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Family Changes in China and Comparative Research of Family Policies

















主 编 金一虹 史丽娜 Chief Editors Jin Yihong Catrina Schläger

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前言

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家庭结构正处于一个持续变化的过程之中,并受到多方面因素的影响——教育水平、经济发展、技术进步以及社会价值观,文化传统与宗教信仰也对角色模式和家庭结构产生着影响。亚洲和西方世界的社会变迁有着迥异的起始状况,但是我们可以观察到,在这两个地区文化与宗教价值的影响力正在衰微。西方社会在过去一百五十年里伴随着工业化而经历过的变化——这种变化要归因于现代化——在亚洲各国是在近三十年的短时间里展现的。

在西方民主国家,主要是一个庞大的中产阶层的形成以及妇女运动推动的对平等权利的要求,持续地改变了家庭的结构。传统的大家庭迟至二战之后就成了过时的模式。典型的小家庭由父亲、母亲和两个孩子组成,它们成为西方世界理想的家庭模式。20世纪70年代以来,社会变迁主要受到个体化的影响,这导致了社会日益差异化,人们可以观察到生活方式的多样化日益显现:单身家庭、组合家庭以及同性伙伴关系越来越多。至于何为家庭的构成要素,在当今也有了不同以往的答案。在德国,多数民众认为,"有孩子的地方,就是家庭所在的地方",由此打破了由父母及其亲生子女构成家庭的传统家庭观。

在中国最近的发展过程中,对理想家庭的想象在很大程度上受到计划

生育政策的影响:父亲、母亲和一个孩子。但是,一般民众对家庭的理解超出了这一小家庭模式,往往把自己的父母和配偶的父母也包括进来。虽然儒家的伦理规范随着年轻一代日益解放而逐步瓦解,但是,在中国人们至今仍依照孔子的理想社会秩序观,称家庭是社会的基本单位。然而,中国向后现代社会过渡的进程也没有停步:通过三十多年前启动的改革与开放政策,生活方式的个体化和多样化在持续增加。此外,社会变迁在很大程度上受到大规模的工作移民的影响:约2.5亿流动农民工长期背井离乡地生活和工作,有的人甚至每年只能与家人团聚一次。家庭纽带的松弛,使得儒家的社会契约的约束力也因此松动了。

随着人口预期寿命的增加以及与此同时发生的出生率的下降,后现代社会在全世界范围均面临人口结构变化带来的挑战。在向社会保障体制缴费的在职职工人数日益减少的情况下,不可避免地会出现如何可持续地确保养老金以及向医疗或护理融资的问题。这是一个日益老龄化的社会所要面临的挑战,它不仅是工业化国家必须面对的,而且尤其是亚洲新兴国家要解决的一个核心挑战,因为它们"未富先老"。

在西方工业国家里,1968年的自主妇女运动冲击了固化的性别角色模式,开启了"走出厨房走上工作岗位"的道路。毛泽东曾说,"妇女能顶半边天",女性应拥有与男性同样的权利与义务。但是,在世界各国,妇女普遍承担着更多的家务、子女照料和抚育工作以及对家庭成员的护理工作。这一事实令人清醒地看到,性别角色模式的持续变化是一个深刻的社会变革过程。这个过程虽然可能受到诸如经济富裕与教育水平以及政策措施的影响,但是,由于深深根植的价值和规范的羁绊,变革的过程注定是长期的。

究竟通过哪些政策可以更好地促进家庭变革,取决于其所依据的规范性目标和政策背后的价值理念。如果像西欧国家那样,其目标是在提高出生率的同时保障妇女的高就业率,那么就必须采取相应的激励措施,并建立相应的框架条件。在这一点上,幼儿照料设施的保障和妇女生育后能够顺利回归原先工作岗位同等重要。中国的家庭政策还处于起步阶段。考虑到目前社会保障体制的建设还不充分,家庭政策——国家促进家庭建设的政策——特别必要。这是因为目前有三代人相互依赖:子女一旦自己有了孩子,由于三岁以下儿童的幼托机会不足,就需要其父母的帮助;在将来,随着领取养老金的起始年龄提高,能够提供跨代照顾的祖父母越来越少。而当

这些子女退休时,他们又将依赖其子女的帮助,因为目前在中国,养老和护理设施的规模都还远远不够。

本书中的大部分文章收录自艾伯特基金会、南京师范大学、复旦大学和 江苏省哲学社会科学界联合会于 2011 年 10 月 29—30 日在南京召开的"中 国的家庭变迁和公共政策"研讨会。

最后,我谨以编者的名义并代表德国弗里德里希·艾伯特基金会,感谢 各位作者和翻译人员为本论文集所做的出色工作。我们希望本论文集能对 家庭政策的比较研究做出有价值的贡献。

> 史丽娜(Catrina Schläger) 德国弗里德里希·艾伯特基金会上海协调项目办公室主任

Foreword

amily structures are undergoing constant change, influenced by a host of factors. Cultural traditions and religious convictions shape family roles and structures, as do education, economic and technological progress and (socio-) political values. Societal change in Asia and in the Western world have very different points of departure, although in both regions cultural and religious values seem to be losing influence. The transformation owing to modernization experienced by Western societies in the past 150 years from the onset of industrialization has been experienced by Asian societies in accelerated fashion over the past 30 years or so.

In Western democratic countries in particular the development of a large middle class and the women's movement, with its demands for equal rights, have permanently changed family structures. Traditional large families were already on the way out as the continent started to rebuild after the WWII. The typical small family consisting of a father, a mother and two children became the ideal family model in the Western world. Since the 1970s social change has been shaped primarily by individualization, leading to increasing social differentiation. A heightened

pluralism with regard to lifestyles can be observed: there are more singleperson households, patchwork families and same-sex partnerships. The question of what constitutes a family is answered more differently today than in the past. In Germany, a majority of people take the view that "wherever there are children there is also a family", thus breaking with the traditional model of the family as comprising parents and their natural children.

The ideal family model in recent Chinese history was largely shaped by the one-child policy: father, mother and child. However, the general conception of the family goes beyond this small family and includes the father's and mother's own parents and parents-in-law. Even though the Confucian social contract is beginning to crumble with the increasing emancipation of the younger generation, in China today the family is still talked of as the basic social unit corresponding to Confucius's notion of an ideal social order. However, transition to a (post-)modern society is not to be halted, even in China; the Reform and Opening-up policy that has been implemented over the past 30 years or so has steadily increased individualization and pluralization of lifestyles. Social change is also considerably influenced by the enormous labor migration; around 250 million migrant workers live and work far from their homes and in many cases see their families only once a year, thereby loosening family ties and compromising the Confucian contract between the generations.

With rising life expectancy, on one hand, and declining birth rates, on the other, (post-)modern societies worldwide face the challenge of coping with demographic change. The constantly declining number of active workers paying into social security systems inevitably gives rise to the problem of sustainably ensuring pensions and financing sickness and care benefits and services. The challenge of an ageing society faces not only the advanced industrialized countries but also—and especially—the emerging countries of Asia because "they are becoming old before they become rich".

In the Western industrialized countries the women's movement, in the

spirit of 1968, broke with fossilized role models and prepared the "way from the hearth to the workplace". Mao promised "women can hold up half of heaven" and thus equal rights and duties with men. However, in all societies throughout the world women take on more household duties, including raising children and caring for relatives. This sobering state of affairs underlines that a sustainable transformation of roles is a far-reaching societal process that, although influenced by such factors as prosperity, education and policy measures, can be accomplished only slowly, due to deeply-rooted values and norms.

Which policies are best suited to promote families depends on the underlying normative goals and values. If, as in Western European countries, the aim is to increase the birth rate and, at the same time, to ensure a high employment rate among women, corresponding incentives must be implemented and a suitable framework established. infrastructure for early childhood care is just as important in this respect as women's unhindered return to their previous occupation. China's family policy is still in its infancy, however. A family policy understood as state support for families is desperately needed, given the still inadequate development of social security systems. At present, three generations are dependent on one another: children need the support from their parents as soon as they bring their own children into the world because care provisions for the under-threes are inadequate. However, this form of early childhood care is possible for fewer and fewer grandparents due to the upcoming raising of the pensionable age. On retirement they are once more dependent on their children for support because care facilities and institutions for the elderly remain underdeveloped in China.

Most articles presented in this book were drawn from the joint conference of FES and Nanjing Normal University, Fudan University and Jiangsu Provincial Federation of Philosophy and Social Science Circles on the topic of "Family Changes and Public Policies in China", held on October 29 – 30, 2011, in Nanjing.

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In the name of the editors and on behalf of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, I would like to thank all the authors and translators involved in this publication for their excellent work. We hope that this publication will be a valuable contribution to the comparative research on family policy.

Catrina Schläger Resident Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Shanghai Office

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中国公共政策中的家庭定位及其未来走向*

一、中国转型社会正在遭遇的家庭变迁

中国转型社会正在遭遇的家庭变迁纷繁复杂,不过可以把它简单地分解为两个层面:一个是现象的层面,另一个是观念的层面。

(一) 家庭变迁的现象层面

有关转型社会家庭变迁的现象层面,已有的研究主要从两个方面来描述:一方面,随着家庭规模的小型化,核心家庭成为占主导地位的家庭模式,家庭关系的主轴由纵向的亲子轴更多地转向横向的夫妻轴,同时传统的父系结构正在向夫妇双系结构转变,家庭成员的自主性与个体价值得到更充分的体现,家庭内部夫妻关系、亲子关系越来越走向平等(沈崇麟等主编,2009;2—127;马春华等,2011);另一方面,社会结构的分化和人口流动的加剧,加上低生育率、老龄化社会和独生子女政策等因素,使得家庭本身变得越来越脆弱和充满风险。离婚率攀升、婚外情、啃老等社会问题日益凸显,家庭成员之间的凝聚力降低,家庭功能进一步弱化,家庭内部的代际关系向下倾斜,城乡家庭养老和照料问题陷入困境,等等(杨善华,2011;王跃生,2009)。由此,家庭在呈现它多样化的丰富类型和崭新形式的同时,似乎正在远离其作为温暖港湾的传统本色而日益成为一个风险来源地。

然而,家庭自身所要担负的责任却没有因为这种脆弱性而减少,反而越

^{*} 本文初稿刊载于《学术研究》2012年第9期,题目是《公共政策中的家庭定位》,收入本书有删改。

来越重。处于转型社会和全球化风险当中的个体,面临着残酷的竞争压力和充满不确定性的生存环境,加上国内社会保障严重不足,迫使脆弱的个体唯有回到已经变得更脆弱的家庭寻找资源和安全感。因此家庭不得不承担起超出其自身能力范围的种种责任而常常显得自身难保,这些沉重的责任负担反过来加剧了家庭自身的脆弱性。因此中国转型社会的家庭变迁呈现出相互矛盾的不同方向:一方面离传统意义上的家庭越来越远,另一方面对于家庭本身的需求和依赖度却越来越高。这同时也反映了中国转型社会在家庭观念层面上的变迁。

(二) 家庭变迁的观念层面

有关转型社会家庭变迁的观念层面,海内外学者基本达成共识的一点是,随着现代化进程的加速,中国传统的家本位文化正在淡化或衰落,被日益明显的个人本位倾向所取代;同时家庭内部出现了向女性/女系和子代倾斜的趋势(杨善华,2012;沈崇麟等,2009;阎云翔,2009:239—261)。也就是说,对个体性、情感和自主空间的强调,以及平等意识的增强,是中国转型社会家庭观念层面上变迁的两个主要基点。但是在不同的理论解释框架下,这种观念层面的变迁依循着不同的路径,如西方经典现代化理论框架中的个体主义模式、现代化框架中嵌入家本位元素后融合了传统和现代的多元化发展模式,以及依据贝克的"第二现代性"理论框架得出的个体化模式等。

个体主义模式作为西方经典家庭现代化理论的核心,其主要假设就是家庭的核心化与核心家庭的孤立化,包括传统扩大家庭的瓦解所导致的家庭规模的缩小和向夫妇式家庭制度的转变,家庭关系由亲子轴向夫妇轴的转移,传统亲属关系的衰落以及家庭内部个体价值的增长和家庭成员之间的日益平等(古德,1982;赫特尔,1988)。国内学者关于转型社会家庭变迁的研究大多采用的就是这一分析框架。李银河在20世纪末对北京一个大家庭的复杂关系进行个案分析后曾乐观地预言,伴随着家庭核心化的发展趋势,传统的中国家庭关系终将逝去,人们将从"仅仅看重家庭价值的观念模式向个人、家庭、社会三种价值并重的观念模式"转换,而到那时,"家庭主义将不再是中国文化的特色","中国的家庭与西方家庭之间的区别会变得越来越不明显,二者最终将趋于一致"(李银河、郑宏霞,2001:191—192)。

然而经典的家庭现代化理论由于一方面遵循的是从传统到现代的一元