

The Changing Faces of Hong Kong

A Graphical Summary of Women's Status, 1991-2011

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About Civic Exchange

Civic Exchange is a Hong Kong-based non-profit public policy think tank that was established in October 2000. It is an independent organisation that has access to policy makers, officials, businesses, media and NGOs—reaching across sectors and borders. Civic Exchange has solid research experience in areas such as air quality, energy, urban planning, climate change, conservation, water, governance, political development, equal opportunities, poverty and gender. For more information about Civic Exchange, visit www.civic-exchange.org.

About The Women's Foundation

The Women's Foundation is a non-profit organisation established in 2004 dedicated to improving the lives of women and girls in Hong Kong through ground-breaking research, impactful and innovative community programmes, and education, media engagement and advocacy. Our three key focus areas are challenging gender stereotypes, increasing the number of women in decision-making and leadership positions, and empowering women in poverty to achieve a better quality of life for themselves and their families. For more information, please visit www.thewomensfoundationhk.org.

About the authors

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Michael E. DeGolyer is a political economist, Professor of Government & International Studies and Director of the Masters in Public Administration Programme at Hong Kong Baptist University. He is Director of the Hong Kong Transition Project, a long term study begun in 1988 of Hong Kong people's transition from colonial subjects to Chinese citizens. He has been President of the Hong Kong Political Science Association, a Hong Kong Country Reports and Country Forecasts Expert Contributor to the Economist Intelligence Unit (1996-2006) and a weekly columnist for The Standard (2000-2008). He has written 12 books or e-books, contributed 75 book chapters or refereed journal articles, 200+ commissioned research reports and research papers and conducted over 120 public opinion surveys, mainly on Hong Kong political development but also including several pioneering surveys on environmental issues.

Foreword and acknowledgments

The issues facing Hong Kong women are numerous and complex. Some of these issues are particular to gender, most relate to pressing social issues - from rising incidents of teen pregnancies to integration challenges faced by the constant tide of New Arrival women from the Mainland to Hong Kong's rapidly ageing population. Resolving these issues requires concerted efforts and collaboration across the public and private sector. At The Women's Foundation, we believe these efforts can only be effective if they are grounded on objective and reliable data and an understanding of the fundamental root causes.

The Women's Foundation has been a leading voice in filling the critical gap in objective and incisive gender research in Hong Kong. In 2006, The Women's Foundation published our ground-breaking study on *The Status of Women and Girls in Hong Kong* to review the status of women in Hong Kong. Building on this study, starting in 2008, we launched an 18-month long stakeholder engagement process comprising focus groups, individual interviews and public symposia to better understand the barriers faced by women and girls.

In 2010, to raise greater awareness of gender issues, we launched a monthly column in *The South China Morning Post* and the *Hong Kong Economic Journal* website. The column features pieces from leading local and international voices on a diverse range of topics relating to women and gender issues in Hong Kong.

Since our first study in 2006, we have seen an improvement in some areas, some not at all, and in some the situation has further deteriorated. Hong Kong's Gini co-efficient has worsened with more people living at the poverty line; Hong Kong's rapidly ageing population (with women significantly outliving men) is straining welfare programmes and housing and health services; while at the other end of the spectrum, the needle has not moved for women in political office or on corporate boards and in senior executive positions. At the time of writing, the new Hong Kong Administration is showing signs that it is serious about tackling these issues which is encouraging. The growing number of CSR-minded businesses which are engaging with and supporting the NGO sector in their work to help the disadvantaged is another optimistic note. We hope our research can help identify challenges and gaps in current social welfare and education policies and programmes to inform and influence strategy and resource allocation by all stakeholders seeking positive change. We also hope our research will be a useful resource for shadow reports submitted by international and local Human Rights watchdogs and other groups as part of the United Nation's next hearing on Hong Kong's compliance with the UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 2014.

Building on our earlier research in 2006 and 2008, The Women's Foundation launched a new series of quantitative and qualitative research studies in 2010, working in collaboration with The Chinese University's Gender Research Centre, the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and Civic Exchange.

This publication is the outcome of our collaboration with Civic Exchange. We are very grateful to Civic Exchange for their excellent work and in particular, to Michael DeGolyer, Yan-yan Yip, Carine Lai, Louisa Mitchell, Yao Yuan, and Tsang Kam-lun. We are also grateful to Christine Loh, former CEO of Civic Exchange and current Under-Secretary for the Environment in the HKSAR government, for sharing her time and expertise in producing this report.

The Women's Foundation would like to thank the many people at Goldman Sachs who so generously gave their time, advice and financial support to this project through *Goldman Sachs Gives*.

In addition, we humbly acknowledge the following individuals who provided us with invaluable counsel, encouragement and expertise: Adele Rossi Brunner, Rachel Cartland, Fanny Cheung, Susanne Choi, Marissa Dean, Christine Fang, Staci Ford, Jackie Kim, Estella Huang Lung, Melissa Petros, Samantha Thompson, Anthony Wong, Anna Wu, and Mike Yao. Many thanks also to The Women's Foundation's Research Associate, Lisa Moore.

In closing, we know that words alone cannot meet the needs of Hong Kong's most vulnerable populations. Our greatest hope is that this research will serve as a catalyst for long-term systemic change by spurring efforts to pursue the changes needed to achieve the full participation of women in Hong Kong society.

Kay McArdle
Board Chair, The Women's Foundation

Su-Mei Thompson
CEO, The Women's Foundation

A note on this series

Civic Exchange's collaboration with The Women's Foundation on this research attempts to track the changing status of women over the past 20 years through looking into historical data. The methodology adopted in this research is ground-breaking—both objective and subjective data are used to provide a fuller picture. Objective data come from official government data, published academic research and grey literature while subjective data come from public opinion survey data collected by Hong Kong Transition Project.

This research has generated a total of three reports: One covering objective data, one covering subjective data, and a user-friendly summary report capturing the essence of the two other reports.

- *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: A Cohort Analysis of Women, 1991-2011*: Civic Exchange engaged Louisa Mitchell, a social policy researcher, to look through statistics published by the HKSAR Government, academic studies, and grey literature. Forming the objective portion of this research, Louisa Mitchell's findings and analysis are compiled into a 240-page report, entitled *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: A Cohort Analysis of Women, 1991-2011*. Her report constructs profiles of typical women of different ages today, including, 15-, 20-, 30-, 40-, and over 60-year-olds. It also highlights the alternative life trajectories of atypical groups of women. Comparisons are made in areas such as education, earnings, marital status, and occupation, between women today and men or between women today and women 20 years ago.

It should be noted that this research had been completed before news broke about HKSAR Government's falsified census data (especially relating to unemployment). The HKSAR Government is, at the time of publishing, still investigating the problem. Readers are recommended to read the relevant data and analysis with this in mind.

- *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: Women in the Community and National Context, 1994-2010*: The subjective portion comes from analysis of the public opinion survey data collected by the Hong Kong Transition Project. Civic Exchange worked with Professor Michael DeGolyer and Ms. Cheung Pui-ki of Hong Kong Transition Project based at Hong Kong Baptist University, as well as two postgraduate students of statistics from the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology to go through Hong Kong Transition Project's public opinion survey data since 1994. In the 124-page report, entitled *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: Women in the Community and National Context, 1994-2010*, regression of survey data and time cohorts (1994-2000, 2000-2005, and 2006-2010) are used to reveal the changing attitudes and behaviours of Hong Kong people in areas such as feelings towards national day, areas of personal concern, and political and civic participation.
- *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: A Graphical Summary of Women's Status, 1991-2011*. A graphical summary report produced by Carine Lai of Civic Exchange captures the major points from Louisa Mitchell's report (Part 1) and the key points related to gender from Professor Michael DeGolyer's report (Part 2). A list of recommendations is attached to the end of the summary report. Chinese version of this summary report is also available.

It is hoped that this research project will offer better understanding of the changing faces of the Hong Kong society, and thereby policy makers could formulate policies that gear towards meeting the needs of Hong Kong people, which may include some gender-specific policies and/or measures. Readers who are interested in more detailed analysis of changes in people's attitudes and behaviours in general (ie. not gender-related) are encouraged to read the full report of *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: Women in the Community and National Context, 1994-2010*. The summary report only captures gender-related data and analysis.

Table of Contents

Part 1: A cohort analysis of women, 1991-2011.....	6
Aged ≥60.....	10
Aged 40-59.....	12
Aged 30-39.....	16
Aged 20-29.....	18
Aged 15-19.....	20
Part 2: Women in the community and national context, 1994-2010.....	22
Mainland migrant women.....	24
Occupational segregation.....	26
Feelings towards China’s National Day.....	28
Areas of personal concern.....	29
Functional constituencies.....	30
Civic participation.....	32
Recommendations.....	35
Glossary and definitions.....	37
Endnotes.....	40
Box 1: Notes on the data.....	7
Box 2: Population pyramids, 1991 and 2011.....	15

Box 1: Notes on the data

1. The majority of the census data is from 2011, but in some areas 2010 data or earlier is used. Comparisons are made to 1991 data where possible, however, where 1991 data did not exist or was not directly comparable, a close alternative date was chosen. Four major sources of data from the Census and Statistics Department were used, denoted throughout the text by the following symbols:
 - ϕ Census and Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Government (1991), *Hong Kong 1991 Population Census Main Tables*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government.
 - θ Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2011), *2011 Population Census Main Tables*, Hong Kong: HKSAR Government. www.census2011.gov.hk/en/main-table.html (accessed 31 August 2012).
 - ψ Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2012), *Women and Men in Hong Kong: Key Statistics 2012 edition*, Hong Kong: HKSAR Government. www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp180.jsp?productCode=B1130303 (accessed 31 August 2012).
 - ‡ Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2012), *Hong Kong Life Tables 2006-2041*, Hong Kong: HKSAR Government. www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp190.jsp?productCode=B1120016 (accessed 31 August 2012).
2. Hong Kong Transition Project data is from surveys conducted between 1994 and 2010. The data has been divided into three time cohorts for analysis: 1994-2000, 2001-2005, and 2006-2010.
3. Unless otherwise stated, all monetary figures are in Hong Kong dollars.
4. For part 1, all data refers to the age band indicated on the page unless otherwise stated.
5. For all census-derived figures, percentages are rounded to the nearest 1% due to rounding in the original data sources. For HKTP-derived figures, percentages are given at 1 decimal point as the range of error at the 95% confidence interval is less than 1%. For further details, see endnote 16.
6. For detailed explanations of the terms and categories used in this summary report, please see *Glossary and definitions* on p. 37.

1. A cohort analysis of women, 1991-2011

What are the characteristics of the typical 15-, 25-, 35-, 45-, 55-, or 65-year-old? How educated is she? What is her occupation and how much does she earn? Is she married? Does she have children? How does she fare today, compared to a similar-aged woman twenty years ago? How does she fare compared to a typical man of the same age? Here in Part 1, based on Louisa Mitchell's report "The changing faces of Hong Kong: A cohort analysis of women, 1991-2011", we will look at socio-economic profiles of the hypothetical "typical" woman in Hong Kong, from ages 15 through ≥ 60 .

The research methodology included secondary analysis of publicly available census data,¹ combined with a literature review of academic research as well as 'grey literature' (surveys by NGOs and market research groups, media articles and policy speeches). It draws heavily on several of the most relevant and recent surveys which are referenced throughout the report, in particular a survey by the University of Hong Kong for the Central Policy Unit on family values in 2008² and a survey commissioned by the Women's Commission on attitudes towards women at home and work published in 2011.³

Age bands provide the structure for the report and were chosen because Hong Kong's rich history and rapid change over the last century mean that the profile of women of ≥ 60 years today differs markedly from the profile of women in their twenties and thirties.

The policy areas of focus that cut across the age bands were selected to build up a socio-economic profile—ethnicity, educational attainment, employment and earnings, marriage and family, housing types and household sizes, criminal activity and political participation.⁴

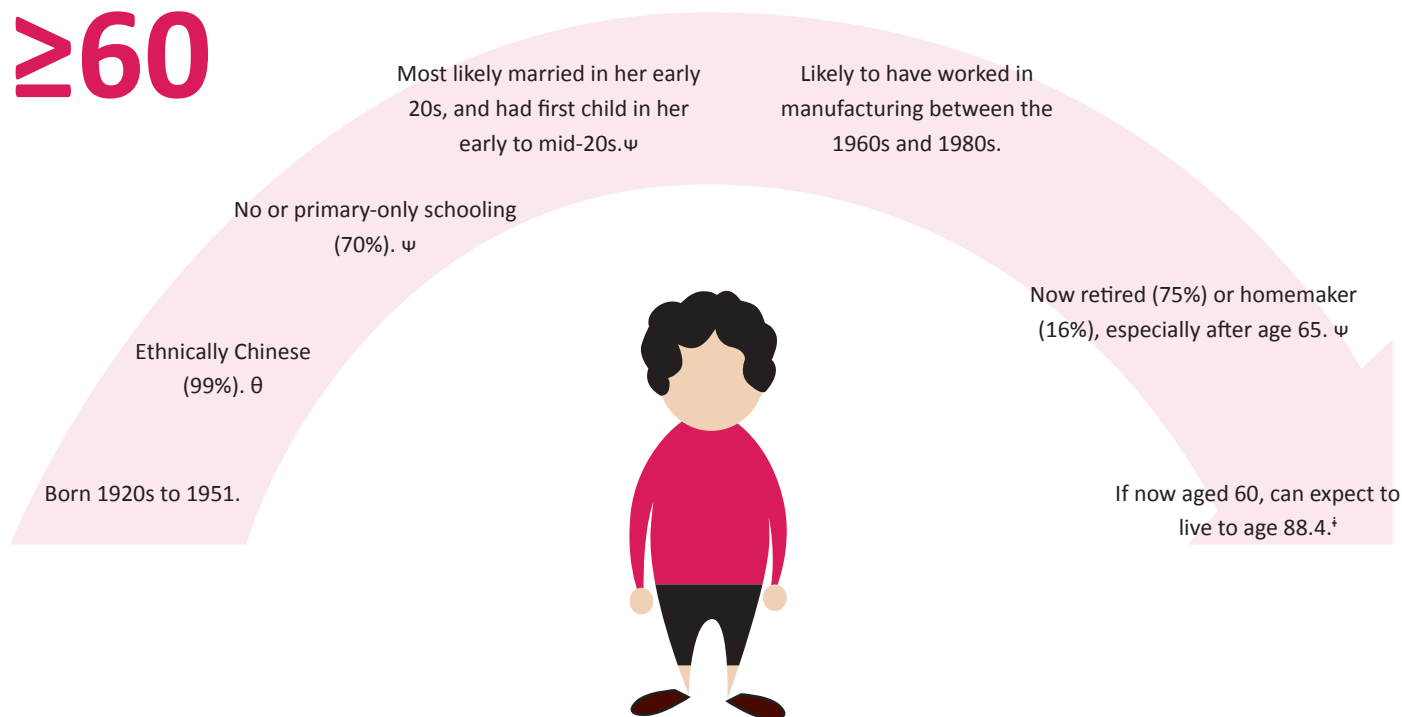
Main Findings

- The elderly are a fast-growing group, and significant numbers of them are underskilled, underresourced, and are more likely to be living in poverty than any other age group. Women are significantly worse off than men in measures of education and earnings. About 15% of both sexes over 60 are receiving CSSA for old age, but social welfare organisations believe that there are perhaps nearly as many seniors who are eligible for CSSA but who have not applied. High levels of deprivation may have contributed to a disproportionate rise in elder crime, although the official numbers are still very small.
- Middle-aged men as a group have done very well in terms of career and earnings, but the same cannot be said of middle-aged women. Their wages lag significantly behind men as they were on average less well equipped to transition from a manufacturing to a service-based economy. Middle-aged women are a highly economically polarised group, especially in the 50-59 age range.
- Compared to their elders, women in their thirties and younger have made major strides in catching up to men in educational attainment and wages, although gender segregation by academic subject, occupation and industry persists. However, this progress has been achieved at the expense of considerable racial and class stratification as Hong Kong families have increasingly turned to migrant labour to deal with traditionally feminine

domestic tasks, including child care. Foreign domestic helpers account for nearly the entire gender-income gap in the 20-39 age group.

- Due in large part to the influx of foreign domestic helpers, non-Chinese ethnic minorities now make up 18% of the 20-29 female cohort, and 21% of the 30-39 female cohort. Yet relatively little is known about domestic helpers, let alone other minorities in Hong Kong.
- Despite the prevalence of domestic helpers in middle-class households, women still struggle to balance the demands of work and family. Labour force participation drops dramatically after marriage (and by implication child bearing), which together with falling birth rates and increasingly delayed child bearing, indicates that women incur large opportunity costs when starting families.
- Young people today are pushed and pulled by conflicting traditional Chinese values and very modern values that permeate deeper into society as globalisation spreads its influence. They are living in smaller families, more likely to have an absent parent (whether due to divorce or working abroad), and living with their parents for longer. These changes and conflicts have an influence on family structures, housing, benefits, the tax system and countless other policy areas.
- Although gender equality is highest for those in their twenties, in fact neither gender is doing very well economically. Young people have faced stagnant real median incomes for the last 20 years (actually declining over the past 10 years) despite major improvements in educational attainment.
- Teenage girls are growing up in an era of equal access to 12 years of free education and high expectations to perform. They are for the most part doing well, with falling levels of crime and extremely low rates of teenage motherhood. Reported drug use peaked in the early 2000s and has been declining since. However, wage, occupation and unemployment data imply that economic opportunities for teenage school leavers may be narrowing.
- In general, women still have a long way to go to achieve equality in the work place, particularly in taking up leadership roles. Although the proportion of women in the labour force has steadily increased to almost half in 2011, there are noticeably few women in senior positions in the private, public and academic sectors. This is reflected in census data on earnings and occupation, as well as in several recent independent studies. Women still underperform relative to their male peers in all age groups from 30 years upwards, although the gap diminishes with decreasing age.

≥60



The typical woman aged 60 to ~90

Unlikely to have voted in 2011 District Council elections (18% of ≥61-year-olds, 2011) or 2008 Legislative Council elections (26% of ≥61 year-olds). ψ

Living with spouse and/or children, in private permanent housing (45%) in the New Territories (44%). $\theta \psi$

Never arrested, sentenced, nor a reported drug user. ψ

Profile

The ≥60 cohort is the second fastest growing cohort after the 40-59 age group, with an increase of 78% since 1991. The typical woman aged sixty and over was part of the generation of postwar Mainland migrants and baby boomers.⁵ She grew up in an era when polygamy and keeping mui tsai (girl slaves) were practiced, and long before the introduction of free compulsory public education. Her family's resources would have likely gone into educating her brothers, and though she probably worked in a factory during Hong Kong's light manufacturing boom years,⁶ her main role in life was marriage and child rearing.⁷ In 2011, only 3% of women over 60 had never been married, and 70% had primary-only or no schooling. As a result, many of these women lacked the skills to transition to a service economy. The majority in 2011 were retired or homemakers, although this does not account for unreported casual labour.

Of the 8% still officially in the workforce, 52% worked in unskilled manual occupations (compared to 29% of men), while just 21% were managers, administrators, professionals, and associate professionals (36% of men). In 2011, their median monthly earnings were \$6,800 (\$10,000 for men). In real terms, the earnings of people over 60 have improved steadily since 1991, although they are still lower than the population average. However, women have not caught up with men, and 36% are earning less than \$6,000, far below the overall median wage. This level of deprivation may explain a disturbing rise in elder crime, although actual numbers remain very small.

Women over 60 have also experienced the decline of multigenerational households. Although a 2008 survey of family values found that while respondents aged ≥65 years were more likely to favour an extended family structure,⁸ in fact over half lived in 2 or 3 person households, and 16% lived alone in 2011.

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all information is for women aged ≥60 years in the year 2011. For data sources, see Box 1, p. 7. For glossary of definitions, see p. 37.

Alternative trajectories



Living with a disability (25%, 2007), claiming CSSA Old Age Allowance (15%, 2011). ψ



Living in subsidised ownership housing (19%). θ



Living alone, (aged ≥ 65 , 16%). ψ



Widowed, separated or divorced (45%). ψ



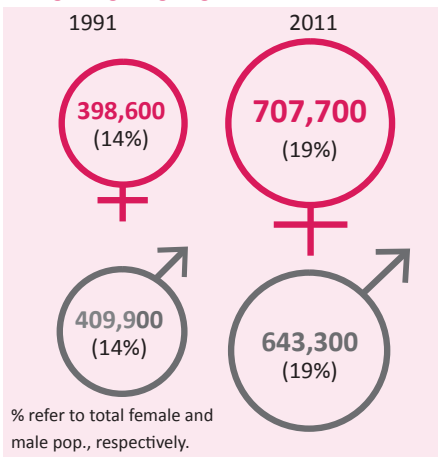
In employment (8%, 2011) in retail, finance, or care, earning a median of \$6,800 monthly. ψ



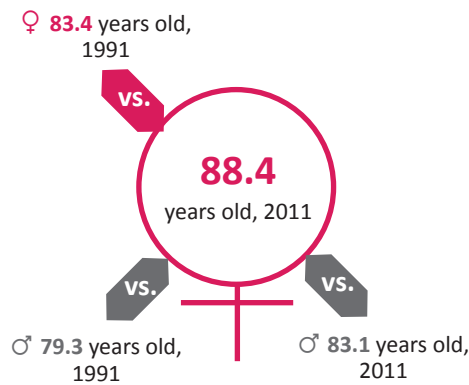
Voting in LegCo (27% of cohort, 2008) and District Council elections (26% of cohort, 2011). ψ

Key comparisons

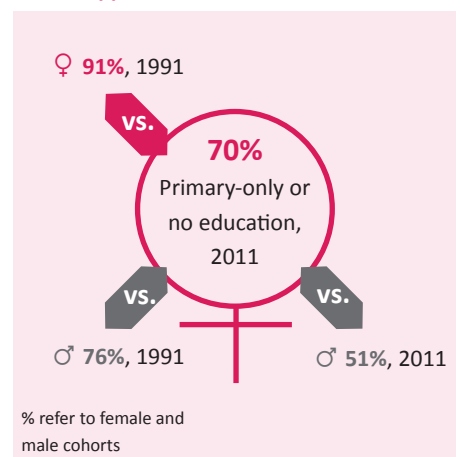
Hong Kong is ageing: cohort size ψ



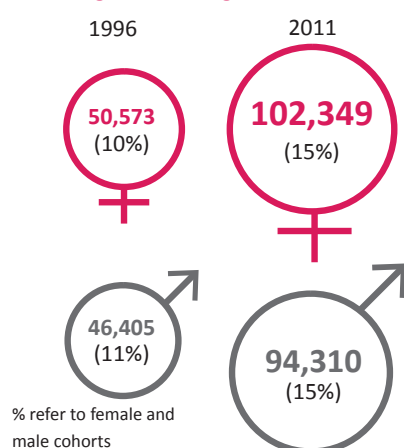
Longer lives: 60 year-olds can expect to live to... \ddagger



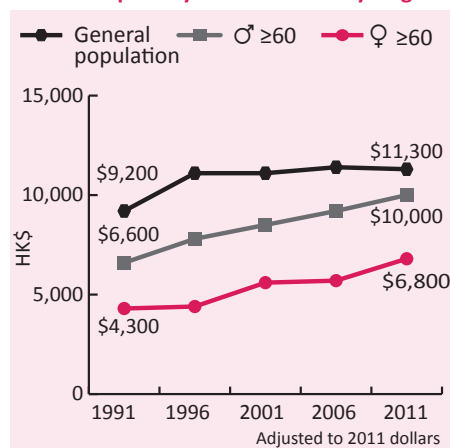
Missed opportunities: education ψ \clubsuit



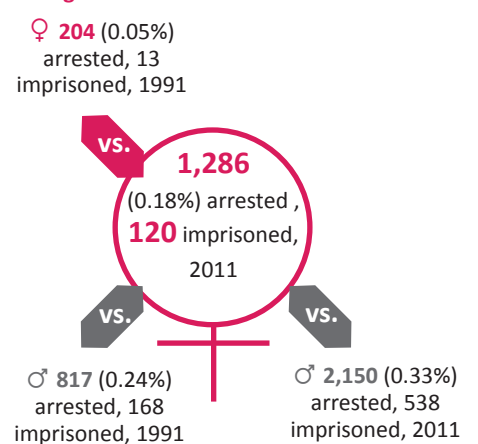
Receiving CSSA Old Age Allowance ψ



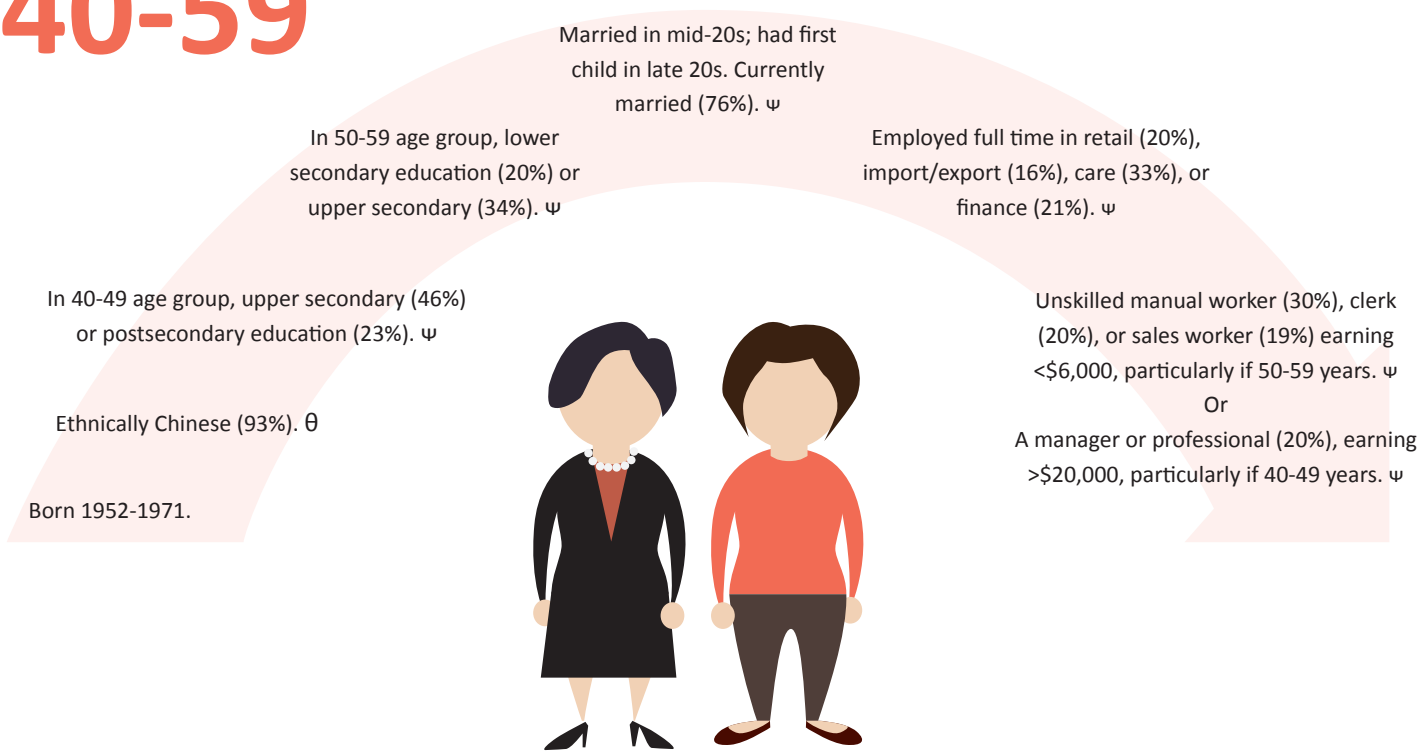
Women in poverty: Median monthly wages ψ



Rising elder crime ψ



40-59



Typical women aged 40-59 A highly polarised group

Unlikely to have voted in 2011 District Council (22% of 41-60-year-olds) and 2008 LegCo elections (30% of 41-60-year-olds). ψ

Living in private permanent housing (52%) in the New Territories (53%) in a 3-4 person household (57%), with spouse and/or children (2011). θ ψ

Neither arrested, sentenced, nor a reported drug abuser. ψ

Profile

This age band straddles the introduction of 6 years of free and compulsory education in 1971, which was extended to 9 years in 1978. Those in their early forties were young enough to benefit, while those in their fifties missed the opportunity. This has had a profound effect on life trajectories. The education gap has translated into an income gap, as younger and better-educated women were more successful at making the transition from a manufacturing to a service economy. Still, neither age group fared particularly well compared to men, who are still paid significantly more and dominate managerial and professional occupations as well as leadership positions in business and the public sector.

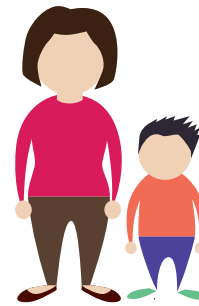
The average middle-aged woman is more likely to be a working mother than 20 years ago, with the proportion of economically active women rising from 45% to 62% between 1991 and 2011. However, never-married women are roughly 1.5 times more likely to be economically active than currently married women. A 2008 survey found support for marriage and child-bearing as a necessary step in life was weakest amongst respondents aged 40-49.⁹

In spite of this, most middle-aged women are adhering to the nuclear family structure. While the proportion of never-marrieds has increased significantly, the sharp increase in the absolute numbers of widowed/divorced/separated women and single parents was partly due to population growth. While over half of all single parents are in their forties, as a proportion of their age cohort, they have only grown by a couple of percentage points from a low base over the last 20 years. Finally, as women increasingly delay child bearing, age-specific fertility rates among 40-44-year-old women have risen from 4.5 live births per 1,000 women in 1991 to 12.7 in 2011.

Alternative trajectories



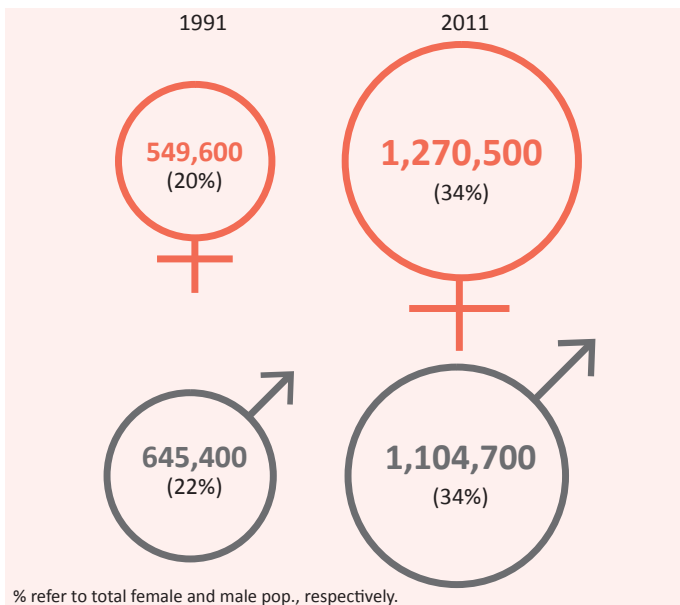
Homemaker (33%); more likely if 50-59 years than 40-49 years. ψ



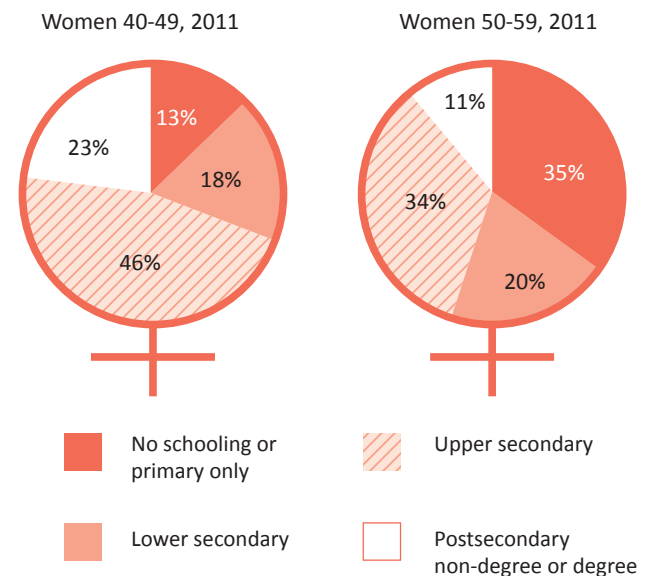
Single parent (52% of all female single parents are in their 40s), ψ working or receiving CSSA, possibly living in 2 or 3 person household as sole tenant of public rental property. θ

Key comparisons

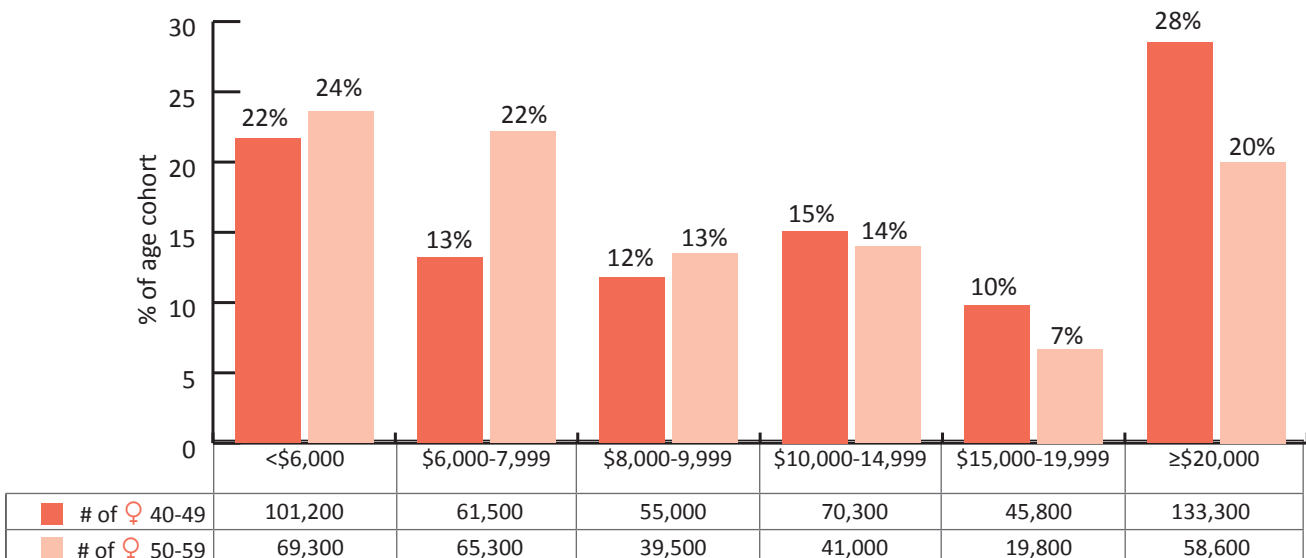
A middle-aged society: growing cohort size ψ



Free schooling makes a difference: educational attainment ψ



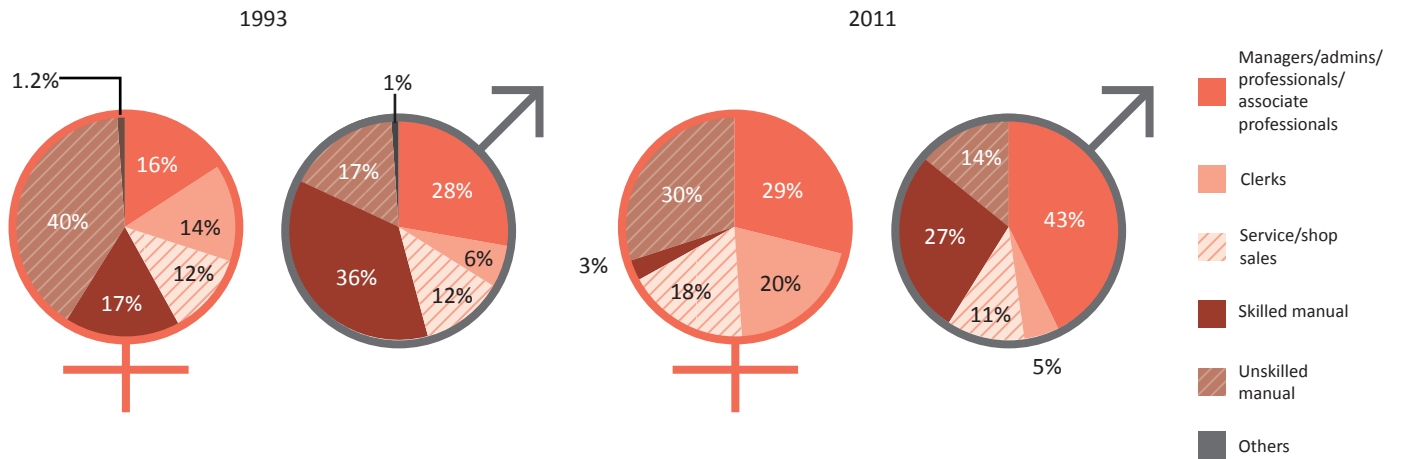
Income polarisation: employed women aged 40-49 and 50-59 by monthly wages, 2011 ψ



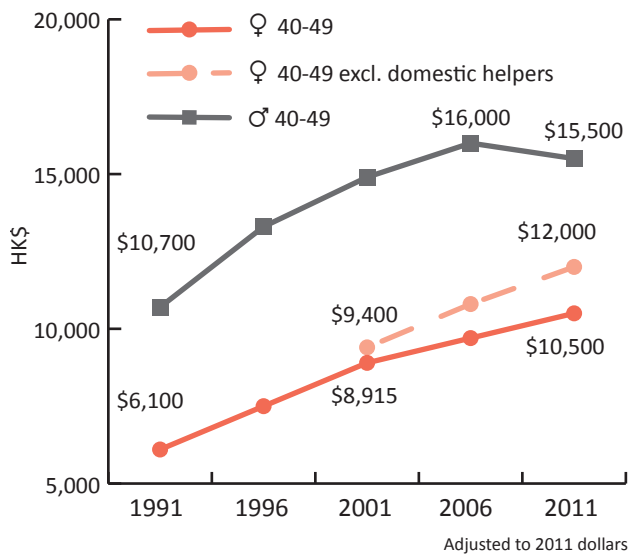
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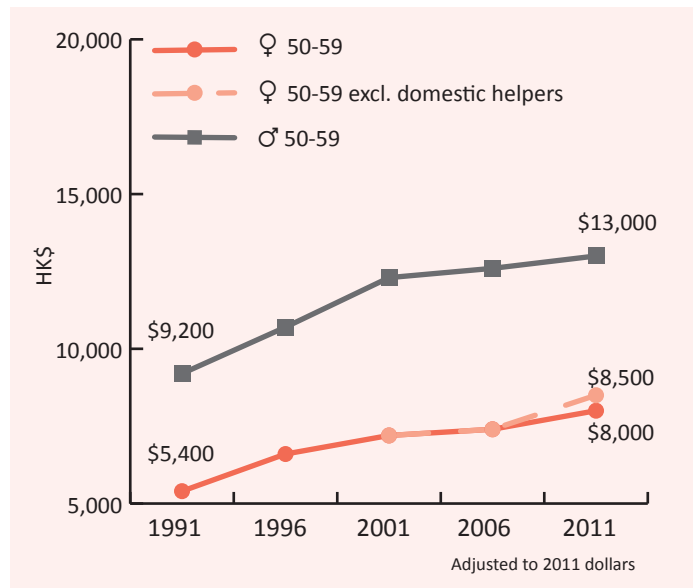
Occupational disparities



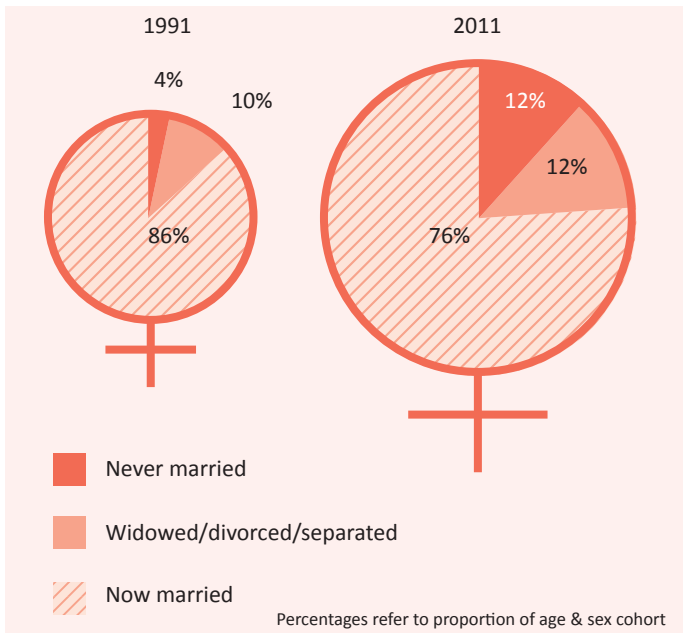
Slowly catching up to men: median monthly wages, 40-49



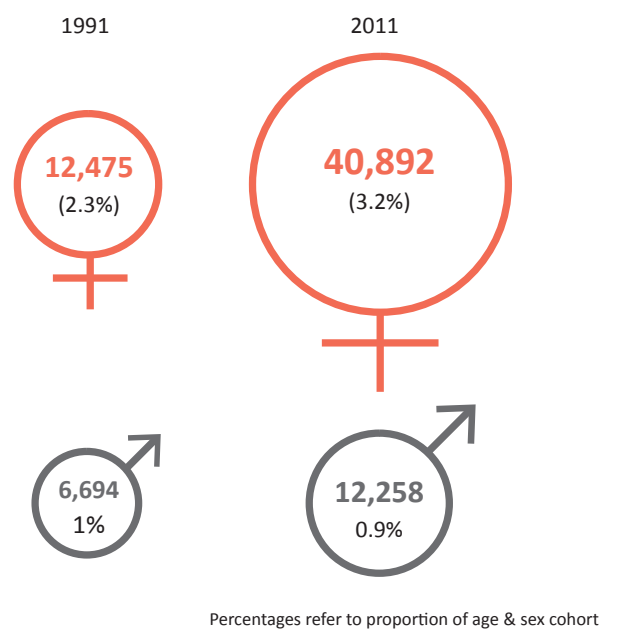
Men still make more: median monthly wages, 50-59



More singles, a few more divorcees: marital status

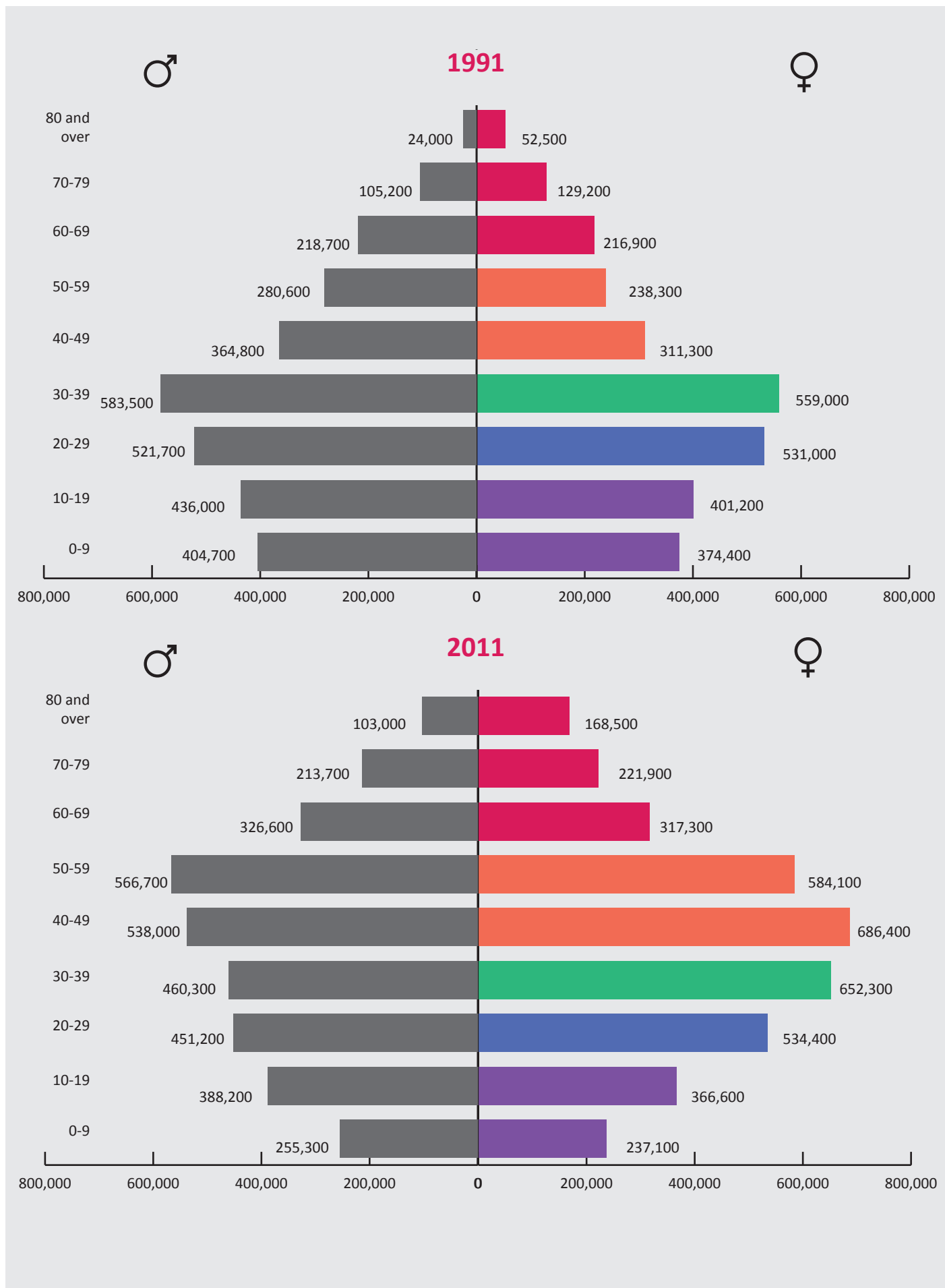


More single parents, but still a tiny percentage

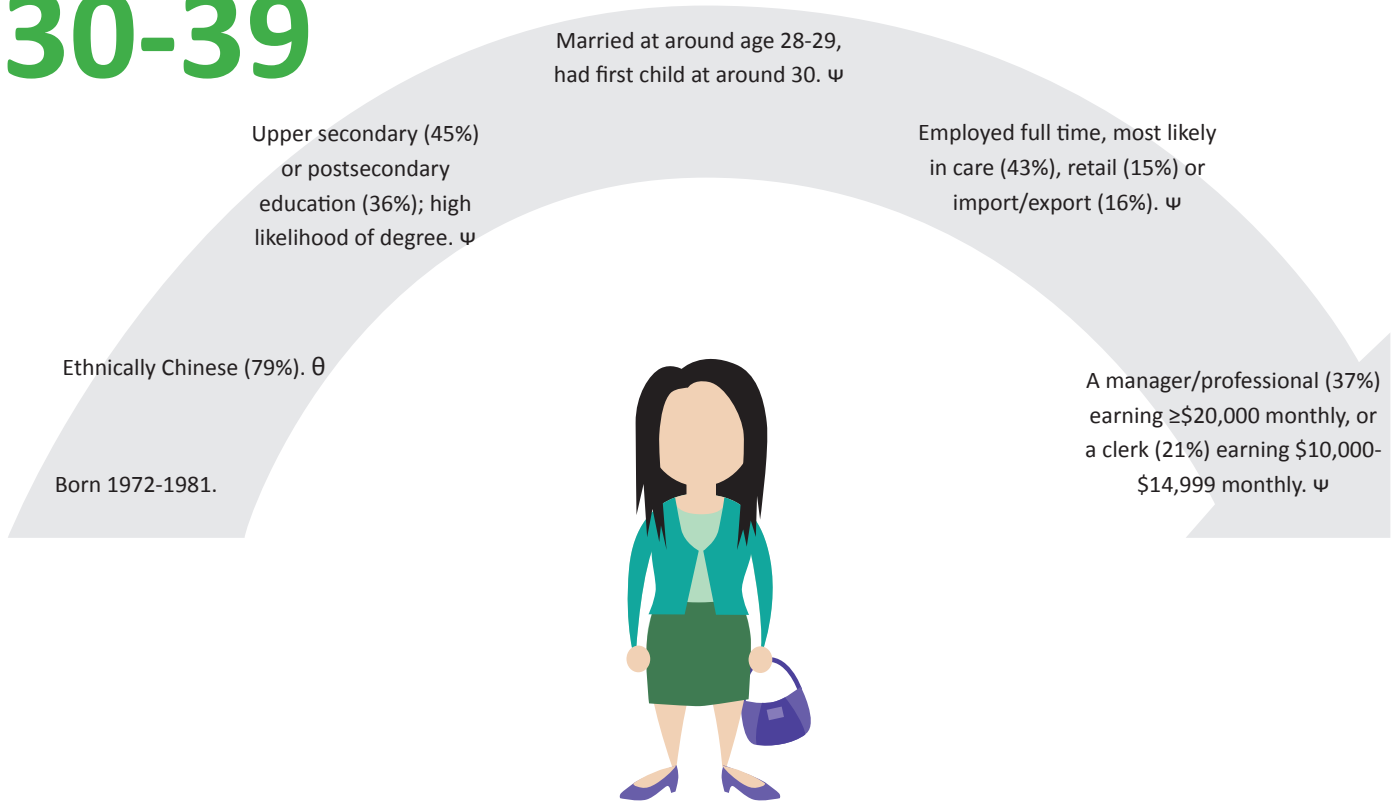


Box 2: Population pyramids, 1991 and 2011

Mid-year population by age and sex ψ



30-39



The typical woman aged 30-39

Unlikely to have voted in 2008 LegCo elections (18% of 31-40 year-olds), or 2011 District Council elections (11% of 31-40 year-olds). Ψ

Living in a 3-4 person household (51%), in private permanent housing (64%), in the New Territories (53%), with spouse and/or children. Θ Ψ

Neither arrested nor sentenced, nor a reported drug abuser. Ψ

Profile

Born after 1971, the typical woman in her thirties is nearly as well educated as her male counterparts, having benefited from the mass expansion of higher education in the 1990s. But outside of school, some gender inequalities persist. The 30-something woman navigates a complex world of modern and traditional values, where her earning power is highly valued, but many still feel that family should be her focus.¹⁰ The difficulty of meeting both expectations helps explain why women increasingly delay starting a family. The thirties are now the prime child-bearing years, with age-specific fertility rates in this cohort actually rising over the last 10 years. Many women still leave the workforce after marriage, possibly revealing something about Hong Kong's long working hours, its lack of family-friendly employment practices, the fact that men do not contribute equally to household responsibilities, and the lack of child care options other than hiring a full-time domestic helper.

Foreign domestic helpers are an important part of this cohort's story: their labour has enabled middle-class women to advance economically, but at the expense of considerable racial and class inequality. Domestic helpers account for nearly the entire income gap between men and women in this group, although the decline of men's real earnings since 2001 played a major role in narrowing the gap over time. This is the most ethnically diverse age group (76% Chinese, 10% Filipina, 8% Indonesian), although relatively little is known about these groups. It also includes the largest number of one-way permit holder entrants from Mainland China, with 10,373 women entering in 2011 (see p. 24 for further analysis).

Mainland wives of Hong Kong men have helped Hong Kong's fertility rate climb back from the low point of 2003, with 6,500 Type I babies born in Hong Kong in 2009¹¹. However, the Total Fertility Rate at 1.04 per woman in 2011 is still well below replacement rate and the second lowest in the world. Women of child-bearing age do not want to have many children and recent surveys have indicated that they do not consider Hong Kong a family-friendly place.

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all information is for women aged 30-39 years in the year 2011. For data sources, see Box 1, p. 7. For glossary of definitions, see p. 37.

Alternative trajectories



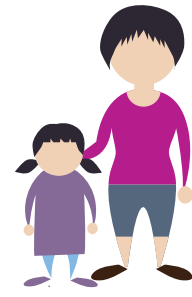
Never married (29%, 2011), no children. ψ



Recently entered on one-way permit from Mainland China (10,373 entries in 2011). ψ



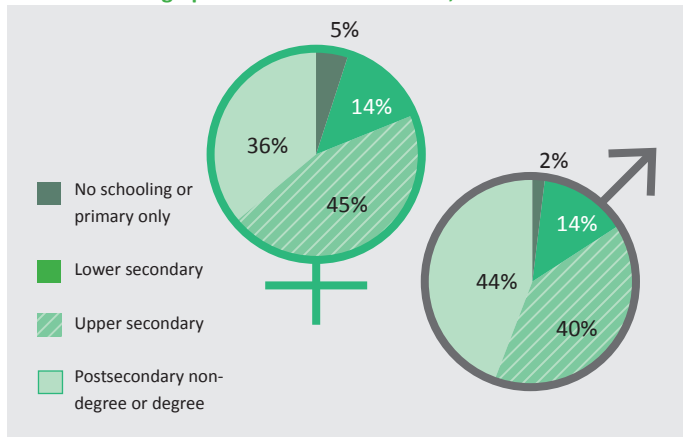
Foreign domestic helper from Indonesia or the Philippines (125,900 or 19% of cohort), earning <\$6,000 monthly. ψ



Single parent (3%, 2011), ψ working or receiving CSSA, possibly living in 2 or 3 person household as sole tenant of public rental property. θ

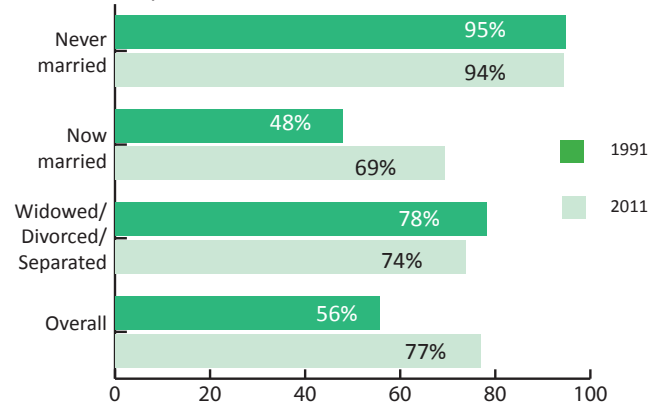
Key comparisons

Women catching up: educational attainment, 2011 ψ

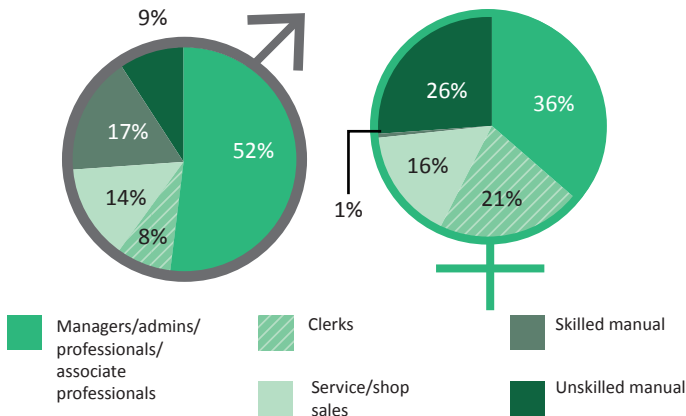


Labour force participation falls after marriage ψ

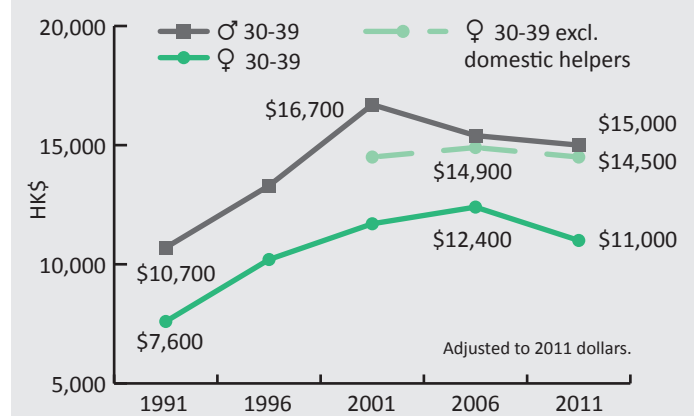
% of economically active women



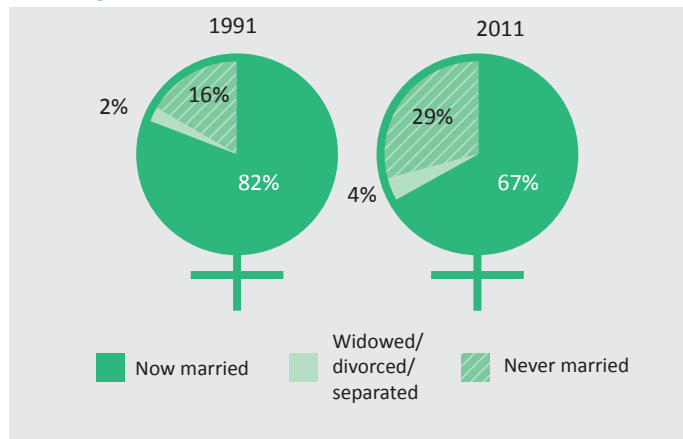
More male managers: occupation, 2011 ψ



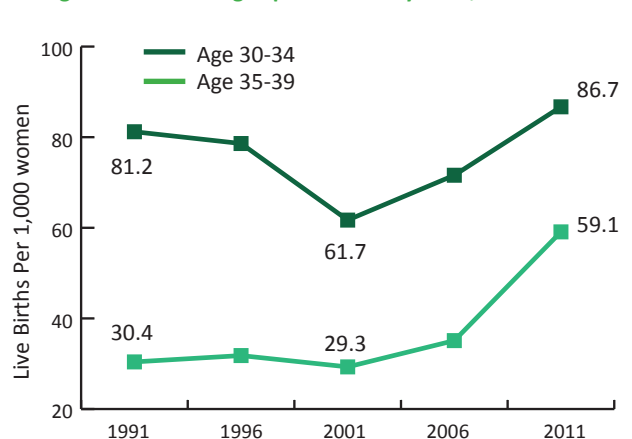
Men make (marginally) more: median monthly wages ψ



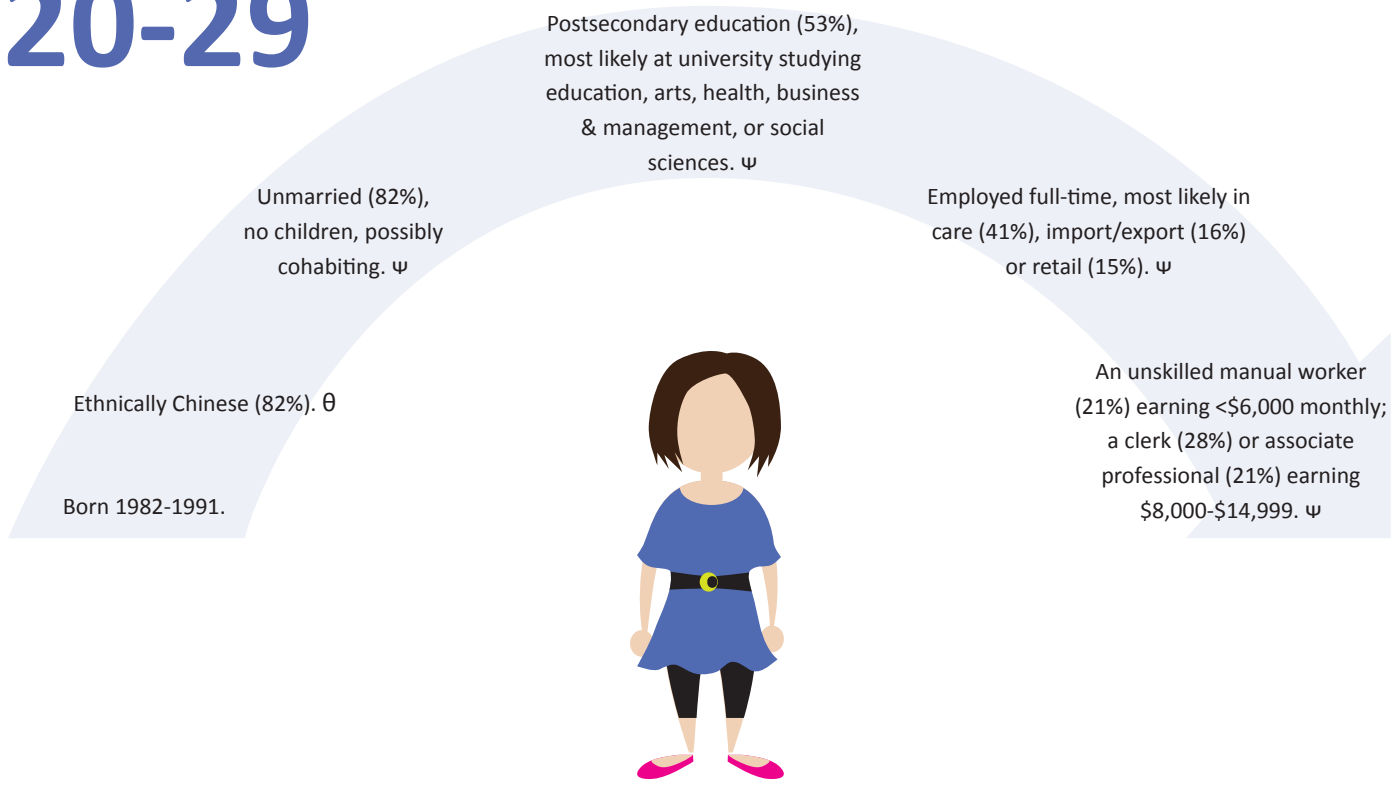
More singles: marital status, 1991 and 2011 ψ



Having children later: age-specific fertility rates, 1991-2011 ψ



20-29



The typical woman aged 20-29

Unlikely to have voted in 2011 District Council elections (9% of 21-30 year-olds) or 2008 LegCo elections (15% of 21-30 year-olds). Ψ

Living in a 4 person household (33%) with parents or spouse/children in private permanent housing (51%) in the New Territories (55%). θ Ψ

Neither arrested, sentenced, nor a reported drug abuser. Ψ

Profile

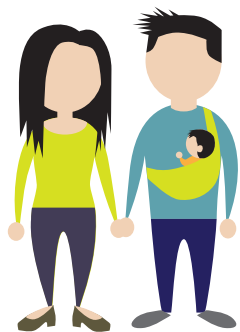
Holding a postsecondary qualification or degree, the average woman in her twenties is nearly as well educated as her male counterparts, and much better educated than her same-aged counterparts in 1991. However, gendered expectations still influence her decisions. While more women have been moving into medicine and dentistry, areas such as education and the sciences remain just as female- or male-dominated as in 1991. Following on to employment, young women are far more heavily represented in care, indicating the concentration of women in caring professions such as teaching and nursing as well as personal services. For the time being, these differences have no impact on earnings: when domestic helpers (who make up 17% of the cohort) are excluded, young women earn as much as men. Whether this will persist as they progress in their careers, marry, and have children is another question. Nonetheless, it is notable and disturbing that real median wages for young adults of both sexes have remained stagnant since 1991 in spite of their rising educational qualifications, and have actually declined in real terms since 2001.

The average twenty-something woman is much less likely to be married or have children than 20 years ago, and is somewhat more likely to be living with her parents only. She may be cohabiting with a partner. Although young women tend to be accepting of cohabitation as a precursor to marriage, they also hold more idealistic attitudes about the nuclear family than their 40-59-year-old mothers, with larger numbers saying that marriage and child bearing are necessary steps in life, and fewer thinking that divorce is an appropriate solution for irreconcilable marital disagreements.¹²

In contrast to rising crime among older age groups, crime amongst 21-29-year-olds has actually fallen since the late 1990s, especially among men. While the cohort size remained relatively stable between 1996 and 2011, among men, the number of arrests fell from 10,092 to 5,462, while the number of imprisonments fell from 4,627 to 2,167. Among women during the same period, arrests fell from 1,949 to 1,695 while incarcerations fell from 1,937 to 1,101.

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all information is for women aged 20-29 years in the year 2011. For data sources, see Box 1, p. 7. For glossary of definitions, see p. 37.

Alternative trajectories



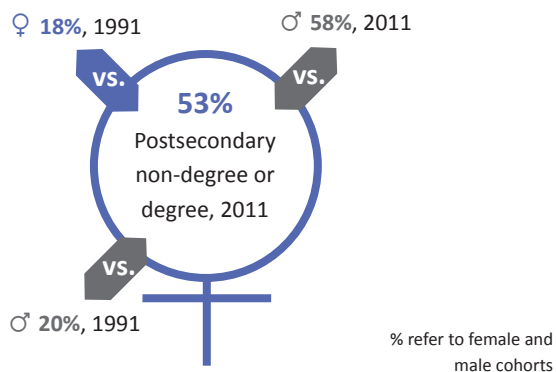
Married at median age 28.9 years, one baby at median age 30 years. Ψ



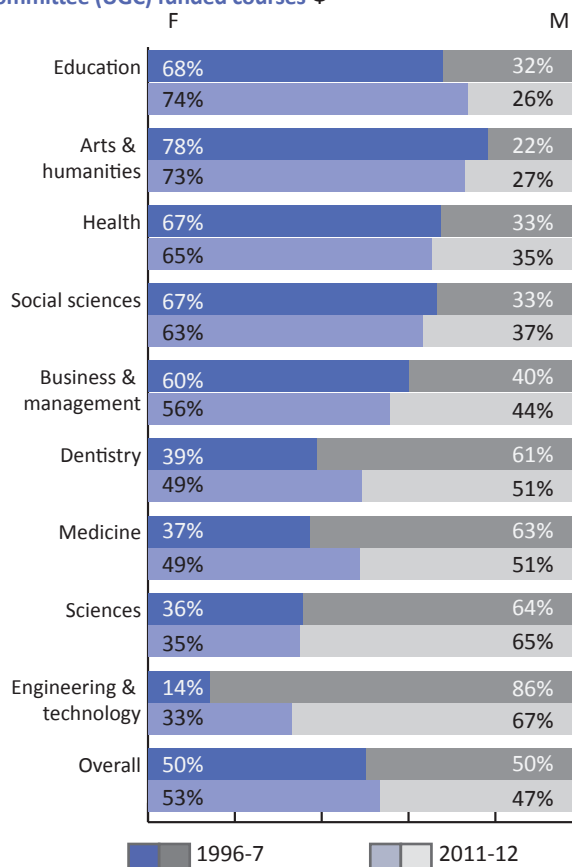
Foreign domestic helper (89,500 or 16.7% of cohort), unmarried, earning <\$6,000. Ψ

Key comparisons

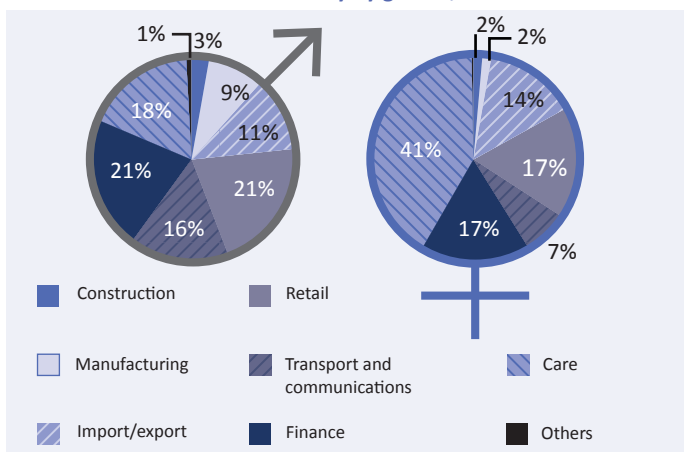
Near educational parity: educational attainment Θ Φ



Gendered subject choices: gender balance of University Grants Committee (UGC) funded courses Ψ

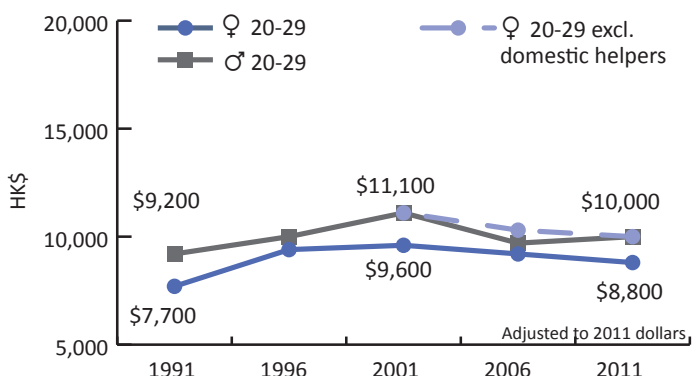


Gendered career choices: industry by gender, 2011 Ψ

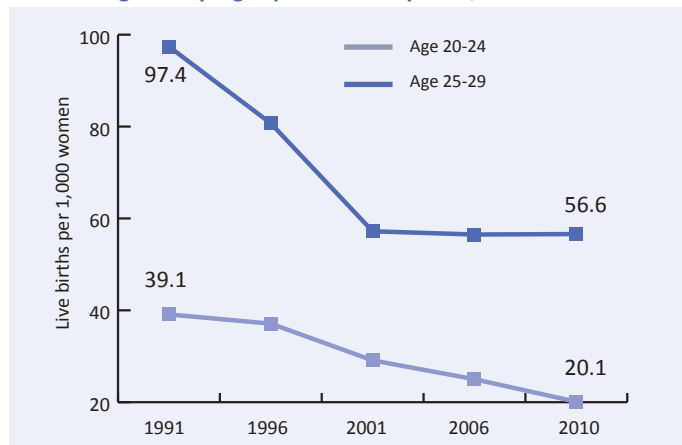


Domestic helpers account for the entire gender-wage gap Ψ

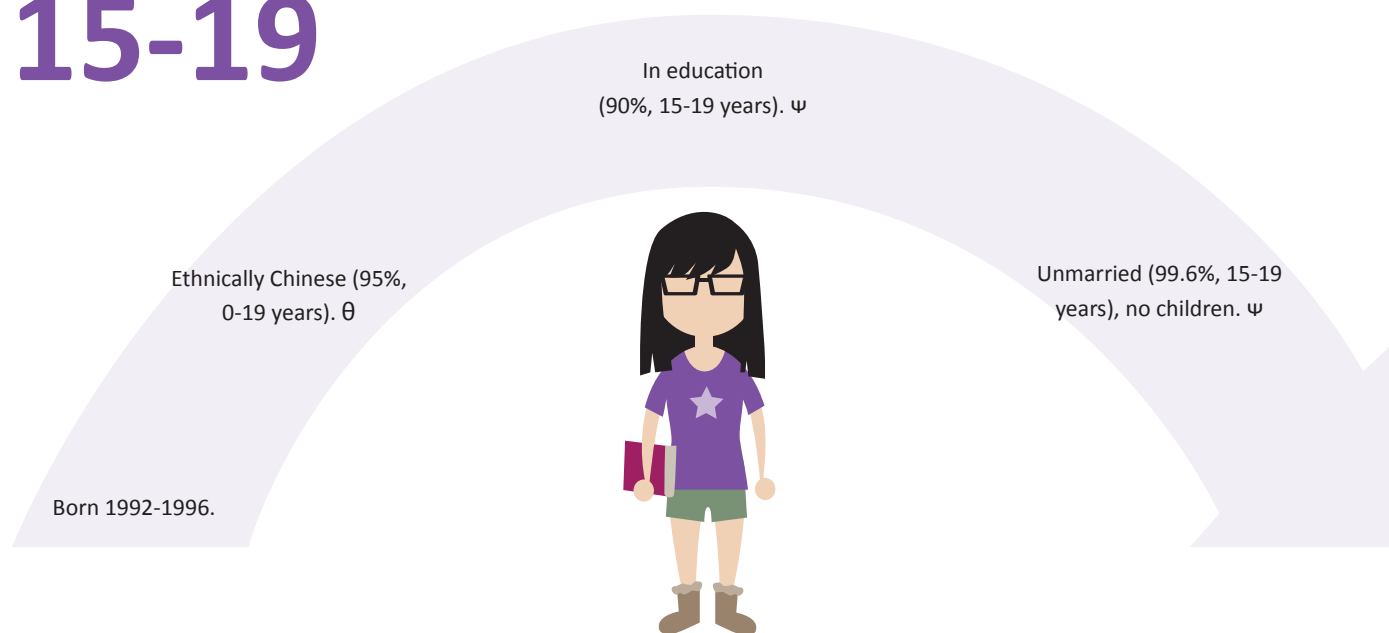
Median monthly wages



Plummeting fertility: age-specific fertility rates, 1991-2011 Ψ



15-19



The typical woman aged 15-19

Unlikely to vote in District Council elections (13% of 18-20 year-olds, 2011) or LegCo elections (21% of 18-20-year-olds, 2008). Ψ

Living in a 4 person household (40%, 10-19 years) with parents (94%, 0-24 years) in private permanent housing (54%, 0-19 years) in the New Territories (55%, 0-19 years). θ Ψ

Neither arrested, nor sentenced, nor a reported drug abuser. Ψ

Profile

For the 15-19 cohort, the data is somewhat sketchy. Sampling errors due to small numbers make census data unavailable in certain categories, and teenagers are sometimes lumped together with children and/or young adults. Academic literature on the values and behaviour of teenage girls is also fairly sparse.

The typical teenage girl today is likely to live in a 4 person household, most likely with parents and a sibling, whereas twenty years ago, a plurality lived with six or more people. A significant minority (15%) lives in a one-parent household, partly due to the growing number of divorces and single parents, but also due to “astronaut families” where one parent works in Mainland China or overseas.¹³ She can expect to stay in education until at least age 18: under the 3+3+4 educational reforms of 2008-9, 12 years of education are now free and compulsory. Judging by the 20-29 cohort, over half will pursue postsecondary education, but since UGC-funded institutions offer places for just roughly 22% of 17-20-year-olds, this means that enormous numbers of teens will either seek places in private colleges or go abroad to study.

There are signs that opportunities are narrowing for teens unable to keep up with academic demands. The proportion of economically active teens (either employed or looking for work) has fallen sharply to just 9% in 2011, but among those teens, unemployment rates are high, especially among boys. Jobs are most likely to be in sales, food service, clerking and care, and teens have seen their real wages decline slightly between 1991 and 2006. In spite of this, teens largely stay out of trouble. Teenage motherhood is vanishingly rare, at 2 live births per 1,000 15-19-year-old women in 2011. Arrests have been declining since the mid-1990s, while reported drug abuse spiked in the late 1990s and early 2000s (much less for girls than for boys), but has since declined.

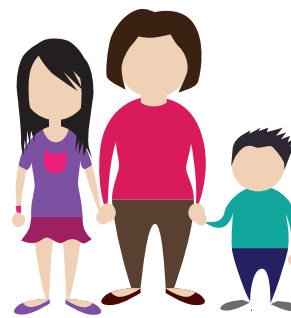
Today’s teenage girls live in a shrinking, globalised, heterogeneous world. Girls expect to find a level playing field with boys in the workplace, and the position of women in the home is rapidly changing. But with expanding opportunities come added pressure to succeed in all areas of life, and also more uncertainty. A good education no longer guarantees a lucrative career. Marriage and babies are no longer a certainty in life. Both girls and boys will have to learn to navigate this complex and shifting landscape together.

Note: Census data for minors is often compiled by different age groups, which are specified throughout this section. For data sources, see Box 1, p. 7. For glossary of definitions, see p. 37.

Alternative trajectories



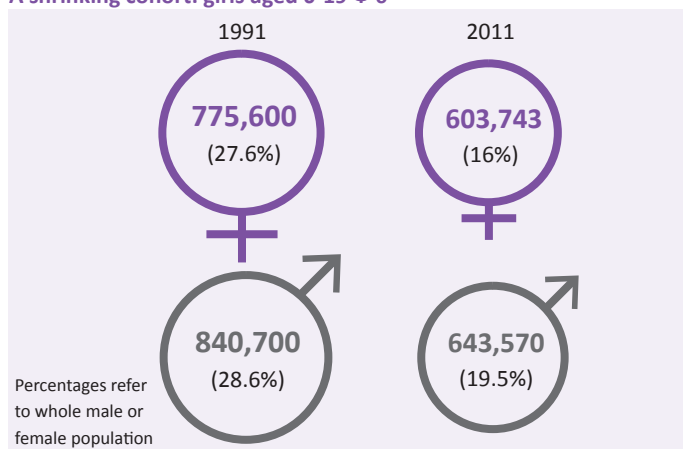
Employed (8%, 15-19 years) in retail or care as a sales/service worker or clerk earning a monthly median wage of \$6,000. ψ



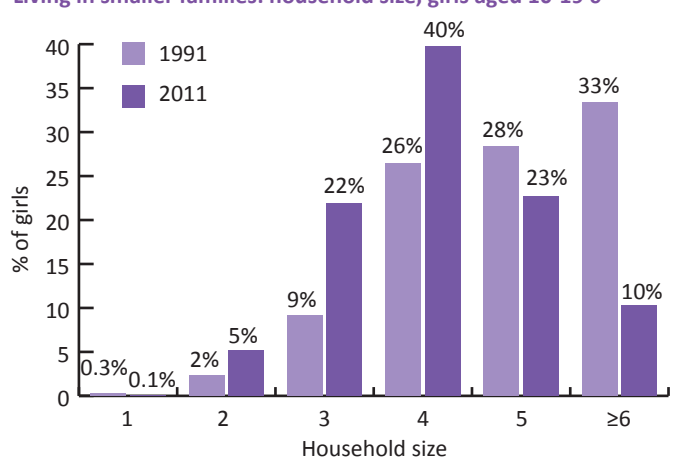
Living with only one parent, with or without siblings (15% for girls, 14% for boys, 15-19 years). θ

Key comparisons

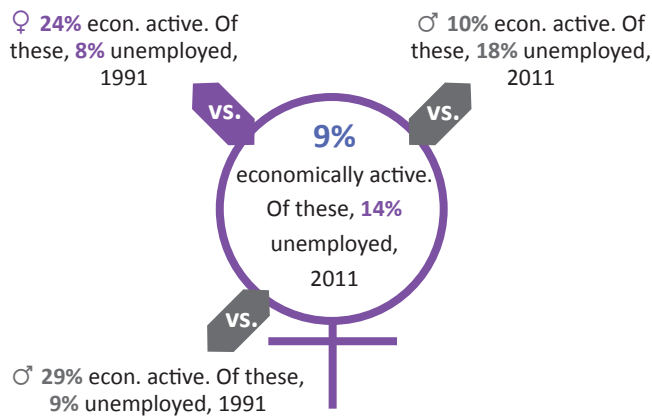
A shrinking cohort: girls aged 0-19 ψ θ



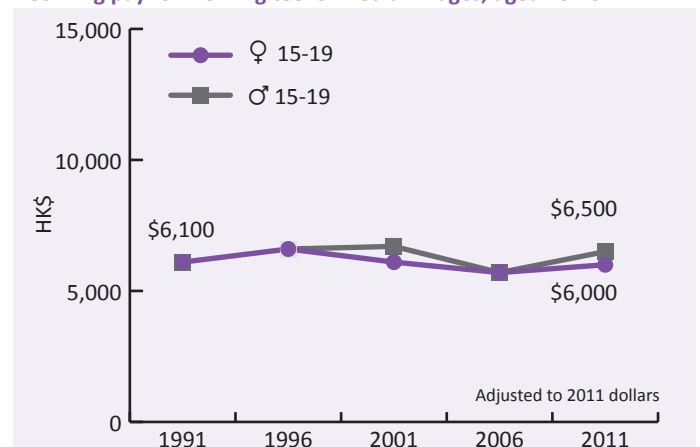
Living in smaller families: household size, girls aged 10-19 θ ϕ



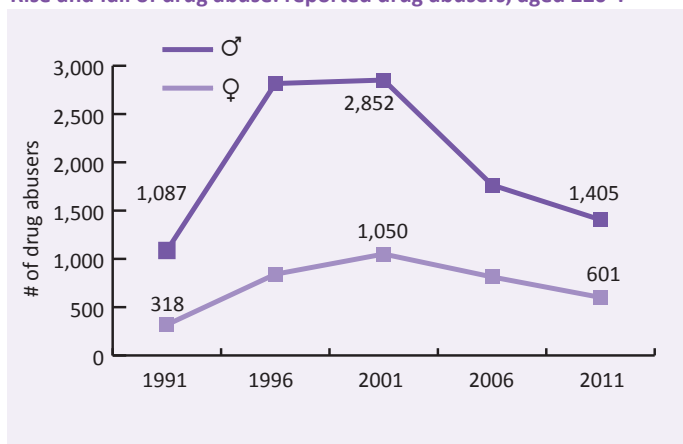
Fewer teens working, aged 15-19 ψ



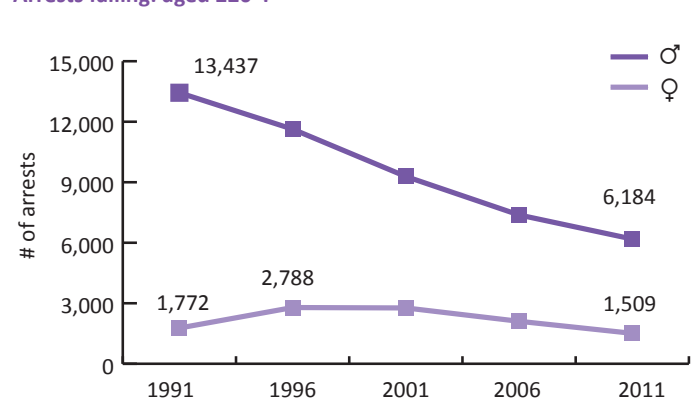
Declining pay for working teens: median wages, aged 15-19 ψ



Rise and fall of drug abuse: reported drug abusers, aged ≤20 ψ



Arrests falling: aged ≤20 ψ



2. Women in the community and national context, 1994-2010

Part 2, based on Michael DeGolyer's report "The changing faces of Hong Kong: Women in the community and national context, 1994-2010", explores the changing status of women through occupation, migration, attitudes and civic participation. It relies on statistical analysis of survey data gathered by the Hong Kong Transition Project (HKTP)¹⁴ of Hong Kong Baptist University, which has regularly conducted public opinion surveys since 1994. HKTP uses a random sampling method which produces a reasonably close demographic proxy of the census data (although it notably omits non-permanent Hong Kong residents), and can therefore be considered a fairly reliable indicator of social trends.¹⁵

DeGolyer's report divides survey respondents into three time cohorts for comparison: 1994-2000, 2001-2005, and 2006-2010, which for the sake of brevity will be referred to in this summary as "late 90s", "early 2000s", and "late 2000s" respectively. The figures given are averages for the stated time cohorts. As the sample sizes resulting from several combined surveys are very large (between 20,000 and 40,000 respondents), this reduces the range of error at the 95% confidence interval to less than 1%.¹⁶

Main Findings

- The demographic profile of migrant women from Mainland China has changed significantly, and they are beginning to catch up with Hong Kong-born women in educational attainment and economic competitiveness. Women are no longer simply coming to Hong Kong to be wives and homemakers; we are seeing greater numbers of university students, managers and professionals.
- HKTP data provides additional insights into occupational segregation by gender. Although women have been gaining ground in acquiring postsecondary education, with their pace of growth higher than men's, they have not been following men into professional and managerial positions in the private sector. Instead, a disproportionate number of women are becoming educators (4.8% of women vs. 2.3% of men in 2006-10). Women are also more likely to work in the public sector or the privatised public services (such as the Housing Authority and Airport Authority), with 21.3% of women vs. 16.7% of men doing so in 2006-10. This has implications for women's political representation in functional constituencies (see page 32).
- In terms of patriotic attitudes, men are on the whole more likely to have strong feelings about China's National Day than women. Men are slightly more likely than women to report feeling proud, excited, or uneasy, while women are more likely than men to report feeling neutral or indifferent. Regression analysis shows that this gender gap exists among Hong Kong-born respondents, but not among Mainland-born respondents. In general, however, Hong Kong-born people are reporting increases in positive feelings about National Day at the same pace as those born on the Mainland. In spite of recent controversies over "Mainlandisation", Hong Kong people are, in the long run, adjusting steadily to life under Chinese sovereignty.

- When asked to name the problem in Hong Kong that concerns them the most, women were consistently more likely to name a social issue over all three time cohorts. In particular, women were consistently more likely to be worried about pollution. However, in the 2006-2010 time period, concern about social and political issues increased significantly in both sexes (but more strongly in women), and for the first time, less than half of all respondents named an economic issue as their top concern.
- Hong Kong's functional constituencies systematically underrepresent women. The FC electorate is tilted towards male-dominated managerial, administrative and professional occupations. While the number of female FC voters has grown, they are concentrated in a few sectors, notably education, social welfare and health services, hence their influence is not broadly felt in LegCo. This may lead to unconscious biases in Hong Kong's decision-making structures, which may explain why women on the whole are more dissatisfied with policy making than men.
- Women's civic and political participation generally closely matches that of men, but there are gender imbalances in specific areas of participation. Men are more likely to participate in areas with links to Hong Kong's formal political structures, such as mutual aid committees in public housing estates, ownership corporations in private housing estates, and professional associations. Men have especially gained ground in professional associations, which is likely to have exacerbated the underrepresentation of women in functional constituencies. Women are more likely to participate in issue-oriented groups, such as charities and social service organisations, environmental groups, and religious groups. While these groups are not necessarily always engaged in the business of political lobbying, they can mobilise people quickly around controversial issues.



Mainland migrant women

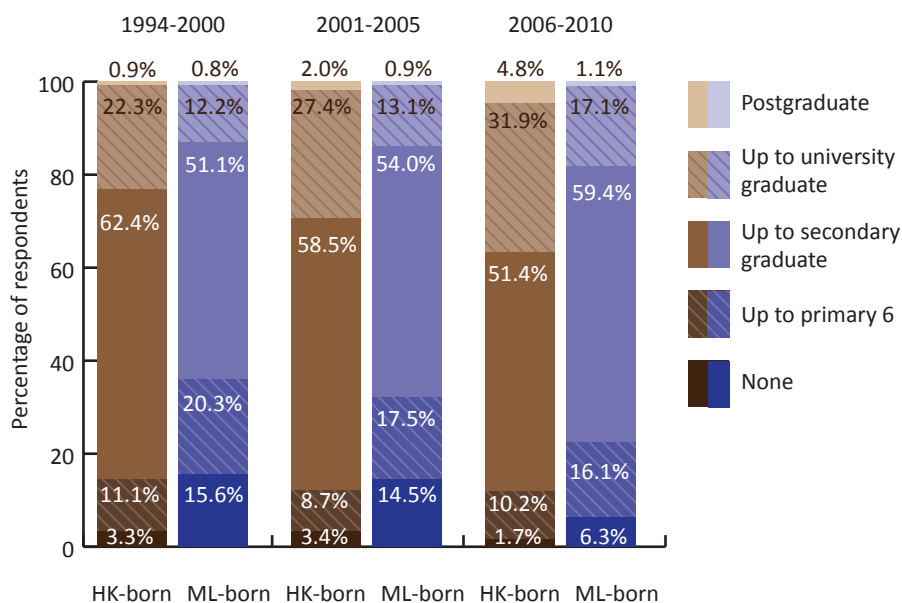
The survey data shows that the old stereotype of Mainland migrant women—unskilled homemakers married to much older Hong Kong men—is going out of date. Changes in immigration policy in 2003-2008 have shifted the migrant profile. In 2003, the HKSAR government introduced the Admission Scheme for Mainland Talents and Professionals and the Capital Investment Entrant Scheme; in 2006 it introduced the Quality Migrant Admission Scheme, and in 2008 it introduced the Immigration Arrangements for Non-local Graduates.¹⁷ As a result, Mainland women are no longer only coming to Hong Kong on One-Way Permits to be wives. Greater numbers of white-collar workers, undergraduate and postgraduate students are gaining entry, and many of these students are staying on after graduation.

The HKTP data on education shows that although they are starting from a lower base, Mainland-born women are now acquiring postsecondary education at the same relative rate as Hong Kong-born women. Between the second and third time cohorts, the percentage of Mainland-born and Hong Kong-born women of all ages with postsecondary education both grew by around 28%. Meanwhile, the percentage of Mainland and Hong Kong-born women between the ages of 18 and 29 with postsecondary education both grew by about 26%. Young Mainland-born women have now caught up to where Hong Kong-born women were in the late 1990s.

The data on occupations also shows that the proportion of Mainland-born women who are homemakers is still higher than that for Hong Kong-born women, but the gap is narrowing. Among managers and professionals, Mainland-born women closed the gender gap with Mainland-born men slightly better than Hong Kong-born women did with Hong Kong-born men. The gender balance among Hong Kong-born managers and professionals has not significantly changed since the late 1990s. However, the proportion of female Mainland-born managers and professionals has slightly increased, especially between the early and late 2000s.

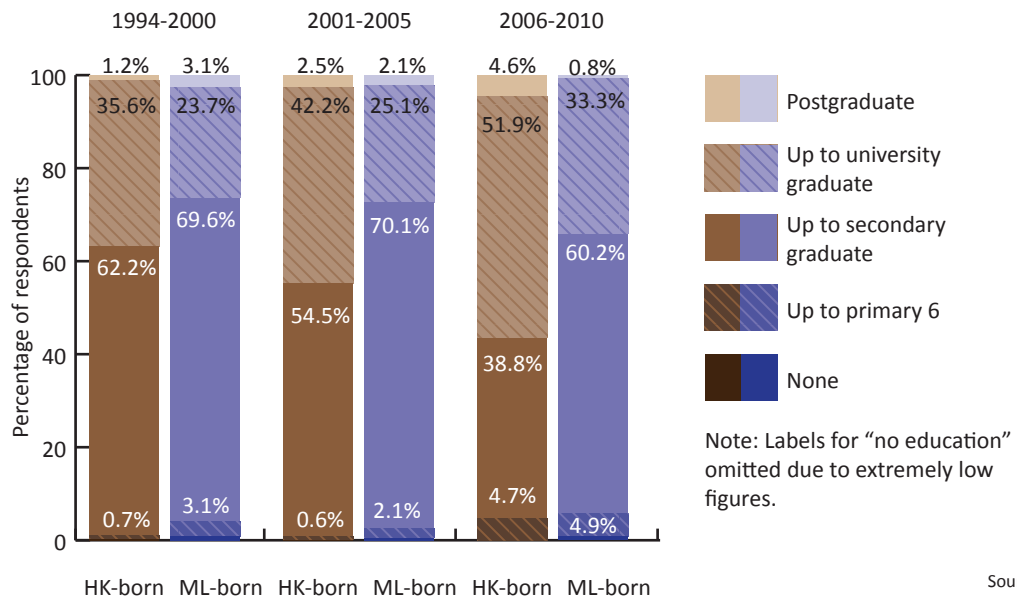
Since the HKTP sample excludes immigrants who have not yet lived in Hong Kong for seven years, the picture on the ground has likely changed even more than the data shows.

Educational attainment of Hong Kong and Mainland-born women, all ages

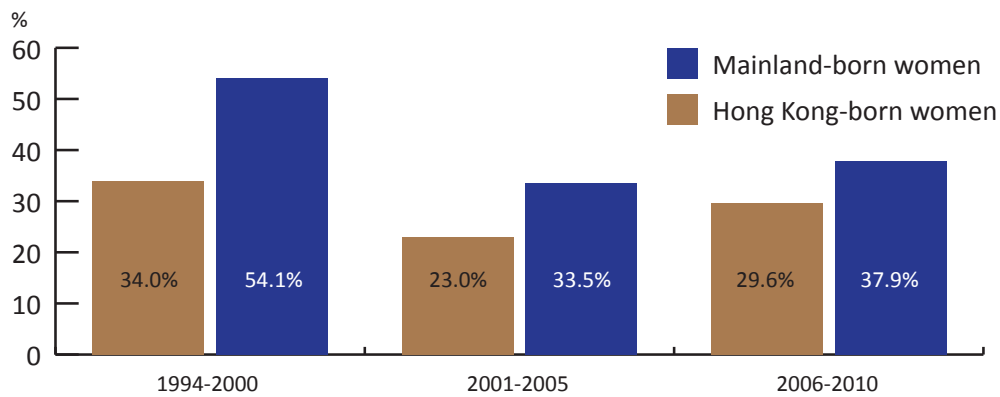


Source: HKTP

Educational attainment of Hong Kong and Mainland-born women, aged 18-29

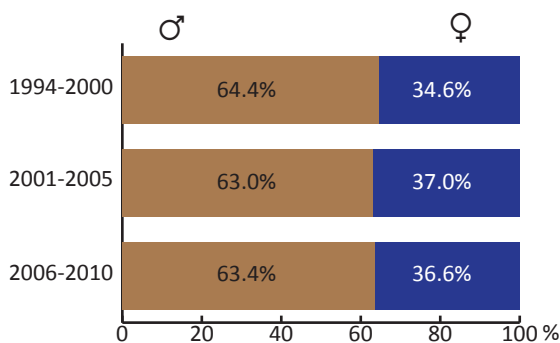


Percentage of homemakers among Hong Kong and Mainland-born women

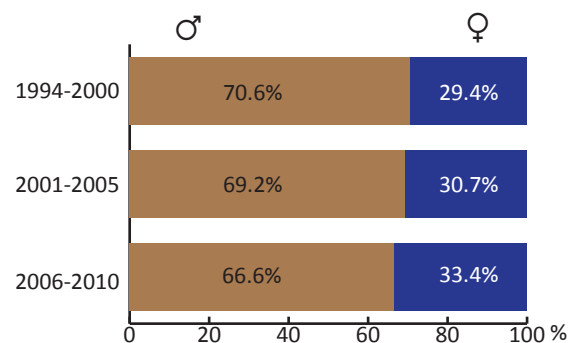


Gender balance of Hong Kong and Mainland-born managers and professionals

Hong Kong-born managers and professionals



Mainland-born managers and professionals



Source: HKTP



Occupational segregation

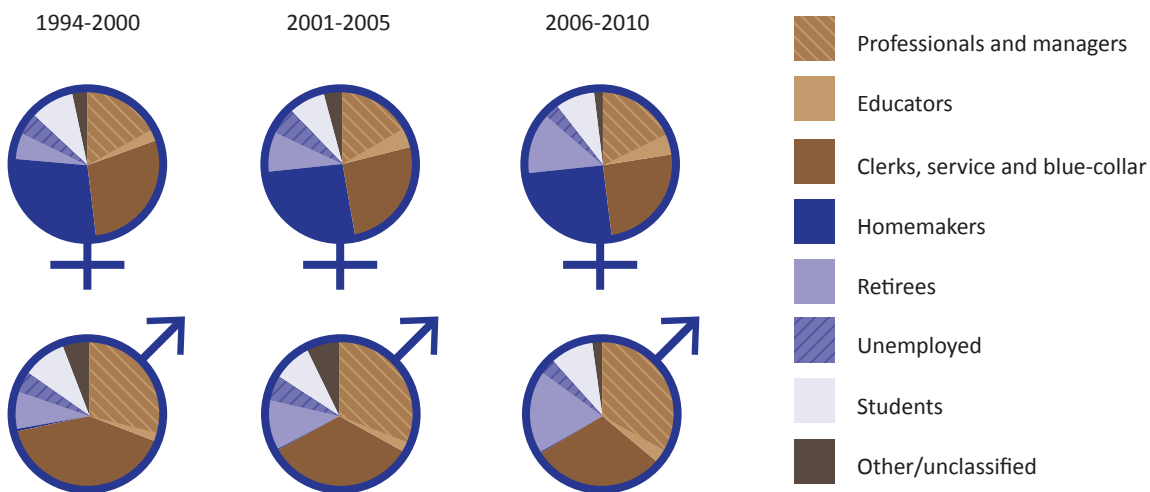


HKTP's occupational categories are organised differently from the HKSAR Census and Statistics Department's, enabling us to make some observations about gender that are not as clearly shown by the census data. Whereas the Census and Statistics Department organises employment data by three different classification schemes according to occupation, industry, and economic activity status, the HKTP's categorisation scheme straddles the three areas. Notably, it separates educators from other professionals, includes the economically inactive categories of students, homemakers, retirees, and the unemployed, and also classifies respondents according to whether they work in the public or private sector.

The HKTP data shows that the transition among males towards professional and managerial jobs (rising from 29.1% in the late 90s to 33.1% in the late 2000s) did not take place among females, who moved into the education sector in greater numbers. Women are also more likely to work in the public sector or the privatised public sector (which includes bodies such as the Housing Authority and MTRC), reflecting the preponderance of women in occupations such as teaching, nursing and social work.

This is not as obvious from the census occupation data, which groups educators, nurses and social workers together with other professionals and associate professionals. However, it is supported by the census industry data, which shows that the care sector (which encompasses public administration, education, human health and social work activities, arts, entertainment and recreation, and other services), is heavily female-dominated and has become even more so since 1991.

Proportion of cohort by sex and occupation (HKTP)



Source: HKTP

	1994-2000		2001-2005		2006-2010	
	♀ %	♂ %	♀ %	♂ %	♀ %	♂ %
Professionals and managers	17.10	29.10	16.90	31.10	17.90	33.10
Educators	2.60	2.10	4.40	2.20	4.80	0.30
Clerks, service and blue-collar	28.50	40.80	26.00	33.90	25.50	30.30
Homemakers	28.30	0.41	26.10	0.26	25.10	0.20
Retirees	5.90	8.20	8.80	11.50	13.20	18.20
Unemployed	4.70	4.50	5.60	5.60	3.00	3.40
Students	9.70	9.30	8.30	8.60	8.60	9.30
Other/unclassified	3.20	5.70	3.90	7.00	1.80	2.10



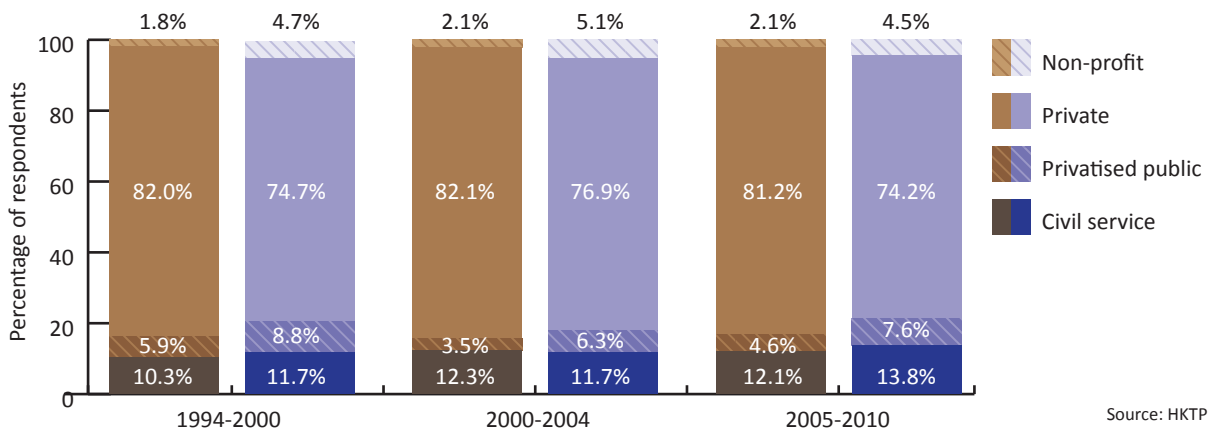
Regression analysis of the HKTP data shows that whereas in the late 1990s, men and women were about equally likely to be unemployed; by the late 2000s, men were significantly more likely to be unemployed than women.

Overall, men have been more successful at moving into white-collar positions, while women are more concentrated in “pink-collar” jobs. However, some men are doing worse than women. Their higher unemployment rates may be contributing to the increase in political discontent among lesser-educated younger men, who are unable to obtain white-collar jobs yet find themselves outcompeted by women for service-oriented jobs.

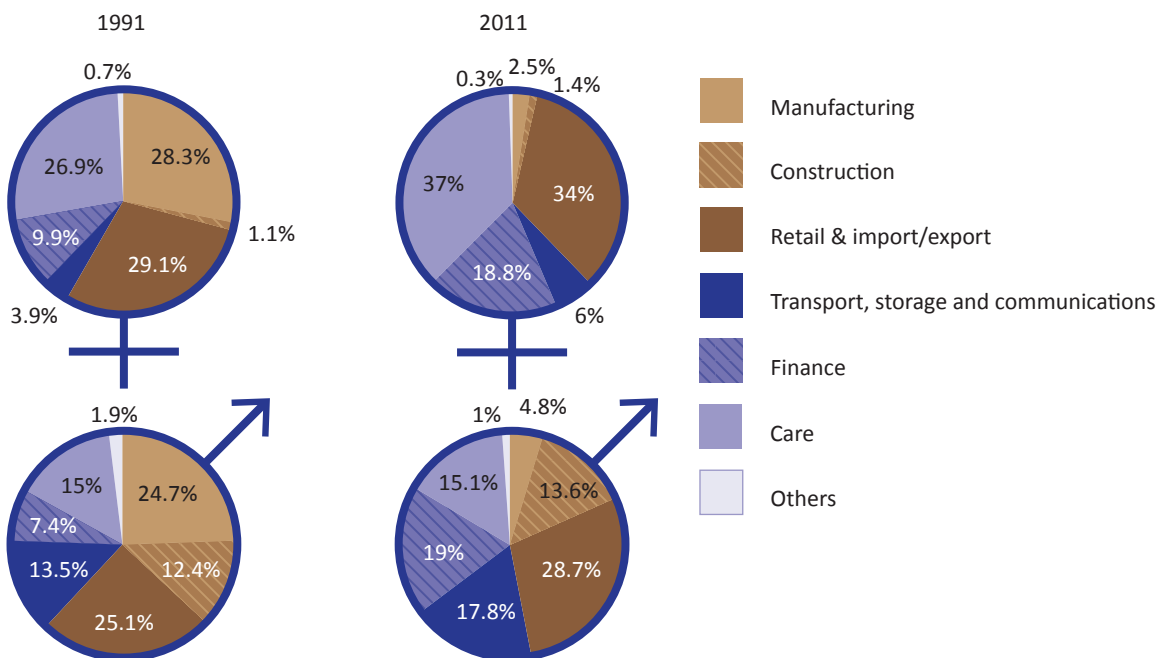


Finally, the HKTP data also shows how blue-collar men in particular have moved into retirement as the population has aged. Although demographically, elderly women outnumber men, more men describe themselves as retirees. This is likely because women whose primary identity is that of a homemaker (homemakers are overwhelmingly women) continue to describe themselves as such after they reach retirement age. This underlines how policy makers need to be aware of gender when addressing retirement, and that “one size fits all” policies may not apply.

Employed men and women by sector



Employed men and women by industry



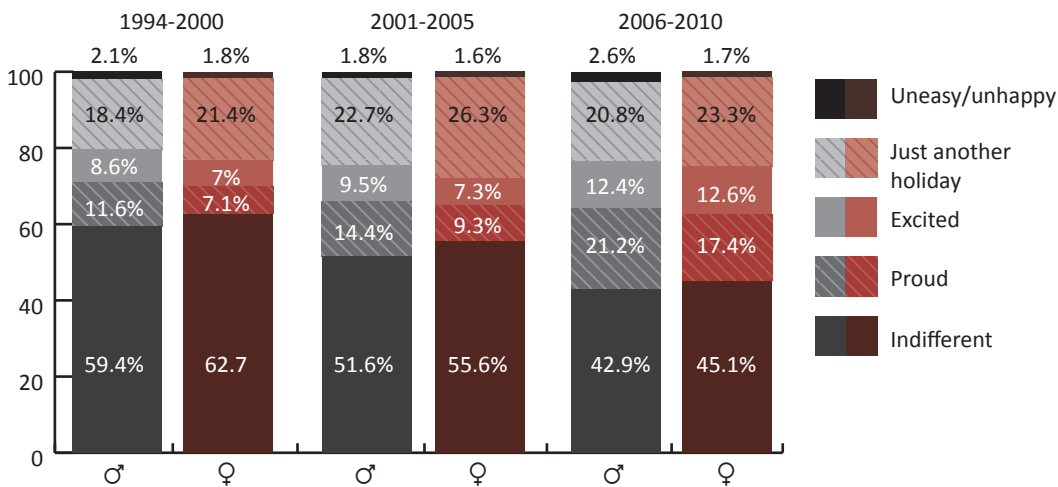
Source: Census and Statistics Department, ϕ ψ

Feelings towards National Day

HKTP surveys ask respondents how they feel towards China's National Day: indifferent, proud, excited, "just another holiday", or uneasy/unhappy. Their responses are seen as indicative of patriotic feelings and national identification. Men have consistently reported more positive or negative feelings towards National Day, while women have maintained a more neutral or indifferent stance. However, feelings of pride and excitement, which have risen consistently between 1994 and 2010, have increased to a greater degree in women than in men. The gap in enthusiasm has narrowed: in the late 1990s, the percentage of men who said they felt proud or excited on National Day was 6.1 percentage points more than that for women, but by the late 2000s, this figure was 3.6%.

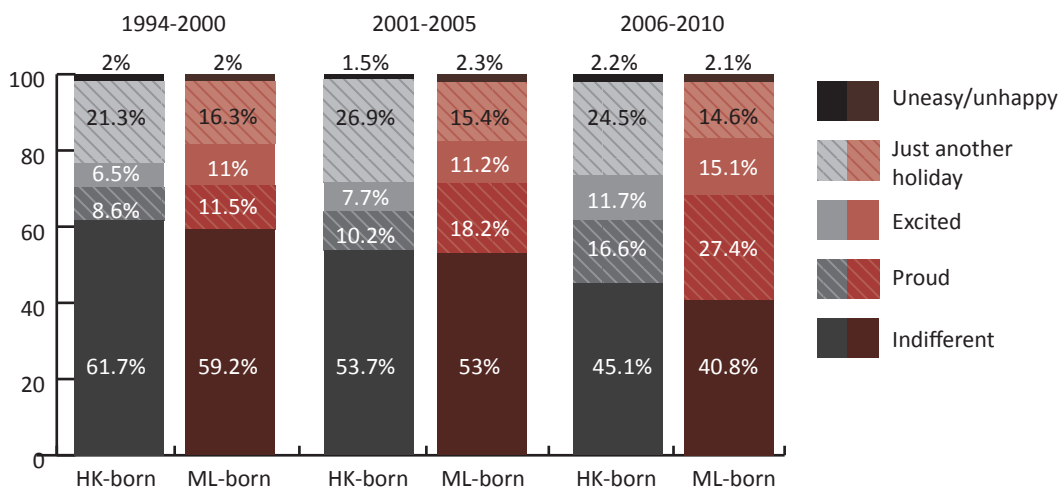
Breaking this down further by birthplace, regression analysis shows that men born in Hong Kong were less likely to feel neutral or indifferent than women born in Hong Kong, but there was no difference between men and women born in the Mainland. In general, Mainland-born respondents show higher levels of positive feelings towards National Day than Hong Kong-born respondents, but both groups have been becoming more positive towards National Day at nearly the same pace. After a long period of separation between Hong Kong and the Mainland, the attitudes of Hong Kong people are changing steadily and surely.

Feelings towards National Day by gender



Source: HKTP

Feelings towards National Day by birthplace



Source: HKTP

Areas of personal concern

How do men and women differ in their priorities? HKTP surveys ask respondents, “Which problem in Hong Kong are you most concerned about personally?” The question is open-ended, and the responses are recorded and classified into economic, social and political issues (see table below). Economic concerns were dominant among both genders in the first two time cohorts, but dropped below 50% for the first time during the third time cohort.

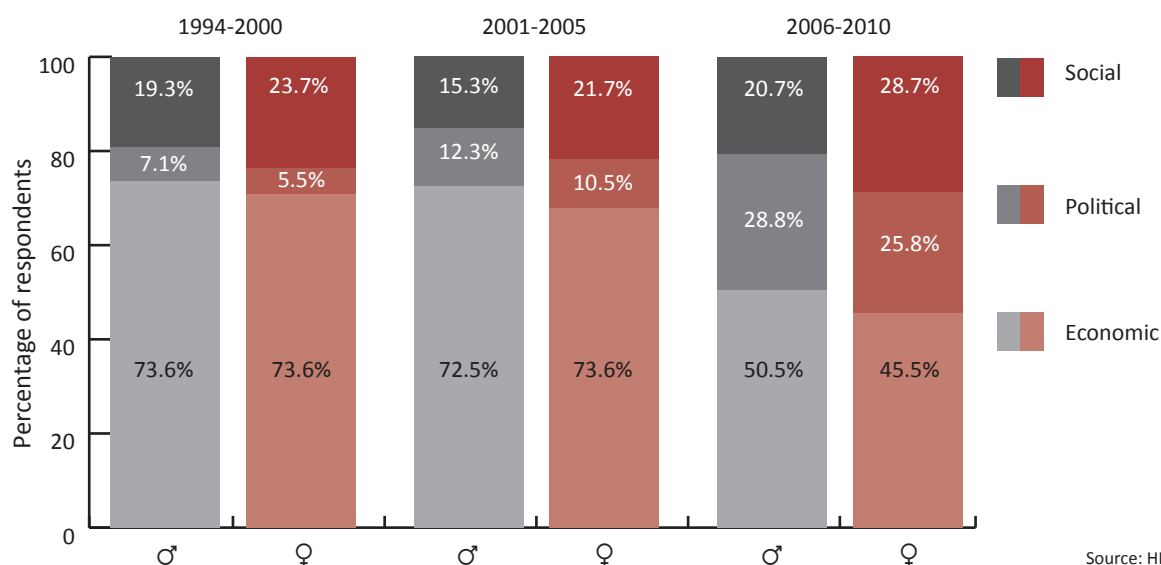
Women consistently expressed more concern about social issues, which corresponds with separate surveys showing that they are more concerned about pollution.¹⁸ This may be because women tend to be responsible for the health decisions of their families.

Perhaps a surprising finding is that women are nearly as concerned about political issues as men. Given women’s concerns with household expenses and their underrepresentation in voter registration prior to 2012, this is unexpected.

Recorded responses on greatest personal concerns, classified by economic, social and political issues

Economic issues	Social issues	Political issues
Salary cuts	Good quality education	Corruption
Employment/unemployment	Crime	Political stability
Economic growth rate	Public medical services	Freedom of press, demonstration, travel
Business closings	Pollution (air and/or water)	Autonomy of Hong Kong
Affordable housing/property market	Overpopulation	Fair judiciary
Hong Kong stock market		Competence of civil servants
Hong Kong international competitiveness		Competence of Chief Executive
Wealth gap		
Welfare cuts		
Elderly welfare		

Areas of greatest personal concern by gender



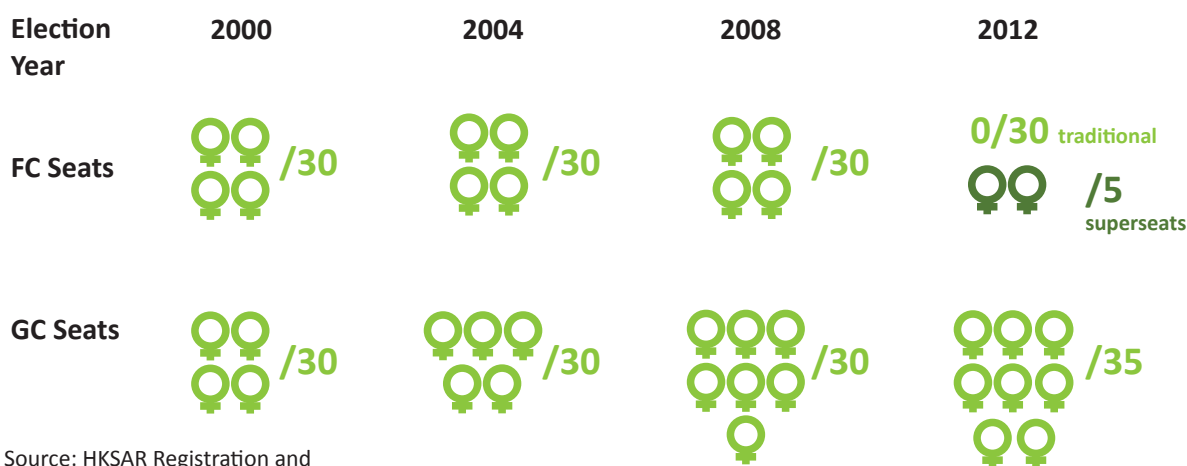
Source: HKTP

Functional Constituencies

Functional constituencies are Hong Kong’s profession- and industry-based seats which comprise half of LegCo. In the 2012 LegCo election, there were 35 FC seats overall: 30 “traditional” functional constituencies elected by a small elite, and 5 new district council “superseats” whose candidates are nominated by district councillors but are elected by all registered voters.

Since 2000, the number of women in the directly elected geographical seats has steadily increased, but remained steady in the FCs until the 2012 election, when the number of women elected to traditional FC seats dropped to zero.

Number of women elected to FC and GC LegCo seats, 2000-2012



Source: HKSAR Registration and Electoral Office

What explains this phenomenon? HKTP’s data confirms that functional constituency voter and candidate pools are overwhelmingly composed of highly-educated managers and professionals, and that this elite is skewed towards men (see opposite). Therefore, FCs tend to overrepresent men.

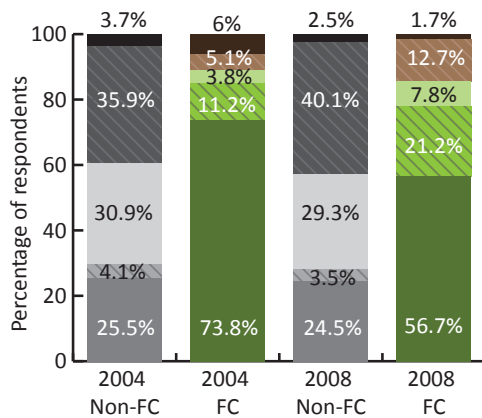
The major exception is the education sector, which is one of the few female-dominated FC sectors. Approximately 1 in 10 women were educators, compared to 3.2% and 6.5% of men in 2004 and 2008, respectively. Regression analysis shows that between 2004 and 2008, the number of women increased relative to men among educators registered as FC voters. However, this did not translate into more female FC legislators because there is only one education representative. While the HKTP surveys did not collect specific data on other female-dominated caring professions, a similar dynamic likely exists in the health services and social welfare sectors.

Moreover, female professionals do not seem to be taking up leadership roles within their sectors at the same rate as men. HKTP data shows that participation in professional associations has become increasingly male-dominated since the late 1990s, although the reasons for this are unclear. (Professional associations form the electoral base of functional constituencies with individual, rather than corporate voters.) Even female-dominated FC sectors have usually been represented by men. For example, Cheung Man-kwong, the former chairman of the Hong Kong Professional Teachers’ Union, represented the education sector from 1998 to 2012.

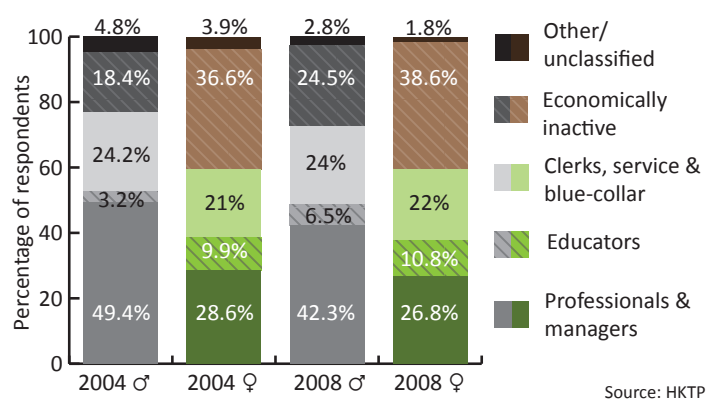
These factors may help explain many HKTP surveys over the years reporting greater dissatisfaction amongst women, and more women than men deeming policy making unfair.

Occupations of respondents, 2004 and 2008

FC vs. Non-FC voters



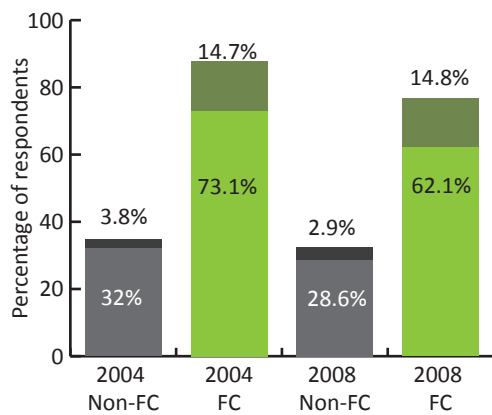
Men vs. women



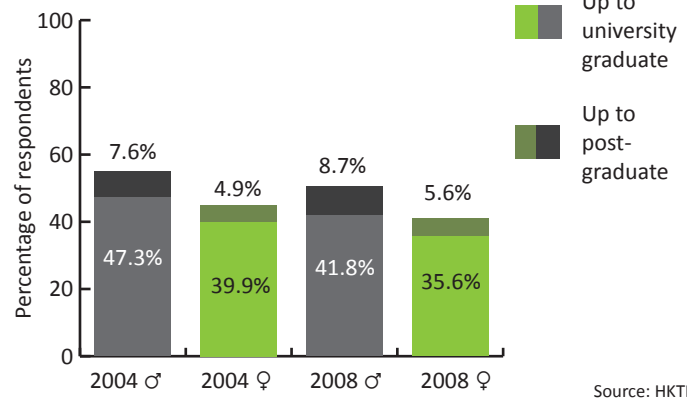
Source: HKTP

Percentage of respondents with postsecondary education, 2004 and 2008

FC vs. Non-FC voters



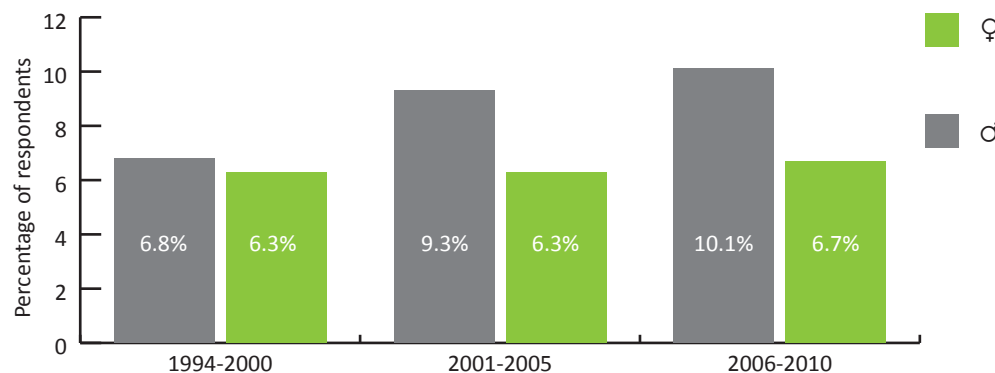
Men vs. women



Source: HKTP

Participation in professional associations by sex, 1994-2000, 2001-2005, and 2006-2010

Percentage of respondents that attended meetings of professional associations in the prior 6 months



Source: HKTP

Civic participation

Does women's participation in civil society and politics differ from men's? To gauge participation in civil society, HTKP asks respondents whether they have attended meetings or activities of various types of civil society group over the previous 6 months (see opposite). These organisations are grouped into 4 categories: trade unions, professional associations, residency associations, and issue associations.

To gauge political expression, HKTP asks respondents whether they have expressed concern on issues or sought help with problems in various ways over the prior 12 months. These actions include contacting government institutions such as government departments or legislators, contacting policy-oriented civil society institutions such as the media, or engaging in personal policy-oriented actions such as signing a petition.

The overall pattern of responses shows that men slightly lead women in most forms of civic and political participation, but the difference is not very large. However, men seem to be more involved in organisations tied to Hong Kong's formal power structure, while women are more involved in organisations outside the formal structure but which may exert influence on specific policy issues from time to time.

As mentioned on pp. 30-31, men's participation in professional associations has risen much more significantly than women's over the 3 time cohorts, which may help explain the overrepresentation of men in functional constituencies. Furthermore, the gender gap in participation in residency associations such as mutual aid committees and especially ownership corporations has widened between the first time cohort and the third. Each public housing estate block has a mutual aid committee, whose role is to report problems such as rubbish collection, transport and noise complaints to the relevant government bodies. MACs have historically provided a ladder for politically interested members to run in District Council elections. Ownership corporations perform a similar role in private housing estates.

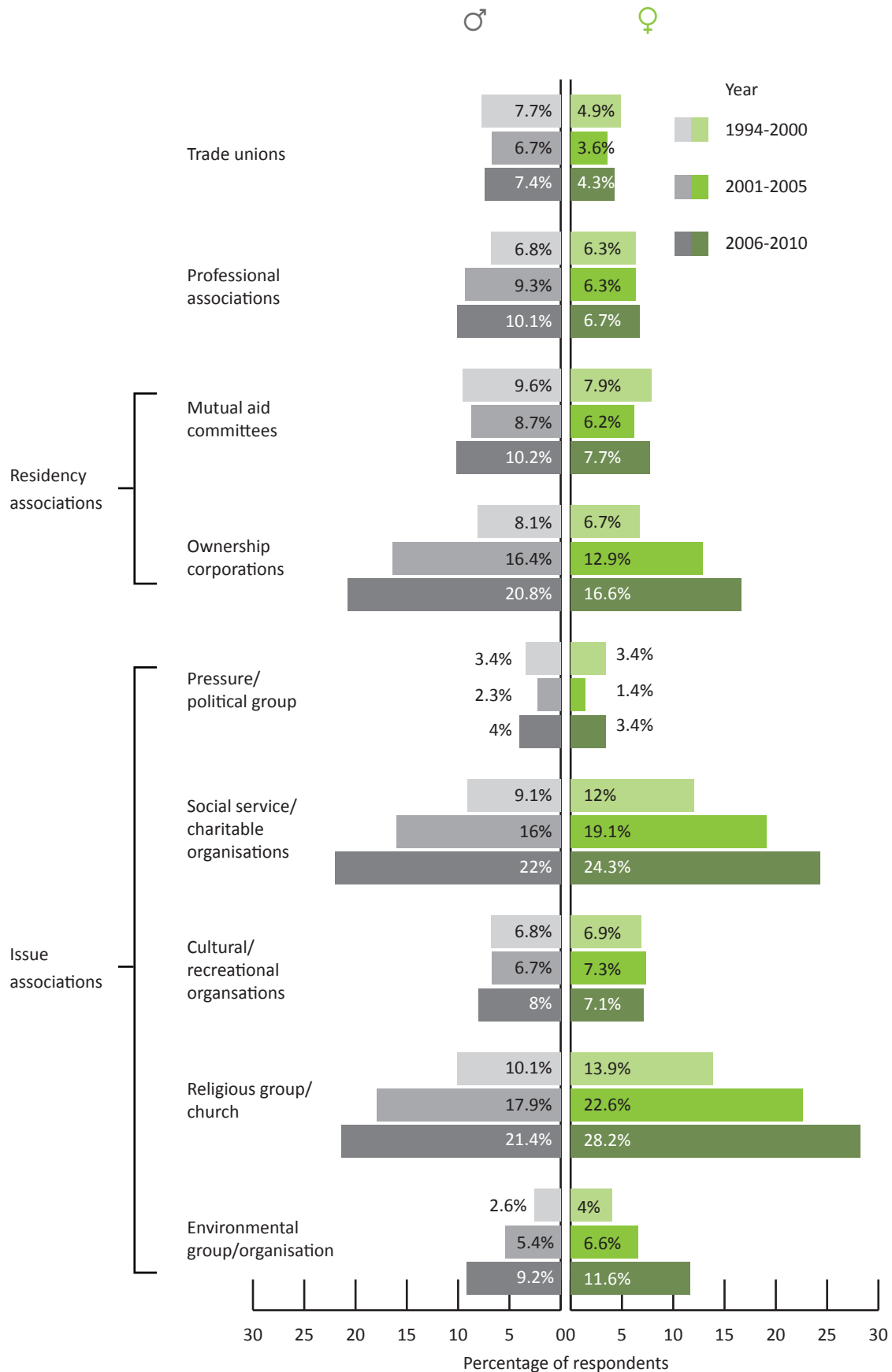
Conversely, women's participation has consistently exceeded men's in social service and charitable organisations, religious groups, and environmental groups. In the case of social service and charitable organisations, men have somewhat narrowed the gap with women, but in the case of religious and environmental groups, the rise in women's participation has outpaced men's.

In general, the figures show a dramatic rise in civic participation among both sexes, which helps explain why Hong Kong people are able to mobilise quickly around political issues despite very low rates of participation in formal political parties and pressure groups.

In terms of political expression, women tend to contact governmental institutions slightly less frequently than men, but both genders have seen a nearly identical rise in such activity. This may indicate declining alienation from local government after the Handover, particularly among respondents born on the Mainland. The proportion of Mainland-born residents contacting governmental institutions grew by 2.8% percentage points between the late 1990s and early 2000s, compared with 1.2% among Hong Kong-born residents.¹⁹

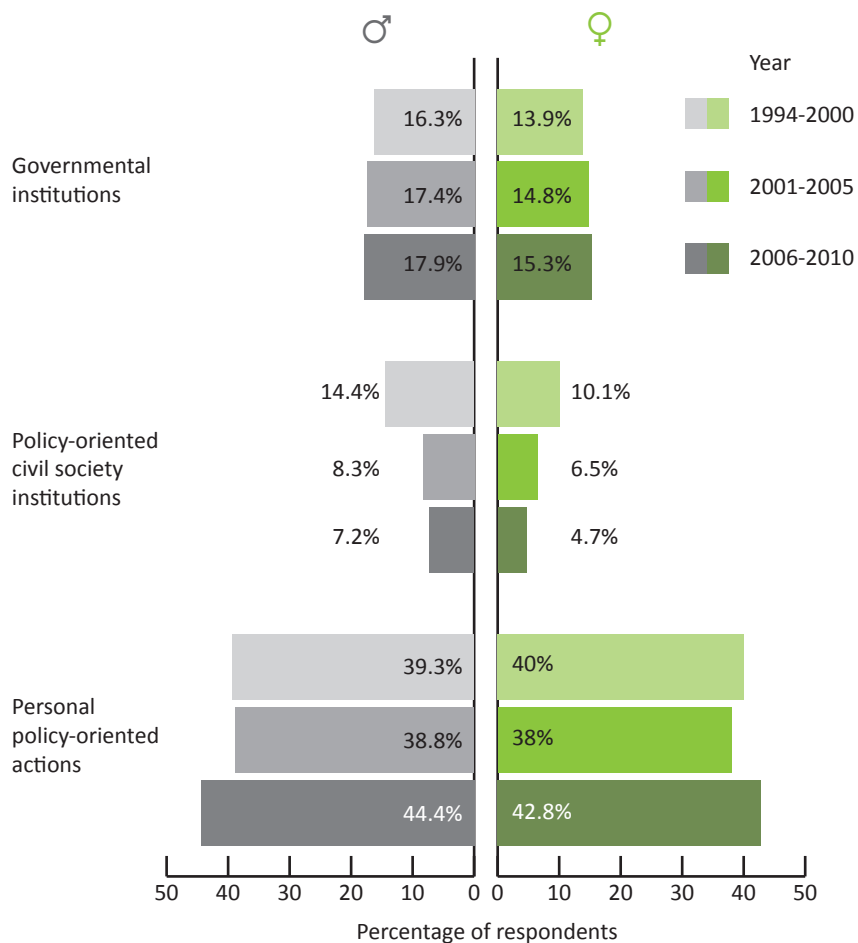
Both sexes saw considerable declines in contacting policy-oriented civil society institutions. This may reflect declining confidence in the media's influence, the displacement of local kaifongs due to urban redevelopment, and Hong Kong's short history of political parties as entities from which to seek help. Instead, there has been a rise in personal actions, such as joining rallies and signing petitions. Here, women's actions have closely rivaled men's and even exceeded them in the 1994-2000 time cohort.

Participation in civil society groups by gender



Source: HKTP

Avenues of political expression by gender



Source: HKTP

Contacting governmental institutions	Contacting policy-oriented civil society institutions	Personal policy-oriented actions
Government departments	Mass media	Join rally/demonstration/protest
Directly elected LegCo representatives	Local-level group or kaifong	Sign a petition
Functional constituency representatives	Pressure group/political party	
District council/District officer		

Given women's levels of civic and political participation it is puzzling that they have not taken up more leadership roles. There have been three political parties founded by women in Hong Kong: the (now defunct) Citizens Party, established by Christine Loh in the late 1990s; The Frontier, which was led by Emily Lau before it merged with the Democratic Part in 2008; and the New People's Party, established by former Secretary for Security Regina Ip in 2011. The former two have only ever had a single representative in LegCo each, and none have yet succeeded in becoming more than personal vehicles for their founders. Whether this points towards disadvantages in networking and mentorship among female leaders is a question for further research.

Women have clearly made strides forward over the time covered in this report in terms of education, income and participation, but many challenges remain, for women must not merely participate in society equally with men; they must also play an equal role in leadership and in the formulation and implementation of policy.

Recommendations

A call for better access to data

The process of conducting this research highlighted numerous gaps in the availability and usage of demographic data in Hong Kong. The government collects much valuable data, but does not currently exploit it to its full potential. Anonymised historical census samples are not made freely available to researchers, which makes it impossible to conduct detailed statistical analysis involving techniques such as multivariate regression analysis. It is partly for this reason that HKTP data was used as a proxy source. We often found that publicly available census data was difficult to locate or obtain, or available only in limited categories or time periods. For example, there is very little pre-1997 data available on the Census and Statistics Department's website. Historical data should be kept available so that trends can be better studied. Moreover, census data is not always consistent with general household survey data, and changes in counting methodology or revisions to existing data need to be better explained. On a more serious note, it has recently come to light that some census data compiled in the 1990s was inaccurately and even fraudulently collected. We hope that the government has addressed any systemic problems to ensure the reliability and validity of census data in the future.

A fuller and more sophisticated understanding of demographic trends can only benefit Hong Kong's public discourse and help policy makers to design evidence-based policies. A better understanding of underrepresented groups and minorities will also help policy makers to target policies at specific groups. We recommend that the HKSAR Government to take a more proactive approach to making data available and user-friendly.

Priorities for policy makers

This project has highlighted the following areas of priority for policy makers:

- There is a great need to improve the lives of the elderly, especially elderly women. With an operating surplus of HK\$38 billion forecast for 2011-12, the government can surely afford to spend some money on their well-being. This requires short-term fixes for today's elderly and longer-term fixes for the elderly of the future.
- Reversing Hong Kong's low fertility will require a deeper understanding of the constraints and incentives faced by women of child-bearing age. Policies should be aimed both at removing gender-specific opportunity costs, such as making Hong Kong a more family-friendly city in terms of work, education, housing and environment, and improving the prospects of young adults in general.
- The data shows that greater educational attainment has not paid off economically for the average young adult. Economic and educational policies need to expand job opportunities, ensure that young people obtain the skills needed in today's economy, and share the benefits of economic growth more broadly.
- Pressure is mounting on our teenagers and young women growing into adulthood today. They emerge from what is now twelve years of free education with attainment on a par with their male peers and high expectations for their careers, their roles within their families and their lifestyles. Yet there is a large and noticeable gap in the number of women in

positions of leadership, and “pink-collar” jobs have become even more female-dominated over the last 20 years. Government, business, and the non-profit sector should work together to ensure that girls and young women have role models and support at the key transition points in their lives.

- The profile of Mainland migrant women is rapidly changing: Mainland women are no longer coming to Hong Kong simply to be homemakers, but are increasingly coming to study or take up managerial and professional positions. Furthermore, dependency ratios among Mainland-born residents have recently started to fall, as Mainland-born children are becoming old enough to enter the workforce. Policy makers must be careful to resist anti-Mainland popular pressures as Mainland migrants will have an important role to play in supporting the burden of Hong Kong’s ageing and retired residents in the future.
- The data shows that women in Hong Kong take part actively in civil society, but for various reasons their participation in Hong Kong’s formal power structures has failed to keep pace with men. Given women’s greater concern about social issues, policy makers may be unconsciously undervaluing the priorities of the female half of Hong Kong’s population. Deeper thinking is needed on developing social policies and investing in human capital, from health care and education to the environment.

Priorities for researchers

This project has also uncovered priority areas for future research:

- Research should begin now into the expectations and needs of today’s middle-aged women for their old age, so that Hong Kong does not let its old people down again. They are better educated and more likely to have earned their own incomes and had their own identities in the workplace, so their demands will be different from the elderly women of today.
- There is room for more research into shifting values in addition to demographic characteristics. Hong Kong people today navigate a complex and conflicting world of traditional Chinese values and very modern values that permeate deeper into society as globalisation spreads its influence. Changes in values affect behaviour, which ultimately affects family structures, housing, benefits, the tax system and countless other policy areas.

Glossary and definitions

- 1. Education:** Educational attainment is defined as “highest level attended” across all years. Due to changes in data collection and educational policy, the definition of educational categories, particularly “postsecondary non-degree”, varies slightly from year to year:
 - For 2011: Categories are as reported in Women and Men in Hong Kong, Key Statistics (2012). Persons with educational attainment at lower secondary level refer to those with secondary 1 to secondary 3 education. Persons with educational attainment at upper secondary level refer to those with secondary 4 to secondary 7 education or equivalent level. Persons with educational attainment at postsecondary non-degree level refer to those with certificate, diploma, higher certificate, higher diploma, professional diploma, associate degree, preassociate degree, endorsement certificate, associateship and other sub-degree education or equivalent level.
 - For 1991: Upper secondary includes upper secondary, matriculation, craft courses in technical institutes; postsecondary non-degree includes certificate/diploma course in technical institutes/polytechnics, higher diploma/endorsement certificate courses in technical institutes /polytechnics, associateship or equivalent courses in polytechnics, teacher training courses, nurse training courses, non-degree courses in other postsecondary colleges; postsecondary degree includes first degree and postgraduate courses.
- 2. Fertility rates:** The age-specific fertility rate is the number of live births per 1,000 in a given age band in a given year. Note that according to the Government Census and Statistics Department’s most current data, all age-specific fertility rates for 2011 are provisional. The total fertility rate describes the average number of children that would be born to a woman over her lifetime if she were to experience the current age-specific fertility rates through her lifetime, and she were to survive from birth until the end of her reproductive life.
- 3. Industry:** According to the Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government, the industry categories for 1991-2007 follow the Hong Kong Standard Industrial Classification (HSIC) Version 1.1. For 2008-2011 they follow the HSIC Version 2.0. Although the categories differ for 1991 and 2011, the shifts to different industries are still evident. In this summary, the following abbreviations to category labels are made:
 - “Retail, accommodation and food services” is shortened to “retail”.
 - “Import/export trade and wholesale” is shortened to “import/export”.
 - “Financing, insurance, real estate and business services” is shortened to “finance”.
 - “Public administration, social and personal services” is shortened to “care”.
 - “Transportation, storage, postal and courier services, information and communications” is shortened to “transport and communications”.
- 4. Housing:** In 1991, public rental housing included Housing Authority rental blocks, Group A and Group B as well as Housing Society rental blocks; subsidised home ownership housing included Housing Authority home ownership estates; private permanent housing included private self-contained and non-self-contained housing blocks, villas/bungalows/modern village houses and simple stone structures; non-domestic housing included institutions and other permanent housing (such as hostels, staff quarters etc.); other temporary housing included rooftop structures and other temporary housing. For 2011, categories are as reported in 2011 Census Main Tables. Other Temporary Housing includes persons living on board vessels.

5. **Inflation:** Where indicated, historical monetary figures are adjusted to 2011 dollars using the Composite Consumer Price Index.

6. **Labour force participation:** According to the Government Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government, the economically active population comprises the employed (that is, the working population) and the unemployed. It is synonymous with the labour force. An employed person is someone over the age of 15 years who has been engaged in performing work for pay during the seven days before enumeration or who has a formal job attachment and can be categorised into self-employed, employer, employee or unpaid family worker (meaning a person who works for no pay in a family business). An unemployed person is someone over the age of 15 years who has not had a job or performed any work during the seven days before enumeration and has been available for work during those seven days and has sought work during thirty days before enumeration; has sought work but is unavailable due to sickness, has made arrangements to take up a new job; or is expecting to return to their original job. Data on economic activity and inactivity status is compiled from the General Household Survey (GHS) which covers the land-based non-institutional population of Hong Kong and thus does not cover inmates of institutions and persons living on board vessels (unlike the population data which is compiled from the 2011 Population Census and includes both inmates of institutions and persons living on board vessels).

7. **Nationality:** The coverage for this ‘nationality’ data is the Hong Kong Resident Population described in endnote 1. According to the Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government, ‘nationality’ may be a person’s place of residency, ethnicity or place of birth. It may not be related to a person’s travel document. This is due to the post-1997 application of the Nationality Law of the People’s Republic of China, which states that Hong Kong residents and former residents who are of Chinese descent and born in the mainland of China or Hong Kong are of Chinese nationality. Prior to 1997, nationality was classified according to a person’s travel document, hence data from the 1996 population By-census and earlier was collected differently. A person of Chinese nationality (meaning born in Mainland China or Hong Kong) who is categorised as ‘domiciled’ in Hong Kong is a person who is resident in Hong Kong and considers their place of domicile to be Hong Kong. A person of Chinese nationality who is ‘non-domiciled’ is a person who, although resident in Hong Kong, considers their place of domicile to be somewhere other than Hong Kong.

8. **Occupation:** According to the Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government, occupations refer to the kind of work, nature of duties and main task performed by a person in his/her main job during the seven days before enumeration. From 1993 to 2010, the classification used basically followed the major groups of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (1988) or ISCO-88, with local adaptation for Hong Kong. There are significant differences between this classification scheme and the one adopted for years prior to 1993, hence, 1993 figures are used in place of 1991 figures. In 2011, the Census and Statistics Department updated its classification scheme to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (2008) or ISCO-08. This means that 2011 figures are not directly comparable to earlier figures, but are nevertheless presented side by side in this summary and in Louisa Mitchell’s report. The official categories and their definitions are listed below, however, please note that in this summary report, the two following category labels have been modified or combined for the sake of brevity and ease of understanding:
 - “Craft and related workers” and “plant and machine operators and assemblers” have been combined into one category, called “skilled manual”.
 - “Elementary occupations” has been renamed “unskilled manual” for ease of understanding.

ISCO-88/ISCO-08 categories:

- **Managers and administrators:** Including administrators, commissioners and directors in government service; consuls; councillors; and directors, chief executive officers,

presidents, general managers, functional managers, branch managers and small business managers in industry, commerce, import and export trade, wholesale and retail trade, catering and lodging services, transport, electricity, gas, water and other services and agricultural and fishery sectors.

- Professionals: Including qualified professional scientists, doctors, dentists and other medical professionals; architects, surveyors and engineers; vice-chancellors, directors, academic staff and administrators of universities and postsecondary colleges; principals and teachers of secondary schools; statisticians; mathematicians; systems analysts and computer programmers; lawyers and judges; accountants; business consultants and analysts; social workers; translators and interpreters; news editors and journalists; writers; librarians and members of religious orders.
 - Associate professionals: Including science technicians, nurses and midwives, dental assistants and other health associate professionals; architectural, surveying and engineering technicians; optical and electronic equipment controllers; ship pilots and air traffic controllers; principals and teachers of primary schools and kindergartens/nurseries; statistical assistants; computer operators; law clerks; accounting supervisors; public relations officers; sales representatives; designers; estate managers; social work assistants; superintendents, inspectors and officers of the police and other disciplined services; performers and sportsmen.
 - Clerks: Including stenographers, secretaries and typists; bookkeeping, finance, shipping, filing and personnel clerks; cashiers and tellers; receptionists and information clerks.
 - Service workers and shop sales workers: Including flight attendants and travel guides; house stewards; cooks and waiters; babysitters; hairdressers and beauticians; rank and file staff of the police and other disciplined services; transport conductors and other service workers; wholesale and retail salespeople in shops; shop assistants and fashion models.
 - Craft and related workers: Including miners and quarrymen; bricklayers, carpenters and other construction workers; metal moulders; blacksmiths; machinery, electric and electronic instrument mechanics; jewellery workers and watchmakers; potters; typesetters; bakers, food and beverage processors; painters; craft workers in textile, garment, leather, rubber and plastic trades and other craft workers.
 - Plant and machine operators and assemblers: Including well drillers and borers; ore smelting furnace operators; brick and tile kilnmen; sawmill sawyers; paper makers; chemical processing plant operators; power-generating plant and boiler operators; asbestos cement product makers; metal finishers and electroplaters; dairy and other food processing machine operators; printing machine operators; machine operators for production of textile, rubber and plastic products; assemblers; drivers; seamen and other plant and machine operators.
 - Elementary occupations: Including street vendors; domestic helpers and cleaners; messengers; private security guards; watchmen; freight handlers; lift operators; construction labourers; hand packers; agricultural and fishery labourers.
 - Others: Including farm workers, animal husbandry workers and fishermen, and occupations unidentifiable and inadequately described.
9. **Remaining life expectancy:** Life expectancy at birth represents an average expected life span for the whole population, whereas remaining life expectancy is specific to the population which has already reached a designated age, for example 60 years. In 2011, women aged 60 could expect to live another 27.3 years, that is up to age 87.3. This figure is slightly higher than the life expectancy at birth of 86.7, because it excludes from the pool those who have already died.

Endnotes

1. Census and by-census data (years 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011) covers the Hong Kong Resident Population, which includes usual residents and mobile residents (usual residents are permanent residents who stayed in Hong Kong for at least three months during the six months before or after the census or non-permanent residents who were in Hong Kong at the census reference moment). General Household Survey data used in other years covers the land-based non-institutional population of Hong Kong and therefore excludes residents of institutions and persons living on board vessels, which means that it covers approximately 99% of the Hong Kong Resident Population. This may account for some differences in data across years.
2. Chow, N. and Lum, T. (2008), *Trends in Family Attitudes and Values in Hong Kong: Final Report Submitted to Central Policy Unit, Hong Kong SAR Government*, Department of Social Work and Social Administration, The University of Hong Kong. <http://www.cpu.gov.hk/tc/documents/new/press/20080822%20Trends%20in%20family%20attitudes%20and%20values%20in%20Hong%20Kong.pdf> (accessed 23 April 2012).
3. Women's Commission and Policy 21 (2011), *What do Women and Men in Hong Kong Think About the Status of Women at Home, Work and in Social Environments?* http://www.women.gov.hk/colour/en/research_statistics/research_status_of_women.htm (accessed 3 May 2012).
4. The data comes from four major sources:
 - Census and Statistics Department of the Hong Kong Government (1991), *Hong Kong 1991 Population Census Main Tables*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government;
 - Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2011), *2011 Population Census Main Tables*, Hong Kong: HKSAR Government, <http://www.census2011.gov.hk/en/main-table.html> (accessed 31 August 2012);
 - Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2012), *Women and Men in Hong Kong: Key Statistics 2012 Edition*, Hong Kong: HKSAR Government, <http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp180.jsp?productCode=B1130303> (accessed 31 August 2012); and
 - Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government, *Hong Kong Life Tables 2006-2041*, Hong Kong: HKSAR Government, <http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/hkstat/sub/sp190.jsp?productCode=B1120016> (accessed 31 August 2012).
5. Hong Kong's population swelled from an estimated less than 1 million in 1945 to 5.1 million by 1981 due to large-scale migration from Mainland China. Prior to 1974, the colonial government relied on an agreement with Mainland China to set a quota on migrants, but this failed to stem the tide of refugees. In November 1974, the Hong Kong Government implemented the "Touch Base Policy" to try to limit the flow of migrants. Illegal immigrants who "reached base", that is gained a home with relatives or otherwise found proper accommodation in the urban area were permitted to stay, but those who were caught at the border were repatriated. The policy was unsuccessful, and was discontinued in October 1980, after which all immigrants without a Hong Kong identity card were repatriated if apprehended.
6. Janet W. Sallaff published a highly acclaimed book called *Working Daughters of Hong Kong* in 1981, a study of 28 working daughters who were women in low-income families, from which this term 'working daughters' was coined.
7. Choi, D. P. K. ed. (1998), 晚晚6點半——七十年代上夜校的女工 translated as 'Every night at 6:30pm—women workers attending night school in the 1970s', <http://www.stepforwardmultimedia.com/book.php?isbn=962-8326-17-1> (accessed 21 May 2012).
8. Chow N. and Lum T. (2008). See note 2.
9. Chow N. and Lum T. (2008). See note 2.
10. Women's Commission and Policy 21 (2011). See note 3.
11. When the government calculates fertility rates, it includes in the number of live births Type I babies whose mothers are from the Mainland and fathers are Hong Kong permanent residents, and excludes Type II babies, whose fathers and mothers are both from the Mainland. HKSAR Census and Statistics Department (2010), *Hong Kong Population Projections 2010-2039*, <http://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B1120015042010XXXXB0100.pdf> (accessed 3 August 2012).
12. Chow, N. and Lum, T. (2008). See note 2.
13. Tam, S. M. (2003), "Empowering Mobility: 'Astronaut' Women in Australia" in Lee E. W. Y. (Ed.), *Gender and Change in Hong Kong: Globalisation, Postcolonialism*

and Chinese Patriarchy, pp. 97-132. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

14. The HKTP Gender and Social Mobility Study is based on surveys of 39,629 people in Hong Kong between 1994 and 2010. In fact, more people were surveyed by the HKTP than this number; other surveys were of special sub-populations such as Functional Constituency members, demonstrators, and those with Canadian citizenship. Calls were made by telephone in Cantonese, Mandarin, Hakka and English depending on the respondent's preference. Randomisation of respondents in a household was done using a Kish table, which pairs the number of persons aged 18 and above in the household with the final digit of the number dialed.
15. Unlike the census, HKTP surveys included only residents of Hong Kong with right of abode, which means that respondents had lived in Hong Kong for at least 7 years continuously. Notable excluded groups include recent immigrants and foreign domestic helpers. The HKTP also slightly underrepresents those born in Mainland China (25.5% from the surveys 1994-2010 vs. an average of 28.9% from the 2001, 2006 and 2011 censuses), most likely due to the exclusion of those under 18 years of age.
16. For tables that total 20,000 respondents, the range of error at the 95% confidence interval is +/- 0.4 to +/- 0.7 percentage points depending on how finely they are broken down into categories. For tables that total 40,000 respondents, the range of error is between +/- 0.3 percentage points and +/- 0.5 percentage points.
17. HKSAR Information Services Department (2012), "Hong Kong: The Facts—Immigration", <http://www.gov.hk/en/about/abouthk/factsheets/docs/immigration.pdf> (accessed 14 November 2012).
18. Civic Exchange (2010), *Less Talk, More Action: Public Opinion Survey on Air Pollution in Hong Kong 2010*, <http://www.civic-exchange.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/LessTalk-Full.pdf> (accessed 14 November 2012). Also see DeGolyer, M. E. (2008), *Silent Epidemic: Public Opinion Survey on Air Pollution, Environment and Public Health—2008*, <http://www.civic-exchange.org/en/live/upload/files/200901SilentEpidemic.pdf> (accessed 14 November 2012).
19. Refer to full report. DeGolyer, M. E. (2012), *The Changing Faces of Hong Kong: Women in the Community and National Context, 1994-2010*. Hong Kong: Civic Exchange.

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