

Gender and Agrarian Change: Making Paid and Unpaid Work Visible

农政变迁中的社会性别： 关注妇女的有酬劳动与无酬劳动

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Structure of Presentation

内 容

1. The political economy and the role of domestic institutions
(households, families)
政治经济学与家庭制度（户、家）的作用
2. Neoliberal restructuring and the non-commodified sphere
(unpaid work)
新自由主义重组与非商品化领域（无酬劳动）
3. Livelihood diversification, labour, gender
生计多元化、劳动和性别
4. Concluding remarks
结 语

1. The political economy and the role of domestic institutions

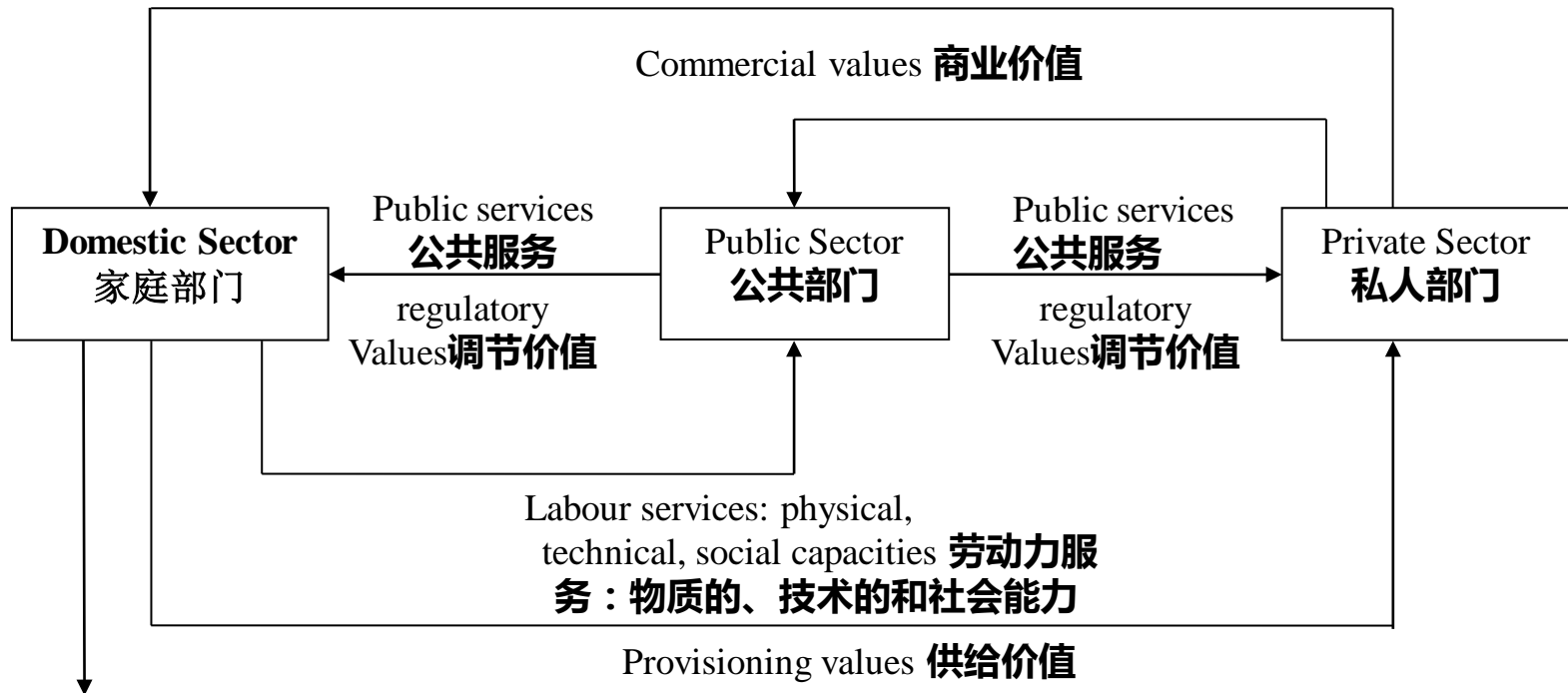
政治经济学与家庭制度的作用

Markets, States, & Domestic Institutions

市场、国家与家庭制度

Visualising social reproduction 将社会再生产可见化 (Diane Elson, 1998)

Marketed goods and services 销售的商品和服务



Depletion of human Capacities and Provisioning values
将人力与供给价值耗尽

The circular flow of output of goods and services
商品和服务输出的循环流动

The commodified and non-commodified spheres

商品化与非商品化领域

Paid Work 有酬劳动

Production for the market of goods and services; SNA, included in GDP 为商品和服务市场进行生产；国民经济核算体系，包含在GDP中

Subsistence agriculture, work in family business; SNA, included in GDP 生存型农业，在家庭企业中工作；国民经济核算体系，包含在GDP中

Collecting water and firewood for self consumption; SNA (since 1993), but in practice excluded from GDP 为家庭自用而采集水和薪柴；自1993年起进入国民经济核算体系，但事实上不包含在GDP中

Unpaid Work 无酬劳动

Unpaid services such as care of persons (e.g. bathing or feeding a child); non-SNA, excluded from GDP 无酬服务，例如照料（给孩子洗澡或喂饭）；不体现在国民经济核算体系和GDP中

Unpaid services such as cooking, washing clothes, shopping; non-SNA, excluded from GDP 无酬服务，例如做饭、洗衣、购物；不体现在国民经济核算体系和GDP中

Why is non-commodified work so invisible?

为什么非商品化的劳动如此看不见？

- ⌘ Marxist political economy, like liberal economics, focused on the sphere where commodities are produced ... where “value” is produced和自由主义经济学一样，马克思主义政治经济学关注的是商品生产和价值生产的领域
- ⌘ Implicit assumption – by both schools of thought – that the non-commodified sphere will wither away as economies develop and modernize 这两个学派隐含的假设是，随着经济的发展和现代化，非商品化的领域会逐渐消亡
- ⌘ But even in highly developed economies, the non-commodified sphere makes up a significant share of GDP 但是即便是在高度发达的经济体中，非商品化领域仍然在GDP中占有重要份额
 - France 44% (Fouquet and Chadeau 1981);
 - USA 32% to 62% (Sousa-Poza et al. 1999)
 - Canada 31% to 46% (Sousa-Poza et al. 1999)
 - China 25% to 32% (Dong and An 2012)
 - Japan 20% to 31% (Tamiya and Shikata 2010)
 - S. Korea 19% to 29% (An 2010)

Why is non-commodified work so invisible?

为什么非商品化的劳动如此看不见？

- It is also a highly feminized and unequal domain; women participate more in unpaid work than men & women dedicate more time to unpaid work than men.

非商品化的劳动也是一个高度女性化和不平等的领域。妇女在无酬劳动中的参与要多于男性；女性投入无酬劳动的时间也比男性多。

Time (in hours) allocated to unpaid work per week: some examples
男女每周在无酬劳动中投入的时间（以小时计算）：一些例子

China: men 10.6; women 27.3 (Dong and An 2012)

Japan: men 6.3; women 31 (Tamiya and Shikata 2010)

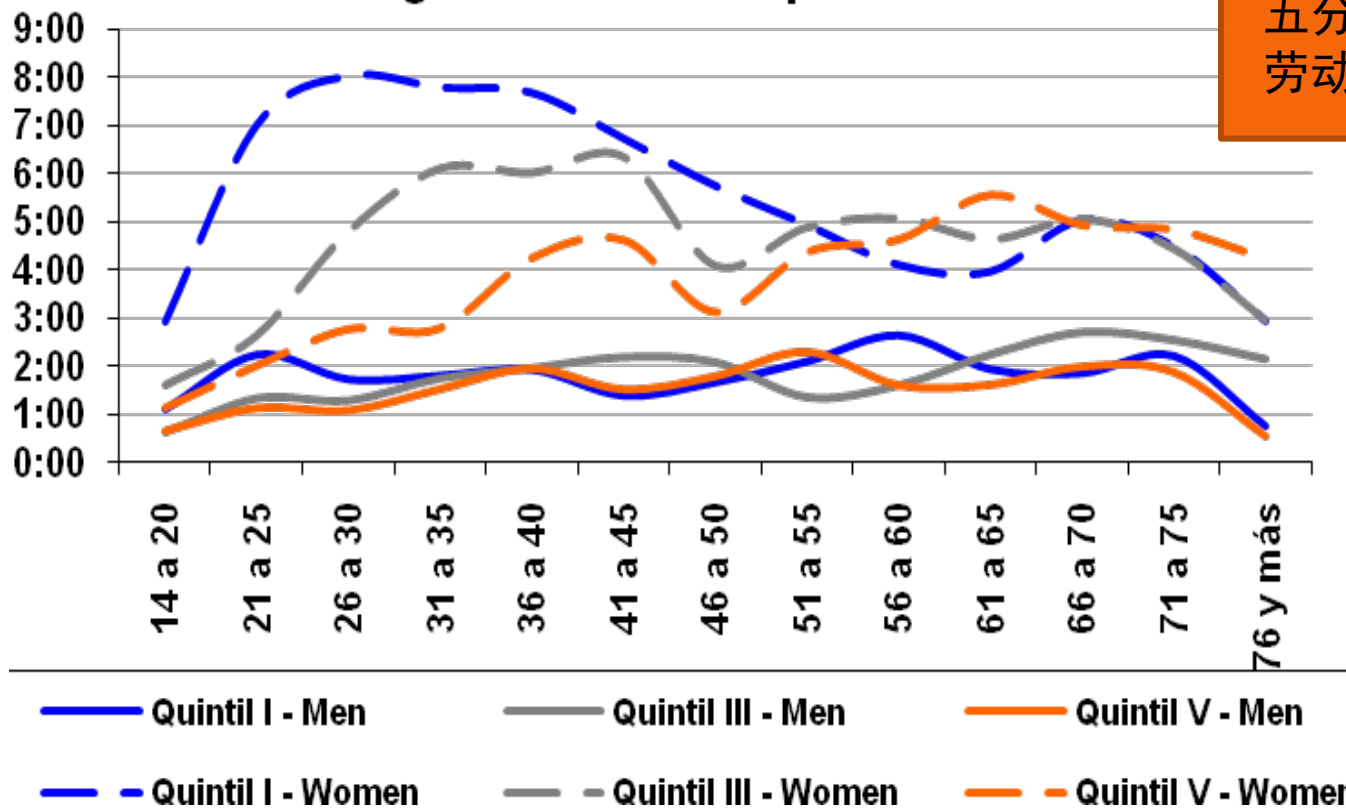
USA: men 20.9; women 32.7 (Sousa-Poza et al. 1999)

India: men 4.2; women 41.3 (Neetha and Palriwala 2010)

Gender and class inequalities in Uruguay

乌拉圭的性别与阶级不平等

Average daily hours used in unpaid work by age and income quintile



Non-commodified sphere is essential, but also needs inputs from other spheres 非商品化领域不可或缺，但需要其他领域的投入

- ☞ **Everyone needs care** -- not only the very young, disabled, sick and frail elderly but also “able-bodied adults”
每个人都需要照料——不只是年幼者、残疾者、病患和虚弱的老者，也包括身强体壮的成年人
- ☞ Contributes to human capital, (re)produces labour, contributes to economic growth ... care as “public good” (Nancy Folbre)
照料有助于人力资本的培养、劳动力的生产和再生产，有助于经济增长……照料是一种“公共物品”



BUT it would be wrong to assume that the domestic sphere can take care of itself (“shock absorber”, “safety net of last resort”); **the non-commodified sphere also needs support/inputs from other sectors**

但是，假定家庭领域能够实现自我平衡（“缓冲器”、“最后的安全网”），这一想法是错误的。非商品化领域同样需要来自其他部门的支持和投入。

-- income (agriculture, non-agriculture) **收入（农业，非农业）**

-- infrastructure (roads, electricity, water, shelter) **基础设施（道路、电力、水、住所）**

-- public health/sanitation and education services **公共健康/卫生和教育服务**

-- social transfers (family benefits, pensions) **社会转移支付（家庭福利、养老金）**

2. Neoliberal restructuring and the non-commodified sphere

新自由主义重组与非商品化领域

- ∞ Accessible and quality **public health services** → complements unpaid care work → welfare for *all* household members
可及的、高质量的公共健康服务——与无酬的照料劳动相互补——实现所有家庭成员的福利
- ∞ **Care services** (municipal crèches, care services for the elderly) → complements unpaid care work → welfare for children and the elderly
照料服务（市政托儿所、对老年人的照料服务）——与无酬的照料劳动相互补——实现儿童和老人的福利
- ∞ **Infrastructure and domestic amenities** → reduces the drudgery of unpaid domestic work
基础设施和家庭舒适——减少无酬家务劳动的枯燥
- ∞ **Welfare benefits** (child allowances, pensions) → complement household income → reduce the costs of reproduction (purchasing food, etc).
福利待遇（儿童补贴、养老金）——补充家庭收入——降低再生产的成本（购买食物等）

What happens to these welfare/social policy provisions when economies are restructured?

当经济发生重组时，这些福利和社会政策的提供发生了什么变化？

Crisis of 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Latin America) → welfare state retrenchment and shifting burden to the domestic sphere → increase unpaid work to sustain households (Beneria 1992 on Mexico)

20世纪80年代和90年代的危机（例如拉美）——福利国家预算紧缩并将负担转移到家庭领域——无酬劳动增加以维持家庭生计（Beneria 1992对墨西哥的研究）

Crisis of 2007/8 (e.g. Europe) → welfare state retrenchment and shifting burden to the domestic sphere

2007、2008年的危机（例如欧洲）——福利国家预算紧缩并将负担转移到家庭领域

Social investment in public welfare services and in social benefits to sustain the non-commodified sphere as counter-cyclical policy to create economic dynamism and nurture human capabilities (Korea after the Asian crisis, Brazil, China)

在公共福利服务和社会福利领域进行社会投资，来维持非商品化领域，以此作为反经济周期的政策来创造经济活力、培育人力资本（如亚洲金融危机后的韩国，此外还有巴西和中国）

Non-commodified sphere under pressure ...

非商品化领域面临巨大压力

Production and reproduction on a collision course?

相互冲突的生产与再生产？

- ∞ The colonial and post-colonial migrant labour system in Southern Africa (supplying male labour to mining and plantations) ... absent men ... and the long-term destruction of family life (Lund and Budlender 2011)
殖民地和后殖民时期非洲南部的劳动力流动（为矿井和种植园提供男性劳动力）……家庭中男性缺位……对家庭生活的长期破坏
- ∞ Migration, family disruption and care in East and Southeast Asia. Are elderly women and men able to cope with the triple burden of agricultural work, domestic work, and care work for themselves and their grandchildren in migrant-sending rural areas of China?
东亚和东南亚的劳动力流动、家庭破裂与照料。
在劳动力输出地的中国农村地区，老年人能够应对农业劳动、家务劳动以及对自己和孙辈的照料负担吗？

Are married women able to manage both agricultural work and care-giving for their children?

已婚妇女能够应对农业劳动和对子女的照料负担吗？

Where married women are migrating in search of work, are men able to take on more care-giving?

在已婚妇女外出务工的地方，留守在家的男性能够承担起更多照料职责吗？

What kind of public support/provision is needed to help the “left behind” population adjust and adapt to the new situation they are in?

留守人口需要怎样的公共支持和社会服务来帮助他们调整和适应这种新的处境？

3. Livelihood diversification, labour, gender

生计多元化，劳动和性别

Diversification and complex livelihoods 多元化和复杂的生计

Majority of “peasants”/”small farmers” are combining farming with other labour strategies

大多数“小农” / “小农户” 将农作与其他劳动策略相结合

– wage work in agriculture, wage work in manufacturing, self-employment

农业和制造业中的雇佣劳动、个体经营

Complex combinations of wage employment and self-employment, agriculture and non-agriculture, urban and rural (Henry Bernstein’s “classes of labour”)

雇佣劳动和个体经营、农业与非农业、城市与农村的复杂组合（亨利·伯恩斯坦所说的“劳工阶级”）

This poses a number of challenges/questions 这提出了一系列挑战和问题

∞ The Developmental Question: are agriculture and non-agriculture able to work synergistically and in tandem (Kay 2009; Van der Ploeg & Ye Jingzhong 2010)? 发展的问题：农业和非农业能够协同运作、并驾齐驱吗？

- Can rural areas produce “human capital” for non-agr sectors and act as social security for illness, old age? 农村地区能够为非农部门提供“人力资本”并在劳动力患病和衰老之际发挥社会保障作用吗？
- Are non-agricultural sectors (manufacturing, services) able to absorb the labour that is released from agriculture? 非农部门（制造业、服务业）有能力吸纳从农业中释放出的劳动力吗？
- Are “savings” from non-agr incomes going back to rural areas and being invested in agriculture? 来自非农部门的收入“储蓄”能够重新回流到农村地区、投入到农业当中吗？

- Can agricultural production feed the cities (and rural areas)?
农业产出能够养活城市（以及农村地区）吗？
- Can improved rural incomes provide demand for goods produced in non-agr sectors?
农村收入的提高能够为非农部门生产的产品带来消费需求吗？

There are also two other questions that need to be factored into this “developmental” equation:
还有另外两个问题需要带入这个“发展的”问题之中：

∞ The Social Question: Does the rural population have access to the means of production and its own reproduction?

社会的问题：农村人口能够获得生产资料和自身再生产的资料吗？

- Is access to land widely available? Extensive land dispossession would mean very little to “fall back on”

人们可以获得土地吗？大规模的土地剥夺意味着人们几乎“无所依靠”

- Is there institutional/policy support for agriculture/farming (inputs, technology, price support, etc.) to make farming viable?

对农业/农作是否有制度和政策支持（投入、技术、价格支持等）来保证农作活动的活力？

- Are other sources of income (besides small-scale farming) available to the rural population and within easy reach?

农村人口能够获得其他收入来源（除小规模农作之外）吗？这些收入来源容易获得吗？

- Is public provision of health, education, pensions, social security expanding to include the rural population (even if gradually and in a step-by-step manner)?

健康、教育、养老和社会保障的公共服务能够延伸到农村人口吗（即便是以逐步的、渐进的方式）？

∞ The Gender Question: How are women and men differently located in relation to both “productive” income opportunities (agr., non-agr.) and reproductive responsibilities (vis-à-vis the young, old and other household members)?

性别的问题：在面对“生产性”的收入机会（农业、非农业）和再生产性的家庭责任（针对年幼者、老人和其他家庭成员）时，女性和男性是怎样被区别定位的？

- Is agriculture feminizing? Latin America/Mexico (Deere 2005, Radel et al. 2012) and India (Garikipati & Pfaffenzeller 2010) men leaving agriculture, women as small farmers (Mexico) or agricultural labourers (India). Similar trend in China (Song and Vernooy 2010)? 农业女性化了吗？在拉美/墨西哥和印度，男性离开农业、女性成为小型农民（墨西哥）或农业劳动力（印度），在中国也有类似的趋势吗？

- If women are emerging as farmers, is there institutional/policy support for their agriculture/farming (inputs, technology, price)? Can they make farming decisions? Are they receiving remittances to invest in agr?
如果妇女正在成为农民，对于她们的农业和农作活动是否有制度和政策支持（投入、技术、价格等）？她们对农作活动有决策权吗？她们能收到丈夫的汇款来投入农业生产吗？
- Women face constraints (capital, social networks, training, labour market hierarchies) in accessing more lucrative niches in the non-agricultural economy
在非农经济中，妇女在进入到利润更丰厚的领域时受到制约（资本、社会网络、培训、劳动力市场的等级制度）
- Women also disproportionately responsible for family care and welfare ... which can make it difficult for them to seize new economic opportunities
妇女在家庭照料和家庭福利方面承担的责任比例过大，这使她们难以抓住新的经济机会

4. Concluding remarks

结 语

- ∞ Centrality of reproduction and the non-commodified sphere to the political economy (whether agrarian or non-agr)
再生产与非商品化领域在政治经济学（无论是农业还是非农业）中的核心地位
- ∞ The non-commodified sphere as site of sharing/care but also inequality (everyone does not contribute equally)
非商品化领域是分担/照料的场所，也是产生不平等的所在（每个人并不是平等地做出贡献）
- ∞ Livelihood diversification and the complexity of agr and non-agr strategies ... important to address three sets of question
生计多元化和农业与非农业策略的复杂性……解决下面三大问题是很重要的：

- the developmental question (about synergies between agriculture and non-agriculture)
发展的问题（关于农业和非农业之间的协同作用）
- the social question (access to means of production and its own reproduction)
社会的问题（对生产资料和自身再生产资料的可及性）
- the gender question (how are women and men differently positioned vis-a-vis both “productive” and “reproductive” economies?)
性别的问题（男性和女性在面对生产性和再生产性经济机会和经济活动时是怎样被区别定位的？）

Thank you!



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