

中國近代沿海城市
經濟研究文獻叢刊

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中國現代經濟出版社

中國近代沿海城市 經濟研究文獻叢刊

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中國時代經濟出版社

《中國近代沿海城市經濟研究文獻叢刊》編委會編



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STANDARD OF LIVING OF SHANGHAI
LABORERS

上海市工人生活程度

上海市政府社會局
BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS
THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF GREATER SHANGHAI

民國二十三年

1934

序

本書出版，愆期甚久。一二八之變，對於工作進行，尤受阻折。事平之後，又急于着手罷工糾紛等專刊的編製，人手裁減，應付爲難，一再擱置，遂迄於今。近二三年來，物價的升降，雇傭的狀況，在在都顯示急遽的變化，其影響於工人生活，當亦甚切。本書所引證的事實，現在看來，容或不無變動。可是，倘以本局逐月發表的工人生活費指數和零售物價表，互爲參證，得其變易之序，則本書當仍不失爲一準確而詳盡的研究。上海工人生活的亟應改善，無待贅言，可是有幾點不容忽置的，不得不在這裏重申一下：工人家庭，平均說來，年年虧損，故不惜重利舉債，備受剝削壓制之苦。近年以還，工商凋敝，百業衰微，工人生活的艱難，自必更深一層，入不敷出，捉襟見肘，結果不得不出於舉債彌補之一途，終且備受荼毒，陷於不拔之境，此不可不爲深思者一。工人住屋，湫隘擁擠，有礙衛生，而屋租却又甚高。近雖物價低落，而房租迄未下降，將使工人階級無以負此重任，而愈趨於擁擠湫隘之境，此不可不爲深思者又一。本市工人生活程度的調查，前任局長潘公展氏樹其基，復得現任局長吳醒亞氏之努力，幸底於成。又承天津南開大學經濟學院及上海國定稅則委員會，以其過去的經歷，資爲借鑑，深爲感謝。而工人家庭以及零售商號，熱忱協助，供給材料，尤不可沒。參與調查記賬者，王仲嗣余福壽余素蓮姜瑞賢楊子江董政張邦延張葆鈞戴鴻仁朱臨貴周元龍陳浩治陳祖蔭楊仁喜趙和生黃昌煊尚立敏張仲商陸根大錢愛荃；審查者，張公穆沈志興；計算者，朱保錫王善寶鄒君揚王佐芳朱家禎沈學新楊兆謙周詠白吳頌明吳光漢；編製初稿者，吳知；逐譯英文者，費昌華；校對文字者，丁同力周世述；覆核數字者，陳善林諸君。又本編食物的營養素和發熱量一章，承戴文興君譯成英文，尤爲感謝，併誌於此。

民國二十三年九月

蔡正雅

FOREWORD

The present report is behind the schedule of its publication. The Shanghai War in January 1932 had upset our system of work, and during the subsequent years we were engaged with our reduced staff in the preparation of several studies on strikes and lockouts, on industrial disputes, and on other subjects. It is indeed regretful that this piece of work has to wait for so long a period ere it is finally presented to the public in published form. The period that elapsed has been one of vivid changes in price level, in conditions of employment, and perhaps in every aspect that bears significant relationship with the living standard of laborers. What is treated in the present study would therefore appear in certain respects not quite in keeping with current situations. But, while reference is made to our monthly issue of index numbers of cost of living and of retail prices, with allowance for all the fluctuations, this study still remains an accurate and interesting analysis of the ways and status under which laborers in Shanghai have been and are living.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize here upon the dark side of the living conditions of laborers in this city. But there are certain points that demand even more earnest attention now than ever. The average working families have been facing a deficit when balance being taken of their income and expenditure, and most of them are victims of ruthless money-lenders. During the current years with business depression at its full sway and with business failure occurring frequently, the working class is the more so in shortage of means and is anxious to work out a solution to tide over their difficulties, if they can. Should we suffer to see them running into the traps set by the merciless money-lenders and burying themselves over head and ears in debts? Housing condition in this city is both insanitary and overcrowding, and house rent has been pretty highly appraised. With the general price level at a downward trend, house rent is apparently not in keeping with the decline. The only consequence that could follow would be more overcrowding and more unhealthy living quarters for the working class. A solution to the housing problem, therefore, awaits our primary attention.

The investigation started when Mr. Y. Y. Phen was Commissioner of the Bureau and the work continued without interruption under the present Commissioner, Mr. S. Y. Wu. In the course of our study, we have availed ourselves of the experience of the Nankai Institute of Economics, Nankai University, Tientsen, and the National Tariff Commission, Shanghai. Our obligation to all the families and retail stores which collaborated with us to make the investigation possible is gratefully acknowledged. Among the members of our staff who took part in the collection of material and in the compilation of data, mention must be made of Messrs. C. S. Wong, F. S. Yu, T. K. Yang, C. Tong, P. Y. Chang, P. C. Chang, H. J. Tai, L. K. Chu, Y. L. Chow, H. S. Chen, T. Y. Chen, J. S. Yang, H. S. Chao, C. Y. Wong, L. M. Shang, C. S. Chang, K. D. Loh, A. C. Chien, Misses S. L. Yu and S. Y. Chiang, who took part in keeping daily record of the budgets; Messrs. K. M. Chang and T. H. Shen, who inspected over the keeping of accounts; and Messrs. P. Y. Chu, S. P. Wong, C. Y. Chow, Y. S. Shen, S. C. Yang, Y. P. Chow, S. M. Wu, Misses K. H. Wu, T. F. Wong and C. H. Chu, who took up the work of calculation. The preparation of the volume is made possible by the painstaking effort of the following among our colleagues: Mr. William C. Wood, who prepared the original manuscript; Mr. C. H. Fei, who rendered the English text; Messrs. D. L. Ting and S. Z. Chow, who were responsible for the proof-reading, and Mr. Z. L. Chen for the checking of figures. Thanks are due to Mr. W. H. Yen, who helped us out with the English version of the Chapter on Nutrition and Caloric Value of Food.

Shanghai, September 1934.

T. Y. Tsha.

上海市工人生活程度

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上海市工人生活程度

一 調查的範圍和方法

引言 研究工人生活狀況的方法，近幾十年來纔見發達。最初用科學方法研究工人生活狀況而著名的，當推法蘭西的羅伯萊(Frédéric Le Play, 1806—1882)。羅氏曾盡其畢身之力，詳細地調查研究歐洲的農礦工廠機械印刷紡織木匠鐵匠等工人。研究的方法，係就每種工人選擇若干家庭，和他們同居八天到一個月不等，去觀察他們家庭經濟和生活的狀況，最後著歐洲之勞動者一書。繼羅氏之後，有英人蒲士(Charles Booth) 倫敦市民及其生活的著述，蒲氏從 1886 年起，開始調查，經十幾年之久，始行竣事。該市東部是按戶調查的，其餘則用揀樣法和估計法。約十年後，英人龍曲黎(B. S. Rowntree) 作約克市(York)的調查，著貧窮都市生活之研究一書。龍氏調查以研究個人最低限度生活消費量為原則，調查項目，以食物為主，衣服住屋等次之，娛樂保險疾病雜費等都沒有列入。在這個時期，生活狀況的調查，還在萌芽時代，羅伯萊蒲士龍曲黎等的著作，不過是私人研究而有重要貢獻的。此後公私機關，紛起研究，調查範圍，日益廣大，編製方法，也日益精密，例如美國在 1890—1891 年，英國在 1904 年，法國在 1905 年，德國在 1907 年，紐西蘭在 1910 年，荷蘭在 1911 年，奧國挪威在 1912 年，就已有生活費或生活程度的調查。較遲的如日本在 1919 年，意國在 1920 年，印度在 1921 年，愛爾蘭俄國在 1922 年，也舉辦了生活程度和生活費的調查。^{註一}至於我國各地生活費的調查，為時更晚，比較著名的有 1926—1927 年北平社會調查所的北平工人生活費調查，1927 年該所又有北平郊外鄉村家庭調查和塘沽工廠工人的調查，1927—1928 年天津南開大學有天津工人生活費調查，和上海調查貨價局的上海紗廠工人生活費調查。1929 年四月至 1930 年三月，上海市社會局又辦了一個一般工人的生活調查。以上國內外各種調查，大多採用「家庭生計調查法」(method of family budget enquiries)，簡稱家計調查法。家庭生計調查的目的有二：(1) 求平均每家消費物品的量和值，去做編製生活費指數時揀樣和加權的張本；(2) 分析收支情形和研究生活程度。假定僅為編製生活費指數之用，

註一 Method of Conducting Family Budget Enquiries, published by International Labour Office, Geneva, 1926, Appendix I.

記賬的時期，不妨短些，每季記賬一個月，也可見到季節上的變化；假定為研究生活程度而調查的，那末最好記賬的時期長些，一年是一個很適當的時期。本編所用的材料，是根據一年來所記的賬簿而編製的。

怎樣選擇記賬家庭 選擇記賬家庭的標準，應得注重所選的家庭，是否可以代表上海市一般工人階級的狀況。但是怎樣去選那些富有代表性的家庭呢？原來無論調查那一項事物，決不能詳盡無遺的。揀樣調查 (sampling investigation) 的意思，就是在全體事物中，採用了若干樣本，做全部的一個縮影——包含着全體中各個要素，並能充分地表現出全體份子的結構和現象。普通應用的揀樣法，有代表揀樣 (representative sampling) 和機會揀樣 (random sampling) 等方法。就本市情形而言，如果採用機會揀樣法，所取的家庭，未必即願意長期記賬，因此依據現有的參考資料，去決定揀樣的標準。民國十七年秋天，上海市公安局舉辦了一次華界戶口清查，居民凡三十萬戶，一百五十萬口，平均每戶人口數為 4.98。^{註一}十七年五月，據社會局工廠調查的結果，本市四十七業工廠人數凡 237,574 人，其中男工佔百分之 33.9，女工佔 58.7，童工佔 7.4。^{註二}女工人數多於男工，這是因為紡織工業，女工有 124,752 人之多，佔女工總數百分之 89，佔三種工人總數的百分之 52。如果剔除規模狹小的十七業工廠，則所查三十個工業的工廠工人，平均每月實際收入男工為 \$20.65，女工 \$13.92，童工 \$9.30；各業主要工人平均每月收入最多的是印刷業男工，計 \$44.75，最少的是棉紡業女工，計 \$13.58。至於廠工業務的分配，以紡織業工人為最多，佔全體百分之 76.8，其次為食物工業的工人，佔 6.7，再次為機器工業化學工業和水電印刷業的工人，均在百分之 5 以上。不過上海工人，除工廠工人之外，還有許多非工廠工人，如交通工人服務工人等等，他們的人數，雖難稽考，但調查家庭的時候，仍不宜疏忽了，所以記賬的家庭，有一部分是這類工人的家庭。

除了上海一般工人的戶口職業和收入等情形之外，對於工人居住的區域，我們也應該明瞭。假定以南京路為中心，那末可以把它劃分為滬東，滬南，滬西，滬北和浦東五區：黃浦江以北北

註一 據民國十七年估計，上海全市人口約二百七十萬人，不過當時公共租界和法租界的人口數，還是民國十五年的統計。在十九年秋，兩租界又先後舉行了一次戶口清查，合計全市居民凡 3,156,141 口，詳細分析，見工部局英文工商經濟週刊十八卷三號。

註二 這個上海工廠工人數是社會局的一個初步調查的結果，在十七年五月開始舉行，計查工廠 1,504 家，見上海特別市工資指數之試圖一書，書內人數為 237,522 人，因為計算的時候，遺漏了 52 人，但是這個調查並不詳盡。據十八年的覆查和估計，上海工廠凡 2,326 家，工人 285,700 人，詳見上海特別市工資和工作時間一書，民國十八年上海商務印書館出版。