一个长期性的问题、城市贫困人口相对固定化以后,贫困群体就会产生出群体亚文化。群体亚文化产生以后,由于文化之间的融合更加困难,因而这时的贫困群体也更难实现与社会的融合。本章最后提出了城市反贫困的对策建议。从认同与融合的角度看,城市反贫困的措施要有利于城市贫困人口的社会融合。反贫困的具体对策措施包括:其一,增加城市贫困人口在反贫困行动中的参与程度;其二,加强社区建设使城市贫困人口更多地融入到社会生活中来;

其三，建立更加积极的劳动政策为他们创造更多的就业机会；其四，在非就业的条件下通过建立公民服务制度增加他们的社会融合。其五，通过加强亲属群体的作用使反贫困的救助措施更体现以人为本的原则。当然，从根本上变革贫富分化的社会结构，才是最根本的解决办法。

Abstract

This paper is identity research of the poverty population of city, which is a side of poverty research. Because identity is a Kind of concept of social psychology this paper will discuss the poverty of city from the point of psychology and culture mainly, Identity research of the poverty population of city may be divided into three sides: identity of poverty group, identity of community and identity of future .By analyzing the above three identities the article will pose proposals for urban anti-poverty. The research's emphasis lies in analyzing identity of the poverty population of city and summarizing the characteristic of poverty population. This paper covers six chapters.

The chapter one is introduction. This chapter discussed mainly the reason why the poverty of city as a problem was chosen and methods used to research this problem. Firstly, this chapter recounts the development of the poverty of city concept and the type of the poverty of city. Secondly the chapter summarizes all the researches of the poverty of city formerly. This chapter analyzes the theoretical and realistic significance of identity research of the poverty population of city. Besides this chapter explains the research's method. This research mainly use literature analyst and investigation. The latter is a chief one, which uses sampling survey method., sending off questionnaire to the poverty population. The objects are people who enjoy the minimum living guarantee. Lastly the chapter introduced

the basic character of survey sample. They are mainly some laid-off workers, their education level is low, the professional skill is inferior, etc.

The chapter two poses questions and establishes research hypothesis. The research begins at the identity concept. In the social change a few groups with inferior social position have the ideal of identity of main trend of society so that they can shake off the effect of the inferior position. Identity of societies main trend may help them enter into the main society. Therefore, the poverty population of city from the society development also identifies social integration. Identity is the relation between ones and others. On some sense identity is a kind of acceptable ability about ones social position and relation with others. By different standards identity may be divided into the different types. The hypothesis is that the paper thinks most of the poverty population of city identify poverty group having strong poverty group belonging sense. The level identity of their community is very low having trends to leave their community. Their identity of future presents an uncertain pattern without clear target to shake off poverty. This research will analyze the data from sampling survey to test and verify the above hypothesis and arrive at conclusions.

The chapter three is the poverty population's analysis of identity of poverty group. Identity of poverty group is their belonging sense to poverty group. Though poverty group is not a kind of identity entity it is a kind of social sign, the symbol of the social position. Firstly this chapter points out the poverty population's opinion about social differentiation between poverty and prosperity. Most of them think that society has been divided into poverty group and prosperity group. Most of people who are surveyed think they belong to poverty group, which indicated those people have the belonging sense of poverty

group. Their identity of poverty group don't be affected by the factors such as education, profession, age, sex, the number of family, etc. So the poverty group shows continuity on those independent variables aspect. The poverty population think that unemployment is the first poverty reason.. About the poverty's reason of trendy most of them put the blame on the society not individual; About the social classification of labors from other places, most of the poverty population of city don't see them as the member of the poverty group. This chapter also analyzes the poverty population's identity degree of the poverty group. Because identity of the poverty group identify with the attitude of the poverty group's characters the paper summarizes characters of the poverty group into indexes covering eight aspects which were analyzed using factor analysis method. Then one index was chosen from eight ones., named as identity degree, which shows the poverty population's identity degree of the poverty group. Index score, the observing value, was changed into the numerical value from 1 to 100, calculating the mean of index score, if the mean exceeds index score's middle value, 50, the identity degree will be strong .In addition this chapter analyzes factors which affect the poverty population's identity degree of the poverty group . Index score was taken as dependant variable: Sex, age education, profession, health and family were seen as independent variable. Research result shows that the effect of independent variable to dependant variable is very little.

The chapter four is the poverty population's analysis about identity of community. Community is the miniature of society .The poverty population of city lived in the community. Their relation with community in some sense shows their *integrating situation with* society. This chapter firstly studied the poverty population's

community identity in the field of relations among people. Seeing the poverty population's relation with their relative, neighbor and friends, most of them is very satisfied with the relation with relative and neighbor. Most of them have much association with their relative, neighbor, friend. But such association does not necessarily mean their identity degree of community is high. In addition most of them tend to associate with those people whose social position is similar with theirs. Such friendship is harm to their community integration. This chapter also studies the poverty population's identity of community in the field of social support. Studies show that their relative can give them the most support including economy and living when they meet with difficulty in the lives. Study of the poverty population's employment support shows that the way by which they get job is their relative and friend's introduction. Economy support, living support and employment support, they all place relative the first one. This shows also they more tend to get social support from informal social support within the poverty group. This result indicates the city population's identity level of community is not high.

The chapter five is the poverty population's analysis about identity of future. This is one problem whether the poverty is permanent, continuons and whether the poverty was be passed to next generation. Firstly this chapter analyzes the poverty population's identity of shaking off poverty. The survey shows that most of objects investigated have a kind of vague opinion about shaking off poverty. Taking sex, age, education, profession, health and the number of family as independent variable, which don't affect dependent variable. In the mean time the poverty population's communality as a group was studied. Who can help them shake off poverty? Most of them aim at government; About the standard of shaking off poverty most of

them think it is obtaining employment chances. They hope government can settle difficulties for them and provide more employment chances for them. Then this chapter analyzes how the poverty population adapt to poor life. Their answer was to reducing the living expenses. They also try to raise income by employment but they can't find employment opportunity .At last the poverty population's opinion about solving social differentiation between poverty and prosperity was surveyed whether government can solve this problem they don't show clear attitude.

The chapter six is the part of conclusion and recommend. This chapter begins at analyzing the integrating situation of the poverty population with society in the field of the poverty population's identity. Analyzing sample data the hypothesis was verified. Because they identify the poverty group different from non-poverty group their distance with society become large. Low identity of community is not beneficial to the social integration; Vague identity of future shaking off poverty indicates that they are very difficult to patch up the gap with the non-poverty group. Then this chapter analyzes the integrating situation of the poverty population of city and society in the field of culture. Before this the article sums up theoretically poverty research's structural and cultural perspectives. Concerning with culture when the poverty become a large problem in a long time and the poverty population of city become relative steady the poverty group will produce the group culture. After this, Because the integration among cultures is more difficult the poverty group will also be more difficult to realize the social integration. At last the paper poses several proposals about anti-poverty. Seeing from the field of the identity and integration, methods of anti-poverty must be beneficial to the social integration of the poverty population of city.

Methods of antipoverty included: First, Stimulate the poverty population of city to participate anti-poverty action. Second, Strengthen the construction of community and make the poverty population of city enter into social lives. Third, Establish more active labor policy to provide more employment opportunity for the poverty population of city. Fourth, Under the non-employment condition, establish the system of citizen service to strengthen establish their social integration. Fifth, By improving the relative group's function anti-poverty methods will more reflect the principle that man is the foundation .Of course, the essential solving measure is to change the social structure of poverty and prosperity differentiation.

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