

# IS THE HOUSEHOLD UNIVERSAL? WHY THE QUESTION STILL MATTERS

“家户”的概念是普世的吗？对其争论缘何依然重要

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# THE HOUSEHOLD PARADOX IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AND PRACTICE 发展研究与实践中“家户”概念的悖论

**We use household surveys constantly 我们不断使用家户调查**

- to compare states of well-being of different populations within and across national boundaries using universal survey instruments 使用通用的调查工具来对比国内和国家之间不同人口的生活状况
- to assess the impact of policies by comparing the state of households across time 通过对家户状况的纵向对比来评估政策影响

**Yet we have also accepted the importance of gender in analysis and practice (mainstreaming) with its fundamental critique of the concept of the unitary household** 然而我们也承认性别在分析和实践中的重要性以及它对单一家户概念的根本性批判

**And historical sociology and anthropology generally dismissed long ago the idea that there is a universal household (particularly for rural Africa and rural China)** 历史社会学和人类学基本上在很久之前就驳斥了普世性家户的观点（尤其是非洲和中国的农村地区）

# WHAT WILL WE DO IN THIS LECTURE?

## 这一讲我们要做什么？

- **Think about the source of the paradox** 思考这一悖论的来源
- **Discuss the gender critique of the unitary household** 讨论对于单一家户的性别批判
- **Discuss the implications of the critique for development research** 讨论这种批判对发展研究的意义
- ***Objective: illustrate the usefulness of gender analysis applied to an important question in rural development***  
**目标：阐明将性别分析应用于一个农村发展重要问题中的有效性**

# WHAT IS THE SOURCE OF THE PARADOX? 悖论从何而来

- Household is a comparative analytical *concept* that demands consistent definition across space and time 家户是一个比较性的分析概念，它需要随时空变迁进行连贯性的界定
- Household is a technique of governance used in counting and controlling populations 家户是一个用于统计和控制人口的治理术
- The new household economics has dominated the neo-liberal development consensus 新家庭经济学主导了新自由主义的发展共识

HOUSEHOLD IS A COMPARATIVE ANALYTICAL CONCEPT THAT DEMANDS CONSISTENT DEFINITION ACROSS SPACE AND TIME 家户是一个比较性的分析概念, 它需要随时空变迁进行连贯性的界定

### Common elements of the definition 定义中的共同要素

- Family based 以家庭为基础
- Residential 居住性的
- Shares a common cooking pot “一个锅里吃饭”

### Demographers' methodological concern (the 'statistical household') 人口统计学家的方法论考量 ( “统计意义上的家户” )

- Discrete membership 分散的成员
  - Sampling frame 抽样框
  - Comparability 可比性
  - Double counting 重复计算
- Headship 家长

Stop and Think: the rural migration, the sharing and the patronage problems  
思考: 农村劳动力流动, 共享和庇护问题

# SOURCES OF THE DEMOGRAPHERS' CONCERN: THE CENSUS AS A TECHNIQUE OF GOVERNANCE 人口统计学家的考量依据: 作为 一项治理术的人口普查

**The importance of the sample frame, double-counting avoidance and headship accountability for: 样本框、避免重复计算和家长责任制在以下治理中的重要性:**

- Taxation 税收
- Control of labour mobility 控制劳动力流动
- Social provisioning 社会供应

**e.g. the work of colonial officials in Mozambique 例如莫桑比克殖民地时期政府官员的工作**

# THE IMPORTANCE OF FINDING A MAXIMIZING AGENT IN NEO-CLASSICAL ECONOMICS 新古典主义经济学中寻找最大化能动者 的重要性

- **The New Household Economics resolved the problem of not accounting for the importance of non-commodified work in development** 新家庭经济学解决了在发展中未将非商品性劳动的重要性计算在内的问题
- **It introduced the concept of household strategies where the household is a kind of person that thinks and plans** 它引入了家庭策略的概念，这个概念将“家户”视为能够思考和计划的人
- **It used the concept of the benevolent dictator to argue that what happens in households is the best possible outcome for all concerned.** 它使用了仁慈的独裁者这个概念来表明家户中发生的事件决策是所有相关成员有可能得到的最佳结果

Stop and Think: best for all vs best possible  
思考：对所有人最佳 VS 有可能得到的最佳



# THE FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF THE CONCEPT OF THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR 女性主义对劳动的生物性别分工概念的批判

- **The sexual division of labour is not functionally harmonious but contradictory and thus unstable and conflictful, an area of contestation** 劳动的生物性别分工从根本上来说并不是和谐的，而是充满矛盾的，并因此变得不稳定和具有冲突性，是一个争议不断的领域
- **Relation between women and men can be at the same time oppressive and yet advantageous for women (co-operative conflicts)** 男女之间的关系可以既是压迫性的，然而同时也可使女性占有优势（合作性的冲突）

# CONTD 接上

- **The sexual division of labour is not biologically given but historically shaped and thus changeable** 劳动的生物性别分工并不是基于生物性的，而是经过历史形塑的，因此也是可以改变的
- **Gender: the historically constituted social and cultural construction of biological differences of sex** 社会性别：自古以来形成的对性别的生物差异的社会和文化建构

Stop and Think: Why gender rather than the sexual division of labour?  
思考：为什么是劳动的社会性别分工而不是生物性别分工？

# TWO MAJOR FEMINIST CRITICISMS OF HOUSEHOLD APPROACHES TO AGRARIAN CHANGE 女性主义对农政变迁中家户视角的两个主要批判

## The unitary household 单一的家户

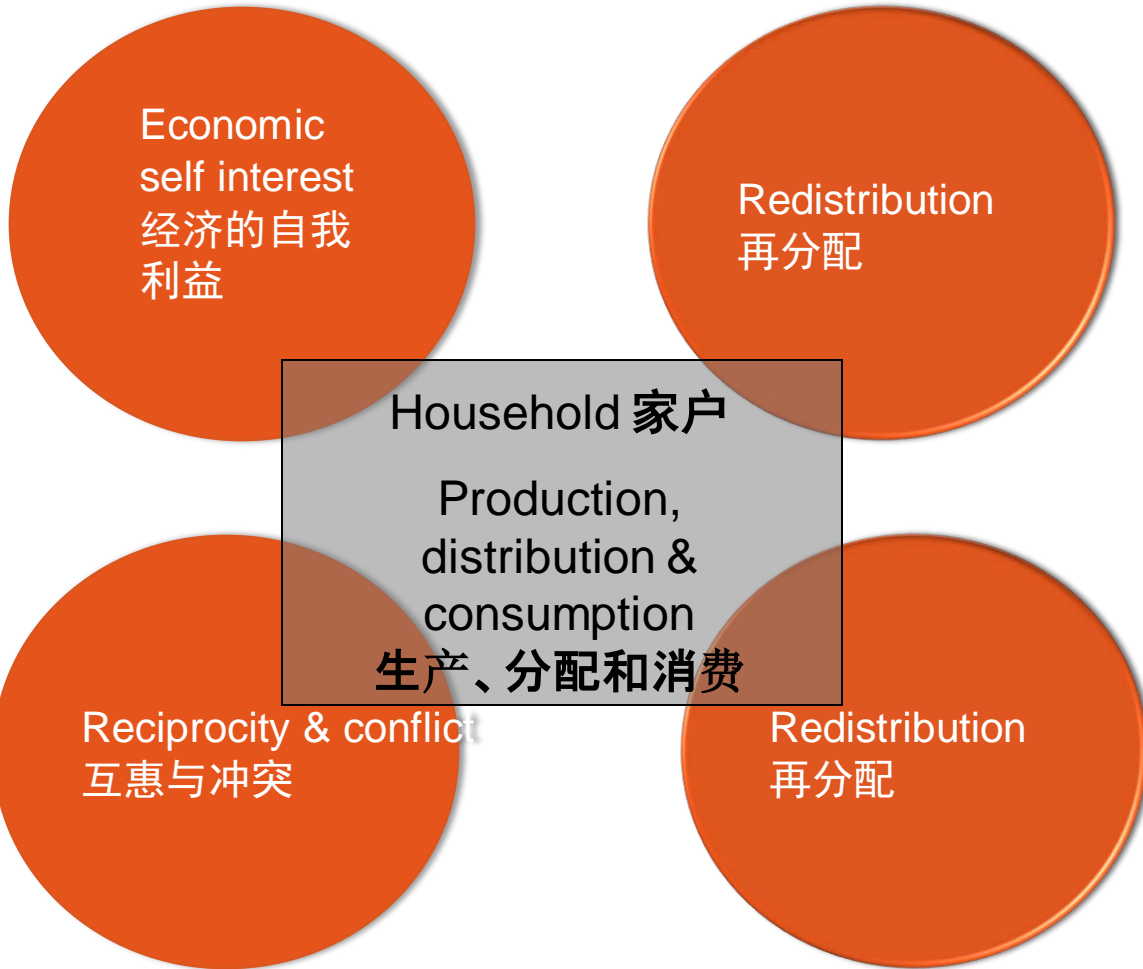
- Improvement in the overall position of the household is not invariably shared equally by all members of the household 家庭整体状况的提升并不总是被家庭的所有成员均享
- The division of labour and the quality of life are not equal within the household 家庭内部的劳动分工和生活质量也是不平等的

## The public/private dichotomy 公与私的二元对立

- Relations of gender and generation cut across households, communities and polities 性别和代际关系横跨了家庭、社区和政体

Market cycle 市场循环

State governance cycle 国家治理循环



Domestic cycle 家庭内部循环

Civil society associational cycle  
公民社会的组织性循环

# DIFFERENT THEORETICAL WAYS OF RESOLVING THE PARADOX 解决这一悖论的不同理论方式

## Neo-classical and institutionalist: 新古典主义和制度主义

- The maximising individual is the unit of analysis 分析单位是追求最大化的个体
- The household is the outcome of an imperfect bargaining process 家户是不完全的谈判过程的结果
- Objective of policy: improve the bargaining position of women 政策目标: 改善女性的谈判地位

## Political economy class based approaches 以阶级为基础的政治经济学视角

- Societies are not formed by maximising individuals but by social relations 社会是由社会关系组成的，而不是由追求最大化的个体组成的
- Relations of gender cut across households and intersect with class 性别关系横跨了家户范畴，与阶级相交联
- Policy: transform the division of labour rather than patching up its consequences 政策: 转变劳动分工，而不是对它产生的后果进行修修补补

# WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD IN RESEARCH METHODOLOGY? 对于研究方法论中的“家户”该如何处理

- **Adjusting survey instruments without undermining comparability** 在不削弱可比性的前提下调整调查工具
- **Recognising the silences and distortions in particular survey data in our interpretation of them** 在解释调查数据时要认识到特殊数据的歪曲与无效
- **Designing our research, including which units of analysis we use and how we define them, in function of our own research questions** 根据我们的研究问题，来设计我们的研究，包括所使用的分析单位以及如何界定它们

# ADJUSTING SURVEY INSTRUMENTS WITHOUT UNDERMINING COMPARABILITY 在不削弱可比性的前提下调整调查工具

**E.g. To better understand household structure and the positions of apparently unrelated members (Randall et al 2011):** 例如，为了更好地理解家庭结构和那些显然并无关联的成员处境

- data on relationship to household head could be replaced with data on relationships between different household members, recorded either in a grid form or by identifying smaller units within households 与户主关系的数据可以用家庭不同成员之间的关系的数据取代，把这些数据记录到网格表中或是识别家庭内部的更小单位

- individuals could be recorded as members of more than one household, provided they met specified criteria, while also recording the nature of their membership (provider, dependant, polygamous man, occasional resident, etc.) and their presence or absence at the time of the survey. 如果他们满足特定标准，个体可以被算作不止一个家庭的成员，同时要记录下他们的身份性质（养家的人、依附者、多妻者，非常住者，等等）以及他们在调查时是否在场
- *Note: comparability is an issue, e.g. non-marketed production in Mozambique national accounts* 注意：可比性是一个问题，例如，在莫桑比克国家核算中的非市场化生产



# RECOGNISING THE SILENCES AND DISTORTIONS OF SURVEY DATA IN OUR INTERPRETATION OF THEM 在解释调查数据时要认识到特殊数据的歪曲与无效

## Know how the data were collected 知道数据是如何收集的

- Read the questionnaire 阅读问卷
- Know who was interviewed 知道访谈了哪些人
- Formerly only women in DHS 之前在“人口与健康调查”中只有女性
- Household heads in household expenditure surveys 在家庭支出调查中的户主
- Recognize the impact of normative questions in interviews 认识到规范性问题在访谈中的影响
- E.g. who cares for the disabled in the household 例如，在家里谁来照料患有残疾的家庭成员
- Look for evidence elsewhere on areas that may not be covered (expenditure vs. income flows) 对那些可能未涵盖的领域要在别处寻找证据（支出 vs. 收入）

## Know the context (the importance of qualitative evidence) 知道调查的背景（定性信息的重要性）

DESIGNING OUR RESEARCH, INCLUDING WHICH UNITS OF ANALYSIS WE USE AND HOW WE DEFINE THEM, IN FUNCTION OF OUR OWN RESEARCH QUESTIONS 根据我们的研究问题, 来设计我们的研究, 包括所使用的分析单位以及如何界定它们

**Correlations do not establish causality; large standardized international surveys may not tell us much about the processes we need to look at to understand, for examples, the dynamics of poverty, inequality and growth. 相关性并不能建立因果关系, 大型的标准化的国际调查可能不会对那些我们需要关注和理解的过程传递很多信息, 例如, 贫困、不平等与增长的动态变化过程**

**A sharp limited survey that takes instances as well as agents (individuals or households) as units of analysis might be needed to get at these processes:** 一个既以案例又以能动者（个体或家户）为分析单位的有限调查可以帮助我们了解这些过程

- e.g. instances of land inheritance after the death of a title-holder 例如，在持有人去世之后的土地继承问题案例

# IS THE HOUSEHOLD UNIVERSAL? KEEP ASKING THE QUESTION

“家户”的概念是普世的吗？让我们继续追问这个问题

## THANK YOU!

谢谢！

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