(中文)性別人力资本理论与中国女性劳动就业Human Capital Theory of Gender andWomen Employment in China

作者姓名,	香锦棠 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
所在单位:_	劳动人事学院
专业名称:_	劳动经济学
研究方向:	女性就业与劳动制度
导师姓名:_	赵履宽 ************************************
论文提交日期:	2002年3月12日
论文 主题 词:	性别人力资本 女性就业 女性社会保障
19'- EA)	

论文题目	:	
------	---	--

,

(中文)_	性别人力资本理论与中国
	女性劳动就业
(外文) _	Human Capital Theory of Gender and
	Women Employment in China

作者姓名	:潘锦棠
所在单位	: _ 劳动人事学院
专业名称	:劳动经济学
研 究 方 向	· 女性就业与劳动制度
导 师 姓 名	:赵履宽
论文提交日期	
论文 主 题 词	性别人力资本 女性就业 女性社会保障
(3~5个)	

一、性别人力资本理论

人力资本理论在经济学中有了重要地位,但在其继续发展过程之中依然面对各种理论难题,其中之一就是如何解释人力资本投资的性别差异。包括:对两性投资的差异、两性投资回报的差异、两性投资差异及投资回报差异的变动。等等。因此,完成人力资本"统一而全面的理论"」还有很长的路要走。

关于投资差异的问题(第一组问题)包括:人力资本投资为什么向男性倾斜?比如同样是自己的宝贝孩子,父母为什么会让男孩而不是女孩优先上学?女性继续深造的积极性为什么不如男性?无论是发达国家还是发展中国家为什么女性的受教育水平都不如男性?为什么男性求职迁移的规模和距离大于女性?等等。关于投资收入差异的问题(第二组问题)包括:人力资本投资额相同(比如学历相同)的劳动者,为什么男性的挣得一般高于女性?为什么会有收益率的性别差异?等等。关于投资与收入差异变化的问题(第三组问题)包括:横向比较,为什么在不同行业不同职业中男女两性的投资回报有所不同,比如男女"蓝领工人"的工资差距大于男女"白领工人"?纵向历史比较,为女人两性的就业率和工资挣得为什么在不断接近?或者说,从农业社会到工业社会对女性的教育投资量为什么会较快地(相对于男性)提高、男女之间的教育水平会不断接近?等等。

以舒尔茨和贝克尔为代表的人力资本理论难以解释上述关于人力资本投资性别差异,因为传统人力资本理论并不注意对人力资本"投资对象"和"投资环境"的研究。要说明上述人力资本的性别差异,需要有性别人力资本理论。将人力资本投资对象分为男性人力与女性人力并分别研究其投资收益的理论就是性别人力资本理论。

(一)性别人力资本理论对上述三组问题的回答

1、性别人力资本理论对第一组问题的回答是:人力资本投资之所以向男性倾斜是因为男性比女性更有投资价值。

中外学者根据明塞尔的计算公式普遍认为,女性人力资本投资收益高于男性。本文对此提出疑义。根据经济学理论和经验常识都可以推断:男性人力资本投资价值应该高于女性。首先,投资者(包括家庭、企业、国家和个人)的人力资本投资更愿意向男性倾斜说明对男性的人力资本投资更有利可图。否则,明知女性的投资收益率更高却偏向男性投资,投资者就不符合经济学对人性的基本假设了。有大量的实证研究表明多数家庭在财力有限的前提下首先会选择让儿子而不是女儿上学;多数企业会对男职工而不是女职工进行更多的职业培

贝克尔《人力资本》北京大学出版社 1987 年第 183 页

训;同时,男职工参加企业职业培训或业余业务学习的积极性也高于女性;国家至少默许男性更多地利用国家的各种教育资源(如基础教育设施)。根据男性学历普遍高于女性、女性文盲率普遍高于男性的现实可以判断男性的人力资本投资价值应该高于女性。其次,男性求职迁移的规模和距离大于女性。第三,男性的劳动参与率高于女性。即使接受同等的教育,男性的劳动参与率也高于女性。第四,男性的挣得高于同等学历的女性。第五,女性人力资本的折旧速率高于男性,女性人力资本投资的边际收益率递减速率快于男性。第六,人力资本理论关于女性机会成本低于男性的假设本身就已经承认女性的教育投资回报将低于男性。

2、性别人力资本理论对第二组问题的回答是: 男性的工资高于教育投资相同(学历相同)的女性是因为存在"性别租金"。

为了回答上述"第二组问题"和"第三组问题"就需要研究人力资本投资的"性别对象"和人力投资得以实现的"人力环境"。研究投资对象和人力环境是人力资本理论的新课题。人力资本理论发展至今,对投资对象的研究并没有深入展开,传统人力资本理论一般都假设在接受人力资本投资以前其投资对象都是同质的。性别人力资本不接受这一假设。

生产力包括人力与物力,物力资本投资需要选择投资对象,同量的资本投入不同的项目其投资收益是不同的,人力资本同样有一个选择投资对象的问题。人们在论及人力资本价值形成时,一般都只考虑物力、人力和时间的投入,其实,除了物力人力时间投入以外,还要看向什么对象投入。不区分投资对象的人力资本理论给人以误解,误以为对任何人的投资都会形成人力资本、对任何人的投资都有收益,且人力资本收益量只与人力资本投资量相关而与投资对象无关。实际上,人力资本的投资对象是各不相同的。人有性别、年龄、相貌、健康、智力等自然特征,也有文化、职业、党派、民族和信仰等社会特征。人力资本收益量不仅与人力资本投资量相关,也与投资对象相关。本文主要关心人力资本的"性别对象"。舒尔茨、贝克尔等由于他们当时的使命与兴趣,并没有对人力资本的性别投资对象进行深入研究,而这正是本文的任务。

"人力"载体的自然性别特征包括生理上、心理上和智力上的差异。本章假设男女两性在心理上和智力上相同,着重考虑男女在生理上的差异,以利于说明性别人力资本的新思想。男女两性在身体结构、生理机能、生殖机能、温热反应和毒素反应等诸方面有显著差异。生理差异只是生理特点,差异本身并不意味着强弱。由两性性别差异所导致的先天劳动能力的强与弱是相对于一定的人力环境而言的。人力环境是指人力资本价值得以实现的劳动环境与人口生产环境。人力环境主要包括以下五个方面: 1、劳动工具环境。 2、劳动作业环境。3、作业制度环境。4、职业产业环境。5、人口生产环境。自然体力大小所以能转化成劳动能力高低是因为在生产劳动中要使用需要体力的劳动工具;女性怀孕生育所以会严重影响职业工作是因为需要连续性同步化劳动的作业制度。我们把由自然体力转化成的劳动能力称之为"先天劳动能力",而把由教育

投资形成的劳动能力称之为"后天劳动能力"。在不同的人力环境中,男女"先天劳动能力"的相对大小是变化的,同样的女性,其"先天劳动能力"与男性的差距在轻体力劳动的服务业或办公室就小于在强体力劳动的农林矿业。在一定的人力环境下确定投资对象的劳动能力或人力资本价值是本文特有的思想。

男女自然生理上的差异在一定人力环境下转化为"先天劳动能力"的男强女弱,男女之间就有了"性别级差"。男性比女性高出的"级差"当然也要获得经济报酬。"性别级差"使人力资本投资相同的男女就有了不同的价值回报。"性别级差"的经济报酬类似于"级差地租",可以称之为"性别租金"。当下,男性人力资本投资价值之所以高于女性,是因为男性"性别租金"依然存在。由此解答了本文提出的第二组问题:男性挣得高于教育投资相同(学历相同)的女性是因为存在"性别租金"。白于"性别级差"的存在,使男性可以在同等教育水平下(相对于女性)率先符合就业条件,而女性要符合相同的就业条件就需要有更高(相对于男性)的人力资本投资。

- "性别租金"反映的是男女天赋劳动能力的平均差距。
- 3、性别人力资本理论对第三组问题的回答是: 男女两性相对投资价值的变化是因为人力环境的变化。

综观社会历史发展过程,就能发现,从农业社会到工业社会、从传统工业 社会到现代工业社会、从现代工业社会到后工业社会 (信息社会),对于女性来 说,人力环境存在着由"下等"向"上等"不断"改善"的趋势。劳动工具由 石器木器、铜器铁器、蒸汽机向着电子计算机和互联网的方向发展进化;产业 结构由第一产业、第二产业向着第三产业(传统服务业)以及第四产业(现代 服务业)的方向发展进化;作业环境在工业化初期相对恶劣,随着产品转型、 劳动工具与工艺的改善、机器人在危险环境中取代人力工作、产业结构的进化、 以及劳动保护制度的日益完善,作业环境也在向着更加人性化的方向发展;此 外, 劳动工时在不断缩短, 传统工业社会单一固定的作业制度也正在被现代工 业社会多样灵活的作业制度所取代,出现了越来越多的所谓"非正规就业模式", 近年来随着互联网络在全球的迅速发展,"小型/家庭办公室(SOHO)"装备也开 始流行,居家办公已经开始成为一种可能的选择,"非正规就业模式"对"劳动 : 中断"的宽容度大大提高;最后,人们也看到,小家庭在不断取代大家庭、少 子女在不断取代多子女, 家务劳动社会化程度在不断提高。上述人力环境的变 化使体力大小的经济意义越来越小、女性"四期"(经期、孕期、产期和哺乳期) 对劳动就业的影响越来越小、传统性别角色对女性的束缚越来越小,从而男女 "天然劳动能力"的差距越来越小,"性别租金"越来越小。可见,男女两性相 对投资价值的变化是因为人力环境的变化。

(二)从人力资本投资对象的角度证明"性别人力资本理论"

从人力资本投资对象的角度也能证明:教育(人力资本投资)不是决定劳动能力(人力资本)的唯一因素,从而不是决定挣得(人力资本收益)的唯一

因素。决定劳动能力的因素还包括有关的智力、生理、心理和价值观。由于男女两性在生理基础、心理基础和职业价值观方面有差异,因此,作为人力资本投资对象,男女是不同的;即使男女两性教育水平相当,也会因为"综合劳动能力"的男强女弱而发生工资挣得男高女低的现象。

(三)关于性别差异的其他经济学范式

关于男女两性在就业和挣得方面的差异,本论文提了"性别人力资本理论"的解释。在此以前经济学解释性别差异还有其他各种理论范式,主要包括新古典经济学的劳动力供求(人力资本)理论、性别歧视理论,制度经济学的市场隔离理论(拥挤理论)、职业隔离理论,马克思主义经济学理论,女权主义的社会性别理论和比较价值理论。

理论界对马克思主义范式有误解。就当前中国的现状而言,随着计划经济 向市场经济的转型,让已经长期供过于求的一部分妇女劳动力退出劳动力市场 "回家去"与马克思主义妇女观是不相矛盾的,相反,仍然借助行政力量,人 为提高妇女的劳动参与率倒是违反了马克思主义。

二、中国女性就业分析

关于劳动参与率和工资率的两性差异,中国大大小于世界的平均水平。回顾新中国女性就业史,分析计划经济时代与市场经济时代的中国女性就业,可以发现我国女性劳动参与率较高以及在劳动参与和挣得方面男女两性差距较小并不是因为我国"人力环境"各项指标如劳动工具环境、劳动作业环境、作业制度环境、职业产业环境和人口生产环境优于世界上大多数国家,而是因为计划经济和统包统配的劳动就业制度。

经济体制转型尤其是统包统配劳动制度的松动, 妇女就业开始接受市场经济的考验。其表现是: 1、大邱庄"妇女回家"; 2、城镇女性就业难; 3、妇女"阶段就业"; 4、"下岗职工"中女性比例高; 5、男女不同工亦同酬现状发生变化。对下岗女工的调查并没发现有明显的性别歧视现象。

从近期(未来 20-30 年)来看,我国女性就业形势依然严峻。专家预测: 入世后能够比入世前每年平均增加 200-300 万个就业机会,但在入世初期(3-5 年内),一些技术含量低、竞争力弱的传统行业和农业将受到较大冲击,结构性 失业会比较严重,这与城镇新生劳动力、下岗职工、农村转移的剩余劳动力等交 汇在一起,城镇就业形势会相当严峻,"十五"期间,我国城镇劳动力资源供给 总量预计新增 5200 万人,还有大量农业剩余劳动力,而城镇能够提供的就业岗 位约在 4000 万左右,城镇登记失业率有可能超过 5%。根据我国劳动力供过于 求尤其是妇女过度就业的现实,在中国深化经济改革、完善现代企业制度和社 会保障制度的过程中,将会有较高比例(相对于男性)的新增女性劳动力和富 余女职工进入失业队伍,妇女就业依然有较大难度;男女工资收入平均水平也 将进一步拉开差距。随着中国城乡劳动力市场隔离渐渐消失,城乡男女劳动力 共同参与竞争,城镇女性就业比例和工资比例应会逐步降低,接近世界的平均 水平。

在这个过程中,国家要保证市场公平竞争、健全女性社会保障。个人经济价值的实现取决于经济分配制度,个人社会价值的实现以及对弱势群体的帮助要依靠公共再分配制度。社会保障制度是主要的再分配制度,因此,女性社会价值的实现以及基本生活水平的维持在很大程度上需要有一个合理公正的社会保障制度。为此,本文提出"女性社会保障制度"的概念,以提高社会保障对女性的关注。

三、女性社会保障制度

所谓女性社会保障制度就是以女性为主要对象的社会保障制度和社会保障制度中涉及男女两性利益差别的制度规定。本文对中国女性社会保障制度的探讨和评价主要有以下三项:中国生育保险制度,中国女工劳动保护制度,中国养老保险制度中的性别利益。

作为一个发展中国家,我国职工生育保险制度是比较健全的,尤其是建国 初期的生育保险制度。生育保险正在从企业保险走向社会统筹的过程中、国家 有关部门的关注重点是扩大统筹覆盖面, 对原有的企业生育保险可能放松监督: 企业制度从国家统管到自负盈亏,企业也很容易有意无意地忽视生育保险。我 国目前生育保险不到位的情况相当普遍,主要问题有:有些老企业取消了生育 保险,有些新企业不建生育保险;对生育女工放长假;生育保险金得不到足额 支付等等。对此,需要加强监督。职工生育保险涉及育龄女性与非育龄女性、 女性与男性、女性与企业、女性与国家之间的利益关系,需要公正合理地对待。 职工生育保险主要是为了保障女性公平就业的权利,而不是为了"母亲孩子", 这是"职工生育保险"与"国民生育保险"的区别所在。职工生育保险的对象 也包括男性,这一点常常被人们所忽视。"育儿假"、"父育假"在欧美国家已经 比较流行。在抚育孩子、接受绝育手术等方面,男性应当承担更多的责任。在 《生育保险规定》中强调"男性责任"有特殊重要的意义。职工生育保险在维 护女性利益的同时也应当考虑企业利益和国家利益,因此,职工生育保险也要 规定女工的保险义务,制定合理的生育保险支付条件。确定我国生育保险水平 应当考虑国情国力, 权衡它与养老保险水平、失业保险水平以及最低生活保障 水平之间的关系。

中国女工劳动保护制度有效地保护了广大的女工。中国妇女就业率和劳动参与率大大高于世界平均水平,与生育保险制度和女工劳动保护制度的有效落实是很有关系的。"文化大革命"时期,女工劳动保护制度受到冲击。经济体制改革,企业制度向市场经济转型,中国女工劳动保护制度再次受到挑战和考验。中国是一个发展中国家,正面临体制转型,女工劳动保护制度需要与之相适应。

为此我们建议:一方面应加快企业母婴福利设施(托儿所和幼儿园)社会化, 另一方面可以考虑将女工劳动保护费用并入生育保险实行社会统筹,将女工劳动保护费用由"企业福利"改变为"社会保险",并将此纳入生育保险一起社会统筹。

养老保险的具体设计要兼顾男女两性的利益。要注意的现实是:女性的劳动参与率低于男性、女性的工资收入低于男性以及女性的预期寿命高于男性。在养老社会保险制度中,评判性别利益公正与否有两条标准,即:1、养老社会保险应承担受保人长寿风险,2、在一般情况下,同时退休的男女职工,男女退休金之差距应小于/等于其退休前工资之差距。我国现行养老保险制度对性别利益处理确实有不尽合理的地方。由于全国各省市差不多同时进行政府机构事改革与人员分流,"男女退休年龄差距"对女性利益的负面影响就引起了工资。在法定退休年龄男高女低相差至少5年的前提下,规定男女都要有35年工学。国家有关部门应及时修改不合理的规定,保证女性的正当利益,也可以使等。国家有关部门应及时修改不合理的规定,保证女性的正当利益,也可以使男女思的纠错更加规范。确定男女退休年龄需要综合考虑女性之间的利益。两性利益、政府企业和个人三者利益,以及社会公平与经济发展的关系。提到对明的退休年龄的可能受益者是政府和一部分女性,可能受害者是企和另一部分女性,因此,是否提高女性的退休年龄,也需要听听企业的意见和另一部分不愿意经续工作的女性的意见。

Abstract

The traditional Human Capital Theory represented by Schulz and Beker has been recognized in economics, but it is still facing many challenges One of them is how can the Human Capital Theory to explain the gender difference in human capital investment. They are many questions that the traditional Human Capital Theory couldn't answer clearly, the first set of questions including: Why human capital invest more in man than in women? for example, parents usually willing to sent son other than daughter to go to school. Why the average educational level of man is higher than that of women in every country in the world? Why the scope and the distance of mobility of man is wider and longer than that of women? The second set of questions including: Why women tend to earn less than man within each educational category? The third set of questions including: Why the earning gap between man and women are different from occupation to occupation? for example, the gap between the blue collar worker is wider than the gap between the white collar worker. Why the gap and the returning of the human capital investment between man and women is narrowing in the process of social development from the early industry society to modern industry society?

The traditional Human Capital Theory couldn't provide a clear consistent theoretical explanation for the gender difference due to its inobservant of " the Object of Human Capital Investment" and "the Environment of Human Capital Investment". The Human Capital Theory of Gender can explain the gender difference. The Human Capital Theory of Gender is a new model which divide the Object of Human Capital into man and women and study the gender difference.

The Human Capital Theory of Gender to answer the series of questions about the gender difference

1,The reason why human capital invest in man more than in women is the return of the investment of man is higher than that of women. According to the common knowledge of economics we can judge that the return of the human capital of investment of man is higher than that of women. Firstly, that the investor (family, enterprise, country and individual) is willing to invest in man more than that of women means the return of the investment of man is higher than that of women, if not, it will be inconsistent with the hypothesis of human nature in economics. There are many evidence to show that the majority of the family will sent boy other than girl to go to school constrained by a limited family financial resource; that the majority of the enterprise are willing to offer on-job training to man; man usually take more advantage of national education resource. Since the education level of man is higher than that of women, the rate of illiteracy of women is higher than that of man, the return of the human capital investment of man must be higher than that of women. Secondly, the scope and the distance of mobility of male-worker is wider and longer than that of female-worker. Thirdly, the labor participation rate of man is higher than that of women, even within the same educational category. Fourthly, the earning of man is higher than that of women within each educational category. Fifthly, the depreciation rate of human capital of women is higher than that of man, the decline rate of the marginal return of the human capital investment of women is faster than that of man. Finally, the Human Capital Theory have a hypothesis that women's opportunity cost of education is lower than man's, it means that the return of the human capital investment of women is lower than that of man.

2, That the earnings of man is higher than that of women in the same educational category is there are "Gender Rent". To answer "the second set of questions", we should study "the Gender Object of Human Capital Investment" and "the Human Environment". It is a new issues of the Human Capital Theory. So far, the Human Capital Theory believe that the object of human capital investment is homogenous before the investment, that anybody can get the return of the investment, also, that the quantity of return is only correlative with the quantity of investment, not correlative with the quality of the object of human capital investment, but the Human Capital Theory of Gender believe not. The object of investment can be divided into the human object and material object. To invest in material object, the investor will choose a better object of investment, different object will bring different return of the investment, so do the human capital investment. The object of human capital investment is people. People are different, they have different nature of sex, age, appearance, health and intelligence, etc. they also have different social characteristics, such as occupation, nation, faith and education, etc. Actually, the quantity of return is not only correlative with the quantity of investment, but also correlative with the quality of the object of human capital investment. The traditional Human Capital Theory represented by Schulz and Beker didn't pay attention to the object of human capital investment, while the Human Capital Theory of Gender is very interested in the object of human capital investment, especially, in the human nature of sex.

Man and women are different physically and mentally. In order to show the new thought of the Human Capital Theory of Gender, let's assume that man and women have no difference mentally. We only focus on the difference of man and women in body structure, physical mechanism, reproductive mechanism, caloric effect and toxin effect. Physical difference is only mean difference, not mean superior or inferior. Whether the difference mean superior or inferior should be

judged under the circumstance of certain "Human Environment". "the Human Environment" is the environment under which the value of human capital be realized, it include "the environment of labor tool", "the environment of working surrounding", "the environment of working institution", "the environment of occupation and industry" and "the environment of reproduction". For example, only in the working environment that need physical power, the physical power can turn into working capacity. Only in the "working institution" that the worker have to work consecutively and synchronously, the maternity leave of women can be a negative effect to the employer the working capacity which turned from physical power can be named "innate working capacity", whereas, the working capacity which come from education can be named "acquired working capacity".

With the same "natural gift" of women, for example, their "innate working capacity" compare with that of man will be higher in the office than in the coal mine. To evaluate the "natural gift" and the value of human capital under the circumstance of certain "Human Environment" is a new idea of the Human Capital Theory of Gender.

As a common knowledge, man's physical power is higher than women's. Under the present "Human Environment", the physical difference of man and women will become the difference of working capacity, it means that man's innate working capacity will be higher than women's, the compensation of man of course will be higher than that of women. The gap between man and women can be called "Gender Rent". Thus, we can answer the "the second set of questions": that man tend to earn more than women within each educational category is because of the "Gender Rent".

The "Gender Rent" reflect the average gap of the "innate working capacity" between man and women.

3, Because change of the "Human Environment" the gap of human capital investment between man and women is narrowing. From agriculture society to industrial society, from traditional industrial society to modern industrial society, from modern industrial society to post-industrial society, the "Human Environment" is improving. Firstly, labor tool is changing from stone implement to carpentry, bronze ware and ironware, manual labor tool have been instead by steamer and computer. Secondly, the structure of industry is changing from agriculture to manufacture and service industry. Thirdly, The working surrounding is improving, the working surrounding is comparatively bad in the early industrial society, along with the changing of product, equipment and technology, along with the improving of the labor protection institution, the working surrounding become better. Fourthly, working institution become more flexible, intermittent working

become more acceptable especially in the model of "informal employment". working day and working hour is shortening.' Furthermore, the equipment of "Small Office and Home Office" appear in the market recently, internet become popular in the developed countries, accordingly, working at home become a possible selection. Finally, big family have been replaced by small family, the member of family and the hour of housework is decreasing. The changing we mention here make the physical power and the "four period" (the period of menstruation, pregnant, reproduction and lactation) of women lost its economical significance gradually, so the gap of the "innate working capacity" between man and women is narrowing, the "Gender Rent" of man is lessening. So, that narrowing of the gap of human capital investment between man and women is because changing of the "Human Environment".

From the angle of the Object of Human Capital Investment to prove the Human Capital Theory of Gender.

From the angle of the object of human capital investment also can prove the Human Capital Theory of Gender. The education (human capital investment) is not the only way to determine the working capacity or the earnings. Physical power, mentality and the value of working are also the elements to determine the working capacity or the earnings besides the education, Man and women are different in physical power, mentality and the value of working, so man and women are different as the object of human capital investment. Even in the same educational category, women will earn less than man since they are different in "comprehensive working capacity".

Other paradigm about the gender difference in economics

Before the Human Capital Theory of Gender, there are many paradigms on gender difference in economics, such as the Theory of Labor Supply and Demand, the Human Capital Theory, the Theory of Gender Discrimination, the Theory of Market and Occupation Segregation, the Marxism Economics, the Feminism Economics and the Comparative Worth.

There are some misunderstanding to the Marxism Economics on the issue of women's employment in the circles of women's study in China. Along with the shift from central planning economy to marketing economy in China, it is nature that some redundant female employees will

"come back home" and retreat from the labor market. It did not conflict with the principle of the Marxism.

Women's Employment in China

The gender gap of the labor participation rate and wage rate in China is much smaller than the average level in the world. Women's labor participation rate is much higher than the average level in the world. The reason is not that the "Human Environment", such as "the environment of labor tool", "the environment of working surrounding", "the environment of working institution", "the environment of occupation and industry" and "the environment of reproduction", in China is "better" than it is in the most of the country in the world. It is the system of the central planning economy and the life long employment that make the women's labor participation rate in China be such high.

Along with the shift from central planning economy to marketing economy, especially the change of the life long employment system, the situation of women's employment are different now. We have seen that "Women come back home" in Daqiu Village, that women are more difficult than men to find job in city, "Intermitted employment of women", the higher percentage of women in laid-off workers, and that the gap of wage between man and women become wider. From many investigations on the event of laid-off female worker, we didn't find the gender discrimination in evidence.

Women's employment in China will still be hard in 20-30 years. Expert forecast: there will be extra 2-3 millions employment opportunity every year after we join in the WTO. But at the beginning 2-3 years, some industries will have a hard time, the rate of structural unemployment will increase, alongside of the new labor in the city, laid-off worker and the surplus labor from the rural area, employment problem in cities will be very hard. In the period of "the Tenth Five", the gross labor supply in city will probably be 52 millions, there are large number of surplus labor from the rural areas in addition. On the demand side, there are only 40 millions of job. The registered rate of unemployment in urban areas may exceeded by 5%. Since the labor supply, especially the female labor supply is higher than the labor demand in China, along with the deepening of the economic reform, the improving of the institution in modern enterprises, the disappearing of the labor market segregation between urban areas and rural areas and the establishing of the social security, the unemployment rate of women will be higher than that of man, and the wage gap between man and women will become wider.

In the process, the government should guarantee the fair competition between man and women in the labor market, ensure the social security to women. It will rely on the institution of distribution to realize the individual economic value, it will rely on the institution of redistribution to realize the individual social value. The social security is the institution of redistribution. The government should establish a good

institution of social security to realize women's social value and to ensure the basic living for women.

Social Security for Women

The institution of social security for women include the Maternity Insurance, the Regulation on Labor Protection for Female Worker, gender relation in the pension insurance, etc.

As a developing country, the maternity insurance in China is good, especially in the early establishing of the People's Republic of China. The maternity insurance in China is changing from the enterprise insurance to the social insurance of polling the cost, in the process, there are some problems, the government may loosen its supervision to enterprise insurance since the government pay close attention to extend scope of coverage of the new maternity insurance; the enterprises may neglect the maternity insurance since the enterprise have been independent from the government and they will take the financial responsibility for themselves. The main problem in the maternity insurance of China at present is below: some old enterprises have cancelled the maternity insurance; some new enterprises didn't set up the maternity insurance; the female worker who bearing baby have to take long maternity leave; some female workers | couldn't get the full maternity insurance, etc. so the government should strengthen the supervision. The institution of maternity insurance for worker involve the relations between women and man, women and enterprise, women and government, pregnant women and non- pregnant women. The aim of the maternity insurance for worker is to ensure the right of fair employment, is not for "mother and baby". The maternity insurance for worker is different from the maternity insurance for all citizens. That the people covered by the maternity insurance for worker of course include male workers is often ignored. "Parental Leave" and "Paternity Leave" are popular in OECD country, man should take more responsibility in taking care of children and undertaking the sterilization. The maternity insurance should also concern the interest of the enterprise and the country, as well as the interest of the women, so the regulation in maternity insurance should formulate obligations for women, should formulate reasonable qualification of paying. The level of the maternity insurance should accommodate to the situation of our country, and be balanced to the level of the pension insurance, to the level of the unemployment insurance and to the level of the minimum livelihood security.

The Regulation on Labor Protection for Female Worker in China protect female workers effectively. Along with the maternity insurance ,the Regulation have a positive function in raising the women's labor participation rate in China. The

Regulation on Labor Protection for Female Worker in China had been destroyed during the period of "the Culture Revolution", the Regulation on Labor Protection for Female Worker in China is facing challenge in the period of shifting the economic system from the central planning economy to marketing economy. China is a developing country, the level of the Protection should accommodate to the level of the economic development in China, we suggest that the welfare facilities for mother and children (such as nursery and kindergarten) should be socialized; that pooling the cost of the Labor Protection for Female Worker, just like pooling the cost of the maternity insurance, or pooling the cost of the Labor Protection for Female Worker and the cost of the maternity insurance together.

The regulation in pension insurance should also pay attention to the benefit for both man and women. Since the man's labor participation rate is higher than the women's labor participation rate, the man's earning is higher than women's earning, and the women's life expectancy is longer than the man's life expectancy, when the regulation in pension insurance be re-designed the government should give full consideration to the interest of both man and women. There are two criteria to judge the regulation in pension insurance if it is just in the area of gender equality, firstly, the pension insurance should undertake the risk of longevity for both man and women, secondly, the gap of the pension between man and women should be smaller than the gap of the earning between man and women. The pension insurance of China didn't in accordance with the criteria we mentioned before, it has to be revised. At present, the reform of the organ of the government is in progress nationally, that "the gap of the statutory retirement age between man and women" invoke a sympathetic response among the female officials, they are afraid it has a negative effect to women. The statutory retirement age of man is at least 5 years longer than that of women in China, but the condition for the full pension which ask for 35 years of the employment age, is the same regardless of man or women., it is unfair to the female officials. The condition should be revised by the government. The statutory retirement age of man and women is related to the interest of man and women, the government, the enterprise and the individual, it is also related to the social justice and the economic development. The government and some female employees will take the advantage of raising the statutory retirement age of women, while it is to the disadvantage of the enterprise and other female employees by raising the statutory retirement age of women, thus, whether the statutory retirement age of women should be raised or not, the government should ask for the enterprise and some women who are not willing to raise the retirement age.

· 目 录

前	音	1
第	言	5
	一章 性别人力资本理论	
	一、男性人力资本投资价值高于女性	. 7
	二、人力资本投资对象的性别	11
	(一)研究投资对象的意义	. 11
	(二)两性自然生理差异及其"天赋才能"	12
	三、人力环境与性别租金	.14
	(一)人力环境与人力资本价值	. 14
	(二)性别租金	.15
	四、人力环境等级与男女人力资本价值实现	.16
	(一)人力环境与男女人力资本价值实现	16
	(二)人力环境分等	. 18
	」(三)当前人力资本处于中等人力环境	18
	五、男女相对人力投资价值的变化	2 0
	六、结语	. 22
第	二章 "综合劳动能力"性别比较	.23
	一、男女两性智商相当	. 24
	(一) 案例	. 24
	(二)分析评论	. 24
	二、生理基础依然影响女性就业	. 25
	三、心理素质依然影响女性成功	.25
	(一)案例	. 25
	(二)分析评论	.26
	四、事业家庭取向依然男女有别	.26
	(一)案例	. 27
	(二)分析评论	
	五、结语	. 28
第	三章 关于性别差异的经济学范式及其评价	.29
	一、劳动力供求(人力资本)理论	.29
	(一)劳动力供求(人力资本)理论	.29
	(二)劳动力供求(人力资本)论评价	.30
	二、性别歧视理论	.30
	(一)性别歧视理论	.30
	(二)性别歧视理论评价	
	[、] 三、制度经济学理论	

(一)双重劳动力市场理论	32
(二)性别职业隔离	33
(三)制度经济学理论评价 四、马克思主义经济学理论	34
四、马克思主义经济学理论	34
(一)妇女就业条件论	
(二)串谋行为理论	
五、女权主义理论	35
(一)社会性别理论	35
(二)可比价值理论	37
第四章 马克思妇女就业理论	37
一、马克思主义认为妇女参加公共劳动是有条件的	37
二、马克思恩格斯论妇女参加公共劳动的条件	39
三、条件与现状比较	40
四、关于"妇女参加公共劳动的条件"	
对马克思恩格斯的补充	42
五、结论	43
第二篇 中国女性就业分析	44
第五章 计划经济与市场经济时代的中国女性就业	44
一、就业与工资中外性别比较	44
(一) 两性劳动参与率中外比较	44
(二)两性工资报酬比率中外比较及与港澳台比	45
二、中国计划经济条件下女职工就业史	
(一)1949-1977 年中国城镇妇女就业史	46
(二)就业工资"男女平等"的原因分析	48
三、经济转型对妇女就业的影响	50
(一)大邱庄"妇女回家"	50
(二)城镇女性就业难	
(三)妇女"阶段就业"	
(四)"编余职工""下岗职工"中女性比例高	
(五)男女不同工亦同酬现状发生变化	53
四、女性就业还要接受考验	55
(一)经济改革以来的女工就业率及原因推测	55
(二)城镇女性就业还要接受考验	57
五、市场经济条件下的女性就业与社会保障	57
(一)鼓励各种就业方式使女性有更多的就业机会	58
(二)保证市场公平竞争使女性有公平的就业机会	59
(三)健全女性社会保障使女性有合理的生活水平	
六、结语	60