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中国农村妇女 就业模式变化的分析研究

李 旻 赵连阁 著

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摘 要

随着农村劳动力市场的不断发展,单一的、非流动性的、以农为主的自然就业的农村劳动力就业模式正在逐渐被多元化的就业模式代替,农村妇女的就业模式也发生了明显的变化,形成了市场经济下农村妇女新的就业模式。在这个过程中,农村妇女的社会地位、家庭地位发生了显著的变化。本书从农村劳动力就业模式变化的三个阶段——自然就业模式、计划经济体制下的就业模式、市场经济体制下的就业模式,以及三种就业模式产生的制度背景、特征入手,对农村妇女就业模式变化、就业模式变化的阶段进行了界定。将农村妇女就业模式变化界定为:由自然就业模式下农村妇女更多地从事着生儿育女、繁重的家务劳动等转变为市场经济体制下农村妇女新的就业模式。在新就业模式下,农村妇女的就业模式表现出两个特征:一是年轻的、文化程度高的女性更多地实现了非农就业,二是年龄大或文化程度低的女性则大多滞留在农村,从事农业生产和家务劳动,在一些地区,农村妇女甚至成为农业生产的主力军。本书主要基于辽宁省农调队2000—2004年连续五年农村固定农户跟踪调查数据,实证分析了在市场经济体制下农村妇女就业模式变化对农业、农村发展产生的影响。

首先,本书统计分析了农村妇女在市场经济体制下形成的新就业模式的变化趋势。研究表明:随着经济、社会的发展,农村妇女的非农转移在不断加快,但与农村男性劳动力比较,仍有较大的差距。

其次,利用比较分析法和面板数据模型中的时间固定效应分析法,分析了影响农村妇女非农就业的因素。得出以下主要结

论：农村妇女能否获得非农就业机会与农村妇女自身受教育程度有着密切联系；专业技能培训在某种程度上可以弥补缺少正规教育的缺欠；年龄是影响农村妇女非农就业的另一重要因素；家庭中是否有学龄前儿童，在一定程度上制约着农村妇女的非农就业；在校学生一定程度上促进农村妇女的非农就业，家庭中有15岁以上（正在读高中、中专或大专及以上）的在校学生，比有7~15岁（正在读小学、初中）的在校学生更能促进农村妇女非农就业。

第三，通过比较“男性劳动力从事农业生产”、“男性劳动力主要从事第二、三产业生产，农村女性从事农业生产”、“男性劳动力外出打工、农村女性从事农业生产”三种类型家庭在农业生产结构、农业生产技术应用、农业生产经营、农业生产收入等方面的差别，分析了“农业女性化”对农业生产的影响。研究发现，农村男性劳动力从事农业生产比农村女性从事农业生产更有利于农业生产的发展；农村女性在农业生产上与男性劳动力相比有一定差距，主要表现在生产决策差异和对新技术、新信息的接受能力；农村妇女家庭农业生产决策权与经营管理权的分离不利于农业生产的发展。按照绝大部分发达国家的经验，最先离乡入城的是那些在农业生产与农村经济活动中的“弱势者”，正因他们在农村经济中难以有优势，才到城市中寻求立足之地，而那些以“种田能手”为主体的擅长农村经济活动的“强势者”则在农村留守，逐步成为农业规模化经营和农村经济发展的主体。“农业女性化”是中国劳动力市场特有制度环境下劳动力生产要素配置中所发生的一个特殊现象，在短期内很难彻底改变。中国农业现代化和农村的发展不能长期建立在“农业女性化”的基础之上。随着城镇化的不断推进，农业规模化经营和“男女同耕”的现代化家庭农场是长期发展的必然趋势。但基于目前“农业女性化”的客观现实，当务之急就是通过教育培训，提高农村妇女的科技水平和文化素质，使之能够胜任现代农业生产发展的要求，

在农业产业化中更好地发挥作用。

第四，通过对从事农业生产与非农就业的农村妇女与受教育程度、接受专业技能培训的关系的比较分析，研究了农村妇女非农就业转移对农村女性自身受教育程度的影响。研究表明：农村妇女非农就业转移在一定程度上可以促进农村妇女参加专业技能培训，从而进一步提高农村女性自身的受教育程度。非农就业对知识技术的实际需要使农村妇女产生内在的教育需求，使她们自觉自愿地参与职业教育以提高竞争力。在这个过程中农村妇女的教育水平整体有所上升。

第五，通过对农村家庭对下一代子女教育投资的影响因素的实证研究，发现：随着劳动力市场的不断完善，影响家庭对子女教育投资的因素也在不断变化，农村妇女的非农就业转移在家庭对子女教育投资的影响中正起着越来越重要的作用，农村妇女非农就业转移与农村教育发展二者之间能够相互促进，形成良性循环。加快农村妇女的非农就业转移，不仅有利于实现农村妇女身份的转换，而且也会促使她们认识到教育的重要性，从而加大对子女教育投入的力度。可见，农村妇女非农就业转移的意义不仅对其自身发展意义重大，对下一代的发展乃至农村的未来发展同样意义重大。

最后，在分析农村妇女外出打工的特征基础上，从两个方面考察了农村妇女外出打工的工资收入对家庭收入的影响。一是“有无女性劳动力外出打工家庭”的家庭劳均纯收入差异；二是在有女性劳动力外出打工的家庭中，农村妇女外出打工工资对家庭收入的影响。在此基础上，进一步的计量分析表明：在所有农户家庭中，女性是否外出打工对家庭收入的影响是不显著的，但在只考虑有女性劳动力外出打工的家庭中，女性外出打工的收入仍然对家庭收入产生了显著的影响。表明目前农村妇女外出打工虽然能提高家庭的收入，但并不是决定农户家庭收入高低的关键，更不能提升农户家庭收入水平的层次，也不可能靠农村妇女

外出打工改变农户家庭的命运。在所有农户家庭中，女性是否外出打工对家庭收入的影响是不显著的，但不能由此认为农村妇女外出打工、非农就业不重要。相反，在只考虑有女性外出打工的家庭中，女性的外出打工收入仍然对家庭收入产生了显著的影响，说明农村妇女非农就业的潜力还没有得到充分挖掘。能力弱、素质低是制约农村妇女尤其外出打工妇女发展的重要因素，也使农村妇女只能临时性打零工，无法彻底转移到非农产业就业。如何改变农村妇女就业层次低、收入不稳定的现实是迫切需要解决的关键问题。

在上述实证分析的基础上，本书提出农村妇女长期的就业战略应是走出农业，实现非农就业。并针对目前的现状提出了应对“农业女性化”的对策建议和加快农村妇女非农转移的对策建议。

关键词：农村妇女；就业模式变化；农村经济发展；面板数据分析

Abstract

With the increasing development of rural labor market, the simple, non-flowing and agriculture-centered natural rural labor employment mode is taking place by plural employment modes, which results in change of employment modes of rural women and the formation of new employment modes of rural women under marketing economy. During the change, women's status in both society and family vary greatly. The paper, firstly, began with the three stages of rural labor employment modes—natural employment modes, employment modes under planned economy system, and employment modes under marketing economy system, and their background and characteristics, gave clear definition of change of employment modes of rural women labor and its stages. The change of employment modes of rural women in the paper refers to the transition in which women do not simply engage in such works they do under natural employment as giving birth to baby, raising children and doing heavy house work, but undertake more works under marketing economy system. Under the new employments, two characteristics shows; one characteristics is that the young women with relatively higher education are employed non-agriculturally; the other is the comparatively old women with lower education stay in the countryside and do more agricultural production and housework, and in certain area the kind of women are the main labor force in agricultural industry. The paper, exploiting the rural household tracking survey

data from 2000 to 2004, empirically analyzed the influence of change of rural women's employment modes on agriculture production and rural development.

Firstly, the paper statistically analyzed the development trend of new employment mode of rural women and came to the following conclusion: with the social and economic development, there is great gap between the nonagricultural migration of rural male labor force and that of rural female labor force, though the migration of rural female labor force has greatly developed.

Secondly, using comparison analysis methods and fixed effect analysis method with time, the paper analyzed the factors influencing the rural women's non-agricultural employment and came to the following conclusions: there is a close connection between the opportunities of non-agricultural employment of rural women and their education levels; professional skill training in some degree can make up for the deficiency of regular education; age is another significant factor affecting rural women's employment; preschool children in a household will have certain effect on mothers' employment; at-school children in certain degree hasten mothers' non-agricultural employment, and the influence is more remarkable in a family with over-15-year-old children who study in senior high school or in colleges than in a family with 7-to-15-year-old students.

Thirdly, after comparing and analyzing the differences of three household types (the first type is male labor engaging in agricultural industry; the second is male labor engaging in the second and third industry and male labor in agricultural industry; the third is the male labor outside employed and male labor in agricultural industry) in agricultural production structure, applica-

tion of agricultural product technology, agricultural production management and agricultural income, the paper analyzed the influence of femalization on agricultural production. The conclusions are as follows; the engagement of rural male labor force in agricultural production is more favorable for the development of agricultural production than that of women's participation in agricultural production; there exists differences between the engagement of rural male labor force in agricultural production and women's engagement in it and the differences include production strategic decision and the receptivity for new technology and new information; the separation between right of agricultural production strategic decision and the managing right turns against the development of agricultural production. According to the experience of advanced countries, the first group who leave the countryside should be the weak in agricultural production and rural economical activities, for they hold no advantages in rural economy and have to have a foothold. At same time, those the strong in rural economical activities like "planting talents" should stay at countryside and gradually are the main part in agricultural scale management and rural economic development. Agricultural femalization is a unique phenomenon of the allocation of labor force under the special system circumstances of China's labor market and it's really hard to change the situation in short run. China's agricultural modernization and rural development can not be based on the agricultural femalization in the long run. With the carry out of urbanization, agricultural scale management and the modern household farm with both male and female engagement in production is a trend. Seeing the present situation, it's urgent to promote rural women's technology levels and intellec-

tual quality by education and professional training in order to make the women qualified for agricultural production and contribute more to agricultural industrialization.

Fourthly, by comparing the relationship between rural women in agriculture and non-agriculture and the education levels and professional skill training, the paper analyzed the influence of non-agricultural migration of rural women on rural women's self education. The conclusions are as follows; the non-agricultural migration can promote the enthusiasm of rural women for professional skill training and raise their education levels. Non-agricultural employment produces eternal demand of rural women for education and makes them willing to take part in diverse vocation education to increase competitive strength. During the process, the whole education of rural women are advanced.

Fifthly, by the empirical study of influential factors of household investment in children's education, the paper found; with the perfection of labor market, the factors influencing the household education investment change greatly; the non-agricultural migration of rural women plays more and more important part in children's education investment; the non-agricultural migration and rural education development influence mutually. Therefore, speeding up the non-agricultural migration of rural women is not only beneficial for the transition of women's status, but also good for the women's knowledge for the importance of education and thus rural women raise the investment in children's education. Therefore, the significance of non-agricultural migration of rural women means more than their own development; it holds great importance of the development of their

later generation and the countryside future.

Finally, based on the analysis of the characteristics of outside employed rural women, the paper, from two aspects, investigated the influence of women's wage income on household income. One is the difference of per household net income between the households with or without outside employed women; the other is the influence of outside employed women's income on household income in a household with non-agricultural employment women. The further econometric analysis showed: in all the households, the wage income of outside employed women have no remarkable effect on household income, but given only the household with women working outside, the influence is remarkable. The result shows that although the women outside employed can increase the household income, the women's wages are not the key factors deciding the final home income, let alone raise the household income level and change the family's fate. Meanwhile, in all households, the influence of women's wage on home income is not significant, it does not simply means that the rural women's non-agricultural migration is of no importance; in contrast, in the households with outside work women, the influence is rather important, which illustrates that the potential of women's non-agricultural migration is not fully used. Poorer skill and lower quality restrain the women's outside employment, make them do only odd jobs and deprive the rural women's work opportunities to non-agricultural industry. It's a key issue to change the reality—women's lower employment levels and unstable income.

Based the above empirical analysis, the paper suggest that the long run strategy of rural women employment is to move

away from agriculture and realize non-agricultural employment. In order to solve the present situation, the paper put forward some countermeasures to “agricultural femalization” and to speed up the non-agricultural migration of rural women.

Key words: Rural Women; The Change of Employment Modes; Rural Economic Development; Panel Data Analysis

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