

工作—生活平衡

理论借鉴与中国现实

岳经纶 [挪]斯坦·库纳 颜学勇 主编

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Theoretical Implications and Chinese Reality

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前 言

2006年1月,清华大学在四天之内有两位年轻教师相继过劳死;5月,华为员工胡新宇在连续加班两周后猝死;2011年,普华永道会计师事务所审计部门一位入职仅半年的25岁女硕士由于过度劳累引发急性脑膜炎不治身亡;2012年,浙江电台女主播郭梦秋健身后猝死;同年,一名年仅24岁的淘宝女店主因经营网店连续通宵熬夜,于睡梦中去世。2013年12月6日,香港理工大学传讯及公共事务处主管黎明辉在校园跳楼身亡,他在遗书上写道:“各位同事,希望我的离去,可以唤醒雇主重视员工的work-life balance(工作—生活平衡),再见。”

而除了这些极端事件,工作时间过长、工作压力过大、缺乏休闲、缺乏与家人相处时间在我国劳动者中更是普遍现象。据《中国劳动力动态调查:2013报告》透露,中国劳动者加班较多,普遍存在工作时间较长现象。有超过1/3的雇员在被调查时点的上个月加过班。有评论指出,中国人并没有人们通常所认为的那么注重家庭,事实上有不少国人为了工作或其他原因,往往选择忽略或放弃和家人相处的时间和休闲。每年黄金周拥挤的景区就是国人不会休息的一个很好例证。

工作作为人们获得收入和各种福利的基本来源,在一定程度上已经成为了一个新的风险因素,给人们的个人生活和家庭生活带来了许多不利影响。当然,家庭和个人生活也可能成为人们工作和职业发展上的障碍。为了进修或照顾家庭,不少人不得不放弃职业上的机会。这种“工作—生活冲突”的情况在我国已经成为一种越来越普遍的现象,因此,如何平衡工作和生活需要已然成为现代化过程中我国劳动者的普遍需要。

不过,在很长一段时间内,如何处理工作和生活需要之间的冲突都被当做个人事务,主要依靠个人策略和智慧来解决。即使到现在,也少有一些企业会积极主动地为员工提供各种支持方案。尽管目前我国也有一些社会调查和学术研究已经开始关注我国劳动者“工作—生活冲突”的现状,但通过制定相关社会政策来促进劳动者“工作—生活平衡”的公共策略尚未提上政府的议事日程。

为了引起对“工作—生活冲突”这一新社会风险的重视,并通过借鉴其他国家和地区的理论与实践,为我国企业和政府的相关实践提供有效的指引,在教育部重点研究基地重大项目(2009JJD810016和11JJD840018)和中山大学中央高校基本科研业务费专项资金及挪威卑尔

根大学的资助下,中山大学政治与公共事务管理学院与挪威卑尔根大学在2011年6月27日至28日在广州中山大学召开了“工作—生活平衡理论与实践”国际研讨会。来自中国内地、台湾、香港以及挪威的20多位学者参加了会议。本书就是这次研讨会的成果。

从工业社会向后工业社会的社会变迁是导致工作—生活冲突在各发达资本主义国家出现的根本原因。为了应对这种新社会风险(new social risk)对劳动者福利的影响,欧洲各福利国家分别为劳动者提供了不同程度的政策支持,而在整个欧洲层面,国际劳工组织(ILO)和欧盟(EU)等跨国组织也积极参与并推动各国的统一行动。本书第一篇从总体上介绍了工作—生活平衡这一社会政策的新议题。岳经纶和颜学勇的两篇论文《走向新社会政策:社会变迁、新风险与社会政策转型》和《工作—生活平衡:欧洲探索与中国观照》,前者侧重于介绍工作—生活平衡议题在欧洲产生的背景、工作—生活冲突对社会政策带来的挑战以及社会政策的回应;后者则侧重于介绍欧洲各国以及整个欧盟层面在为促进劳动者工作—生活平衡而推行的政策措施,以及这些社会政策对中国情境下的政策实践的启示。

帮助劳动者平衡其工作和生活,是一个涉及多方面的综合性活动。就学术研究而言,不同国家和地区为员工提供支持的力度和侧重点的差异、不同性别面临的工作—生活冲突情境的差异以及劳动时间的安排都是工作—生活平衡研究中的重要话题。因此,本书在接下来的三篇中,分别从以上三个视角讨论了工作—生活平衡问题。

第二篇中的四位作者,分别就整个欧洲、北欧福利国家、韩国、中国大陆及我国台湾地区的工作—生活平衡问题进行了介绍和研究。库纳指出,欧洲福利国家正面临来自内部和外部的多重挑战:全球化带来的经济和社会管理上的挑战、欧盟成员国经济发展和社会政策发展水平的差异以及劳动力的迁移等。而为实现“工作—生活平衡”创造更好的条件是欧洲福利国家应对这些挑战的可行途径,关键在于加大对家庭政策的投资。北欧福利国家在促进劳动者工作—生活平衡方面的投入比其他国家力度要大得多,并且已经取得了很好的效果。苏美尔回顾了通过工作—生活平衡政策来促进性别平等的理念从北欧福利国家向欧盟扩散的过程,同时也批判了这一政策对性别平等的潜在风险。她认为其他欧盟国家只能学习而不能照搬北欧的经验。相比而言,亚洲国家在应对新社会风险方面的社会政策发展要落后于欧洲。陈明芳的论文介绍了韩国和我国台湾地区面临的工作—生活平衡问题。作为亚洲经济较为发达的国家和地区,韩国和我国台湾的经济结构、家庭结构和人口年龄结构的变化都意味着平衡工作和家庭生活已然成为一种新风险。遗憾的是,现有研究侧重于对东亚福利模式的论证,对与新风险相关的社会政策关注不够。刘云

香与朱亚鹏的论文讨论了我国面临的工作—家庭冲突,认为正处于经济和社会转型过程中的中国,工作—生活冲突的问题不仅比较严重,而且也具有与欧洲福利国家不一样的特征。可以说,不同的经济发展水平和文化环境是造成各国工作—生活平衡问题差异的根源所在。

性别关系是工作—生活平衡研究中的一个基本问题,如何促使男女在劳动力市场和家庭照顾两方面的平等参与是相关社会政策的重要任务。本书第三篇的四篇论文尝试从性别关系的视角来探讨工作—生活平衡问题。婚姻(或同居)关系的破裂和单亲家庭的增加,对于工作—生活平衡是一个严峻的挑战。斯特兰德通过对英国和挪威数据的比较,探讨了福利国家的再分配政策对离婚后男女收入的影响。相对来说,离婚以后男性通过进入劳动力市场获得收入来源的能力要比女性强,但如果国家能够通过再分配手段为女性提供更好的支持,则更有利于女性维持稳定的生活水平。贝文重点考察了挪威面向有儿童家庭的工作—生活平衡政策及其调整两性关系的具体措施。尽管挪威在促进男性参与家庭照顾方面有很多具体的政策措施,但女性仍然是照顾家庭的主要角色。因此,在一些学者看来,各国在促进性别平等方面努力的差异,也可以成为划分福利国家类型的重要维度。方英的论文关注我国的性别分工传统及其对工作—生活平衡的影响,发现中国女性在职场中的劣势地位是一种“弥散的隐性不平等”,中国的女性要兼顾就业和照顾家庭往往必须调动所有可以利用的资源。当然,由于文化传统的原因,无论是对于中国的男性还是女性来说,这个过程都缺乏足够的历史经验可以借鉴,因此这仍然是一场正在进行的“生活实验”。在女性主义者看来,女性在就业和家庭之间的两难境地本身就是一种风险。段然的研究指出了我国女性在面对国家退出、市场进入和家庭裂变的情境下,对加强女性福利政策体系的现实需要。

造成工作—生活冲突的原因,一部分来自家庭,另一部分则来自工作,而超时工作则是导致工作对家庭和个人生活冲突的主要原因。本书第四篇中的四篇论文都关注了工作—生活平衡议题中的时间维度。岳经纶的论文指出,尽管我国在法律上对于劳动者劳动时间的规定走在世界前列,但现实中劳动者的休息时间却往往无法保证。范璐璐的论文则通过个案研究,进一步解释了中国工厂的时间管理及其对工人的影响。论文指出,对工作时间的控制,在很大程度上是资方和劳方在“工厂的时间政治”中博弈的结果。从这个角度看,促进工作—生活平衡的社会政策应该能够成为保证劳动者和雇佣者同时获利的双赢策略。此外,工作—生活平衡在个体生命的不同阶段,也必然会呈现不同的特点。颜学勇和周美多以及彭浩然的论文分别关注了青年和老年这两个人生阶段。这也意味着,所谓的工作—生活平衡,不仅要追求人们在不同生活领域之间的平

衡,也要追求在生命周期不同阶段之间的平衡。

工作—生活平衡跨越了劳动者的不同生活领域与生命阶段,需要个人、企业、政府和其他社会组织的集体行动。作为与我国内地有着共同文化传承却又有着不同经济制度环境的我国香港地区,在为劳动者创造平衡工作和生活条件方面的一些努力值得我们学习和借鉴。本书的第五篇收入了来自香港社商贤会(Community Business)的两份报告,其中一份介绍了针对香港员工工作—生活平衡基本状况的调查,另一份则比较详细地列举了香港一些企业参与为员工平衡工作与生活提供支持的具体项目计划及其实施步骤。同时,本篇还包括一份来自香港社会保障协会会长梁宝霖先生的文章(根据他的讲稿整理而成)。该文介绍了香港劳工阶层在参与企业相关决策制定中所受到的一些限制,这些限制也可能成为员工获得更好的工作—生活平衡的障碍。

作为一个尚未为大多数人所认知的社会政策议题,工作—生活平衡议题尽管重要,却仍然缺乏足够的关注和支持。也正是因为这个原因,我们编辑出版了这本书。有理由相信,随着经济社会的进一步发展,人们对高质量生活水平的需要,以及社会价值观念的调整,在工作与生活之间获得平衡必然成为绝大多数人的追求与共识。而我们要做的,就是在这一领域进行更多、更深入的研究,从而为个人、企业和政府部门的相关决策提供可资借鉴的知识。

本书的出版得到了多个机构和个人的大力支持。首先要感谢中山大学政治与公共事务管理学院、中国公共管理研究中心、挪威卑尔根大学比较政治学系、社会学系和斯坦·罗坎社会研究中心/Uni Research 对出版本书的慷慨支持。感谢教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地重大招标项目(2009JJD810016 和 11JJ840018)和中山大学中央高校基本科研业务费专项资金的资助。感谢《公共行政评论》杂志同意将在该刊发表的论文收入本书。感谢香港社商贤会同意将其研究成果收入本书。此外,编者要感谢中山大学政治与公共事务管理学院马骏教授、肖滨教授与朱亚鹏教授的大力支持,感谢格致出版社编辑同仁对本书出版付出的巨大努力。

岳经纶 斯坦·库纳 颜学勇

2014年2月

Preface

As a result of the transformation from industrial society to post-industrial society, work-life imbalance has become an arduous challenge facing working men and women in modern society. How to achieve a work-life balance looms large on the policy agenda of European welfare states. By the term of work-life balance, we refer to a state of “having sufficient control and autonomy over where, when and how you work to fulfill your responsibilities inside and outside paid work”. [1]

During the past two or three decades, research and policies concerning work-life balance are well developed in the European welfare states. Earlier, in the 1980s, the Nordic welfare states had recognized the problem of work-life conflict and its impact on gender equality and female labor force participation. In order to achieve a balance between work and life, the governments in the Nordic countries have provided the most comprehensive and solid support to the working population. Through institutionalized child care and encouraging fathers to participate in care work, gender equity is also relatively well incorporated with work-life balance in these countries. Being enlightened by their success in maintaining relatively high rates of female labor market participation and fertility, which are critical to the sustainability of welfare states, the European Union now plays an important role in advocating the idea of work-life balance and promoting the social policy agenda related to work-life balance in Europe.

Though China is still a developing country, its social and economic structures have been experiencing tremendous changes in the past three-odd decades. More and more women have participated in the labor market to take paid work; the family size has been shrinking due to the one child policy and low fertility rate; family functions have become weak due to the massive rural-urban migration and high divorce rate;

[1] Visser, F. and Williams, L. 2006. *Work-Life Balance: Rhetoric versus Reality*. London: Work Foundation.

and the population is ageing. In addition, the economic competition is becoming fiercer due to economic globalization. Under these circumstances, the working men and women in China are also suffering from the problem of combining work and family life. Tragic events concerning the labor market are not uncommon. For example, people often come across news reports on the death of young white collar workers due to overtime work and heavy work pressure. During a period of three months in early 2010, a wave of suicides occurred at the Shenzhen-based Foxconn Company: more than ten young workers in their twenties committed suicide. The fierce competition in the labor market has made it difficult for many young people to get married, and even when they are married, it is still difficult to have and take care of babies. Actually, a large number of unmarried ladies has become a severe social problem in China. More impressively, the massive migration of people from villages to cities has left millions of children at home without parenting care. These children are now labeled as “left-behind children”, as their parents have to take jobs in cities, and it is not affordable to have a family in cities. Nowadays, the common complaints of Chinese people are that they are “too tired”, “have no time to rest”, and “have not enough sleep”. Recently, the government’s policy proposal to postpone the retirement age has been resisted strongly by the public. Though the common conflicts between work and life have aroused wide concerns and discussions, studies and social policies relevant to work-life balance are relatively rare. Therefore, it is very timely to direct much more academic and policy attention to the issue of work-life balance in China.

In this regard, China can draw many lessons from the theories and practices of work-life balance in European welfare states, though China has a different socio-economic, demographic and cultural background. With the intent of taking lessons from Europe, the School of Government/Centre for Chinese Public Administration Research of Sun Yat-sen University and the University of Bergen of Norway jointly organized the international conference of “Work-life Balance: Theories and Practice” in Guangzhou on June 27—28, 2011. More than 20 scholars from Norway, Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong attended this conference. This edited volume is based on the papers presented at this conference. It is expected that this conference and its outcome, the edited book, can function as a pilot study on how to

properly combine European (especially the Nordic welfare states) experiences with Chinese culture and realities, so as to provoke wider academic attention and research on the topic of work-life balance, and provide some practical and effective guidance to the practice of work-life balance in corporations and governments in China.

One of the themes of this book is about experiences from Europe. Four scholars from Norway introduced some experiences of work-life balance in Europe (especially the Nordic welfare states). Professor Stein Kuhnle points out that European welfare states are facing serious challenges both internally and externally. To invest more in policies of family and work-life balance could be a possible political strategy to maintain the sustainability of welfare states. Sevil Sümer reviews the development of work-family reconciliation policies of the European Union and makes some critique of it. She argues that the EU should pay more attention to the gender division of care work. Anne Hege Strand examines the impact of divorce on income in Britain and Norway. Her study shows that the Norwegian welfare system has larger gender equalizing effects on the economic consequences of divorce. Nina Berven's study shows that despite of comparatively extensive public policies and high levels of gender equality, there is still undesirable gender division on paid and unpaid work between Norwegian men and women. She calls for a rediscovery of gender in contemporary welfare state research.

The edited book also includes a section on work-life balance issue in other areas of Asia. Chen Mingfang compares the problems of work-life conflict in Republic of Korea and China Taiwan. She argues that it is time to review the welfare models in China Taiwan and Republic of Korea in order to deal with the new social risks such as work-life balance. Hong Kong's practices of work-life balance constitute the main body of this theme. Community Business, a nonprofit organization based on Hong Kong, is a main advocate of work-life balance in Hong Kong. The survey reports and research outputs by Community Business included in this book provide us with a brief view of the current situation of employees' work-life balance and the employers' practices in Hong Kong.

The current situation of work-life balance in China is the major concern of this book. Ngok Kinglun and Yan Xueyong give a comprehensive review of the problems of work-life balance and their

policy responses in European welfare states. Based on this, they try to make some preliminary discussions on what China could learn from European Union. Liu Yunxiang and Zhu Yapeng have identified the characteristics of work-family balance in China. Based on intensive interviews, Fang Ying makes a close investigation of the issue of career women's work-life balance in China. She finds that Chinese working women have to mobilize all available resources to coordinate their paid work and care responsibilities. By comparing the provisions of labor law with the real working life, Ngok Kinglun contends that there are big inconsistency between the legal provisions and the working situation in China. Though Chinese labor law concerning working time is relatively strict, it has not been enforced effectively. Fan Lulu makes a case study of time management politics in a Chinese factory. Based on the rich empirical data, she concludes that the control over working time by the employer has many negative impacts on employees' life and work.

It is impossible for the book to be published without the support from a variety of people and institutions. First of all, we would like to express our gratitude to the School of Government/Center for Chinese Public Administration Research of Sun Yat-sen University, and to the Department of Comparative Politics and Department of Sociology of the University of Bergen, and the Stein Rokkan Centre/Uni Research of Norway for their generous support. We should acknowledge the contributions made by all our authors. We are grateful to the *Journal of Public Administration* to allow us to include some of its published articles in this book. Thanks should go to Community Business for her generosity to let us reprint her survey reports and research papers in this book. Lastly, but not least, we would also like to thank Professor Ma Jun, Professor Xiao Bin and Professor Zhu Yapeng from School of Government, Sun Yat-sen University for their great help in preparing the conference and this edited book. We are also grateful to colleagues, especially Ms. Wang Yali, in Shanghai People's Publishing House/Truth & Wisdom Press for so ably handling its production.

Ngok Kinglun, Stein Kuhnle, Yan Xueyong
Sun Yat-sen University and University of Bergen
February, 2014

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第一篇：

工作—生活平衡：社会政策的新视角



