

*An alternative framework for
understanding the situation of the ‘left-
behind’*

理解“留守者”境遇的一个替代框架


塔玛拉·杰华

澳大利亚国立大学亚太研究学院高级研究员

Tamara Jacka

ANU

Outline 概要

- Introduction 简介
 - Survey findings 研究发现
 - A case study: Li' s story 案例：李的故事
 - Discussion 讨论
 - Conclusions 结论
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Householding 家户过程

[The process of] creating and sustaining a household [which] is an ongoing dynamic social process that covers all lifecycle stages and extends beyond the family. (Mike Douglass)

指家户创立与维系的过程。它是一个不断发展变化的、动态的社会过程，包含了生命周期的各个阶段，超出了家庭的范围。(麦克 道格拉斯)

- Mike Douglass, “Global Householding in Pacific Asia,” *International Development Planning Review* 28(4) (2006).
- 麦克 道格拉斯, “亚太地区的全球家户过程”, 《国际发展规划评论》, 2006, 28(4)
- Mike Douglass, “The Globalization of Householding and Social Reproduction in Pacific Asia,” *Philippine Studies* 55(2) (2007).
- 麦克 道格拉斯, “亚太地区家户过程的全球化与社会再生产”, 《菲律宾研究》, 2007, 55(2)

Benefits of the 'householding' model

农户过程模型的优势

- Understands that migration is part of rural life, rather than taking people out of that life; 将迁移视为农村生活的一部分，而不是将它抽离出来
- Enables an understanding of the *multidirectional* links between migration and other aspects of economic and social relations in the countryside; 使人们理解迁移与农村地区社会经济关系在其他方面的多向联系。

Benefits of the 'householding' model

家户过程模型的优势

- Focuses our attention on household strategies for *reproduction* (including social reproduction), as well as production and 'livelihoods' narrowly conceived;
- 关注再生产(包括社会再生产), 以及生产和(狭义的)“生计”的家户策略
- Directs our attention to power and *conflict*, as well as sharing, within the household.
- 使我们注意到家户内部的权利和冲突, 以及资源的分享

Today's presentation is based on 2 papers: 今天的演讲基于两篇文章

'Migration, Householding and the Well-being of Left-behind Women in Rural Ningxia', *The China Journal*, 67: 1-21.

迁移, 家户过程与宁夏农村留守妇女的生存样态, 《中国研究》, 67: 1-21

'Left-behind and vulnerable? Conceptualising development and older women's agency in rural China', *Asian Studies Review* (forthcoming).

留守与脆弱? 构想发展与中国农村老年妇女的能动性, 《亚洲研究评论》(待发)

Definitions 定义

Left-behind women: 留守妇女

- Married women aged 18 – 60 years old, whose husbands have migrated out for 6 months or more of the preceding year.
- 18—60岁的已婚妇女，丈夫每年外出6个月或更久

Left-behind elderly: 留守老人

- People over the age of 60 (65), whose children have migrated out for 6 months or more of the preceding year.
- 60岁或65岁以上的老人，其子女每年外出6个月或更久



Snow Valley County, Ningxia
宁夏雪谷县

Research methodology 研究方法

Questionnaire survey: 问卷调查

- 2000 women aged 16-80 yrs. 2000名16—80岁之间的妇女
- 7 villages across 2 townships 2个乡的7个村

Semi-structured interviews: 半结构访谈

- 54 women and household members interviewed twice or three times. 54位妇女与家庭成员, 访谈2—3次
- Total = 147 interviews over 3 trips 总计: 实地调查3次, 147次访谈

Survey Findings 研究发现

Previous studies: 之前的研究:

- *Left-behind women suffer heavier , workloads, stress, poor health, loneliness, insecurity, deteriorating marriages.*
- *留守妇女劳动负担更为沉重, 压力更大, 健康状况欠佳, 孤独, 不安全感, 婚姻质量下降*

Our study: 我们的研究

- *No statistically significant difference in well-being between left-behind and non left-behind women.*
- *留守与非留守妇女的生存样态在统计上无显著差异*

Table 1: Workloads 表1: 劳动负担

In the last month, how many hours per day did you spend doing...?

上个月, 你每天做……的时间有多长?

(Composite of responses to questions about 10 different types of work)

(包含对十种不同劳动的回答)

No. of months husband was away in last year 丈夫去年外出的时间 (月)	N (Married women aged 16-60) (16-60岁已婚妇女) 人数	Mean no. of work hours per day 每天劳动时间平均值 (小时)	Standard deviation 标准差	Standard error mean 标准误差均值
0-5	1138	9.07	2.84	.08
6-12	442	9.09	2.47	.12

Table 2: Worries 表2 焦虑

In the last year, have you felt any pressure or worry about the following, and if so, how much? You can answer “none at all” (1); “a little” (2); “it’s hard to say” (3); “rather a lot” (4); or “extremely high level” (5)... ’ (composite of responses to 14 questions)

过去一年, 你是否对以下事件感到过焦虑? 如果是, 焦虑的程度是多少? 答案可以是“毫不焦虑” (1); “轻微焦虑” (2); “难以判断” (3); “相当焦虑” (4); “极为焦虑” (5)。
□ (包含了对14个问题的回答)

No. of months husband was away in last year 丈夫去年外出的时间（月）	N (Married women aged 16-60) (16—60岁已婚妇女) 人数	Mean level of worry (14=none; 70=extremely high) 焦虑的均值（14 = 毫不焦虑； 70 = 极为焦虑）	Standard deviation 标准差	Standard error mean 标准误差均值
0-5	1135	22.82	6.58	.20
6-12	440	23.06	6.02	.29



Discussion 讨论

Interrelated aspects of householding: 家户过程中相互联系的方面:

- It is a fluid process 这是一个动态的过程
 - Migration is undertaken by a range of household members for varying lengths of time 不同家庭成员外出务工, 其时间有长有短
- It depends on sharing and cooperation (1) 它依靠分享与合作(1)
 - Mutual aid with kin (both sides of family) 亲戚之间的互助(来自夫妻双方的家庭)
 - Intra-household divisions of labour 家庭内的劳动分工

Type of Work 劳动类型	Age Cohort (Years) 各年龄段人数 (年龄)					
	16-20 N=26	21-35 N=373	36-50 N=893	51-60 N=365	61-70 N=231	71-80 N=125
Crop farming 种田	2.5	3.9	5.1	4.5	2.8	0.6
Animal husbandry 养殖	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
Waged work 打工	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other income-earning work 其他有收入的劳动	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
Cooking 做饭	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.0
Child care 看孩子	0.2	2.6	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.7
Elderly care 照顾老人	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
Washing clothes 洗衣	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.2
Sweeping 扫地	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3
Other domestic work 其他家务劳动	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1

Discussion 讨论

Interrelated aspects of householding: 家户过程中相互联系的几个方面:

- It depends on sharing and cooperation (2) 它依靠分享与合作 (2)
 - Women's ties with natal family 妇女与娘家的纽带
- It involves division and conflict 它牵涉到分工和矛盾
 - Less power in decision-making 在决策中处于弱势
 - Domestic violence 家庭暴力
 - Women's lack of property rights 女性缺乏财产权

Conclusions 结论

Douglass' s concept of householding, and his focus on the interconnections between outmigration and householding, offers a fruitful analytical framework for understanding migration and its impact on the well-being of rural women in China.

道格拉斯的家户过程的概念，以及他对于迁移与家户过程的关系的研究，为我们分析流动对中国农村留守妇女生存样态的影响提供了一个有效框架。

謝謝!

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Beijing

