要旨

　　根据《中国统计年鉴》最新的抽样数据显示，中国内地成年未婚人口已经达到 2.4 亿人。大规模的"剩男剩女"已经成为一个严重的社会问题。单身人口问题如果得不到解决，晚婚化和不婚化现象将愈发严重，伴随而来的则是生育率的持续下降和人口的进一步老龄化。"剩男剩女"现象是如何形成的？关于"剩男剩女"现象的相关研究大多从婚姻匹配、同质婚、异质婚等视角展开，而且基本都是采用社会学的研究方法而缺乏实证研究的支撑，尚未有文献从配偶搜寻方式变迁的角度分析"剩男剩女"现象的成因。而且，"剩男剩女"一直被视为一个偏个人的问题，尚未引起有关政府部门和政策制定者的足够重视，也缺少解决"剩男剩女"的相关对策研究。

　　相亲和恋爱是单身人口寻找结婚对象的重要配偶搜寻方式，选择相亲结婚还是等待自由恋爱机会的出现？这是庞大的单身群体面临的一个现实问题。本文基于微观数据的统计分析发现，中国正处在从相亲结婚到恋爱结婚转变的过渡性阶段，恋爱结婚的人口占比已超过相亲结婚的人口占比，而邻国日本早就经历了这种配偶搜寻方式的转变，超 9 成以上的日本人选择恋爱结婚，而且日本的晚婚化和不婚化现象比中国更为严重。有鉴于此，本文首次基于这两个主流的配偶搜寻方式(即相亲结婚和恋爱结婚)，运用经济学的研究方法，从理论和实证两方面分析"剩男剩女"现象的成因和对策，并进行中日两国的比较分析。本文的研究具有重要的理论意义和应用价值，这主要体现在以下几个方面。一是人口问题的绝大多数研究关注的焦点落在了人口老龄化、低生育率、二孩政策等问题上，讨论单身人口问题的文献相对较少，单身人口问题的研究迫在眉睫，为了顺应时代需求和解决实际问题，本文应运而生。二是鲜有研究关注到中国正处在婚恋观的迭代阶段，本文的研究较好地弥补了现有研究的空白和不足之处。将相亲结婚和恋爱结婚这两种配偶搜寻方式纳入到经济学的分析框架中，拓展了经济学在社会学、人口学等相关研究上的应用广度和深度，为经济学和社会学在交叉学科领域的融合及拓展性研究提供新的指引，为人口政策的制定和各类相亲联谊活动提供更加科学的指导和决策依据。三是中日两国的跨国比较研究不仅有利于我们更好地认识两国的配偶搜寻方式变迁的成因及后果，还为中国制定单身人口政策以及组织

单身联谊活动提供一定程度的启示。

本文的主体内容可以归结为三大部分，一是分析微观个体特征与该个体是否选择相亲结婚的关系，二是比较相亲结婚和恋爱结婚的婚姻质量的差异，并分析相亲结婚如何影响婚姻质量，三是研究"相亲热"对人们是否选择相亲结婚的影响及其作用机制。具体而言：

首先，本文构建包含相亲和自由恋爱的理论模型，并提出理论假说。实证方面，为验证理论假说，搜集了中国 CFPS、CGSS 数据和日本 JGSS、JPSC 数据，综合运用 Logit 模型、Probit 模型、多项 Logit 模型分析选择相亲结婚的决定因素。中国的数据完全支持理论假说，以 CFPS 数据的回归结果为例，个人特征变量中，受教育水平越高，越倾向于恋爱结婚；观念越传统，越倾向于相亲结婚。家庭社会资本变量中，母亲受教育程度越高，越倾向于恋爱结婚。社会背景变量中，与1961 年以前的出生队列相比，70 年代和 80 年代的出生队列更倾向于恋爱结婚，提高性别比将降低相亲结婚的可能性。日本的数据部分支持理论假说，以 JGSS 数据的回归结果为例。个人特征变量中，年龄越大，越可能相亲结婚，受教育程度与观念传统程度的系数正负符号、显著性与中国数据的回归结果类似。社会背景变量中，与 1951 年以前的出生队列相比，50 年代、60 年代、70 年代的出生队列更倾向于恋爱结婚。然而，在日本，家庭社会资本对个人选择相亲结婚还是恋爱结婚无显著性影响，其可能的原因是，随着经济发展和家庭模式的改变，父母和兄弟姐妹对个体择偶、婚姻问题的介入逐渐减少。这也可能是中国未来将面临的情况。上述结论为中日两国"剩男剩女"现象的成因提供了一种解释，即相亲结婚占比下降的同时，并未出现可以替代相亲的配偶搜寻方式，而恋爱机会未能在适婚年龄及时出现，因此催生了大量的"剩男剩女"。

其次，基于理论模型还发现，自由恋爱式婚姻比相亲式婚姻的效用更高，相亲式婚姻比自由恋爱式婚姻更稳定。基于理论假说，我们运用中国 CFPS2014 年的数据，建立有序 Logit 模型、有序 Probit 模型来分析相亲对婚姻满意度的影响，建立离散时间 Logistic 模型、Cox 比例风险模型来分析相亲对婚姻稳定性的影响。实证结果和理论假说一致，说明相亲降低了婚姻满意度，但也导致了更稳定的婚姻。实证结果还表明，控制其他相关变量后，长相越漂亮，婚姻满意度更高，然而，是否漂亮对婚姻稳定性无显著性影响。这和现实相符，漂亮的人不一定擅长处理婚姻生活中出现的问题，长得漂亮不意味着婚姻稳定。为了克服样本的选择性偏差，我们还建立了 Heckoprobit 模型和 Heckprobit 模型，结果发现，相亲对

婚姻满意度仍具有负向影响，相亲有利于降低离婚风险。同时，考虑到相亲的内生性问题，我们构建 2 种工具变量，即父母是否相亲结婚、父母是否相亲与区县-城乡-同年龄段相亲的交互项，运用 CMP 估计法进行回归分析，实证结果再次验证了理论假说。从相亲结婚到恋爱结婚的转变，看似只是时代背景下的产物。本文通过比较研究相亲和自由恋爱这两种配偶搜寻方式下的婚姻质量，为婚恋观的转变提供了一种解释。

进一步地，本文基于理论模型，运用联立方程模型、中介效应模型和工具变量法等多种计量技术研究相亲结婚对婚姻幸福感的作用机制。结果发现，相亲结婚经由物质匹配度路径进而影响幸福感的中介效应显著为正，该结论对男性、女性以及不同婚龄的群体都成立。这为社会上四处盛行的"相亲角"、"相亲潮"提供了一种正面的评价。实证还表明，相亲结婚经由精神匹配度路径进而影响幸福感的中介效应显著为负，该结论为单身人口，特别是重视精神匹配度的单身人士拒绝相亲结婚提供了一种解释。同时，基于 KHB 方法的机制分析发现，相亲通过影响夫妻之间的精神匹配程度进而降低了婚姻满意度，精神匹配度是相亲影响婚姻满意度的重要渠道，但不是影响婚姻稳定性的显著性渠道。

再者，本文基于中日两国数据，根据微观个体数据的地理位置信息，首次将相亲大数据和微观个体数据进行匹配，实证分析了中日两国宏观上的相亲热度对个体选择相亲结婚的影响。结果表明，"相亲热"对人们是否选择相亲结婚无显著性影响，中国和日本数据均支持该观点。同时，基于日本数据的分析发现，"相亲热"对新式相亲结婚具有显著的正向推动作用，"相亲热"通过提高人们的婚活参与度与婚活成功率进而提高了新式相亲结婚的概率。结合中国和日本的经验证据，我们可以基本认为，由父母主导的传统相亲热潮难以有效解决单身子女的婚姻问题，依托政府力量或社会组织等开展的新式相亲热潮则一定程度上助推了相亲结婚。通过中日对比研究可知，中国持续发酵的节假日相亲热潮之所以低效，一个可能的解释是，在相亲过程中，如果丧失了单身个体的主动性，单纯由父母或亲友主导，虽然提高了相亲的参与度，但不能提高相亲的成功率。

综上所述，本文的研究结论主要有以下三点政策启示。第一，随着全民受教育水平的提升，人们在学校待的年数增加，如何协助单身男女大学期间或者研究生期间告别单身？这就需要有针对性地引导和相应的政策支持，例如学校内部或者跨校组织联谊活动，也可以经由校友会等组织举办校企之间的联谊。第二，相亲活动的组织者或策划方(婚介、亲友、父母或其他组织)不仅需要考虑相亲男女

在物质上的适配性，还应当在掌握相亲男女信息的基础上，充分了解相亲男女的在精神层面的匹配程度。第三，中国目前以父母和亲友主导的传统相亲热潮并不能有效助推单身人口告别单身，为了缓解单身人口压力，推行类似日本"婚活"的一些新式相亲是非常必要和迫切的。当然，新式相亲的关键要素是激发单身人口自身寻找对象的积极性，而不是被动接受，这也是各类相亲活动组织者以及政策制定者需要引起足够重视的地方。

关键词：剩男剩女；相亲结婚；恋爱结婚；相亲热

Abstract

According to the latest sampling data of the China Statistical Yearbook, unmarried adult population in mainland China has reached 240 million. The large-scale "leftover men and women" has become a serious social problem. If the problem of single population is not resolved, the phenomenon of late marriage and non-marriage will become more serious, accompanied by a continuous decline in fertility and a further aging population. How is the phenomenon of "leftover men and women" formed? Most of the researches on the phenomenon of "leftover men and women" are mostly carried out from the perspectives of marriage matching, homogenous marriage, heterogeneous marriage，etc. They are basically supported by sociological research methods and lack of empirical research. There is no literature that analyzes the causes of the phenomenon of "leftover men and women" from the perspective of the changes of mate search patterns. Moreover, "leftover men and women" has always been regarded as a personal problem, which has not yet caused sufficient attention of relevant government departments and policy makers, and lack of relevant countermeasures to solve the problem of "leftover men and women".

Blind date and free love are two important ways for a single person to find a marriage partner. Choosing a blind date or waiting for a free love opportunity is a real problem faced by a large single group. Based on the statistical analysis of microdata, this paper finds that China is in the transitional stage from blind date marriage to free love marriage. The proportion of people who get married by free love has exceeded the proportion of people who get married by blind date. Japan has experienced this stage before. More than 90% of Japanese choose free love marriage rather than blind date marriage, and Japan's late marriage and unmarriage is more serious than China. In view of this, this paper is based on the two mainstream spouse search methods (ie, blind date and free love), using economics research methods to analyze the causes and countermeasures of the phenomenon of "leftover men and women" from both theoretical and empirical aspects,and to conduct a comparative analysis of China and Japan. The research has important theoretical significance and application value,

which is mainly reflected in the following aspects. First, most research on population issues focus on issues such as population aging, low fertility rate, and two-child policy. There is relatively little literature on single population issues, and research on single population issues is imminent. Second, few studies have focused on China's iterative stage of notion of love and marriage. This paper has made up for the gaps and shortcomings of existing research. By incorporating the two types of spouse search methods, such as blind marriage and love marriage, into the analytical framework of economics, we expand the breadth and depth of economics in sociology, demography and other related research, provide new guidelines for the interdisciplinary research of economics and sociology,and provide more scientific guidance and decision-making basis for the formulation of population policy and all kinds of dating activities.Third, the cross-border comparative study between China and Japan not only helps us better understand the causes and consequences of the changes in the spouse search methods of the two countries, but also provides a certain degree of enlightenment for China to formulate a single population policy and organize single-person networking activities.

The main content of this paper can be summarized into three parts. One is to analyze the relationship between the micro-individual characteristics and whether the individual chooses blind date marriage.The second is to compare the differences in the quality of   blind date marriage and free love marriage, and analyze how blind date marriage affects the quality of marriage. The third is to study the influence of dating boom on people's choice of blind date and its mechanism .

First of all, this paper constructs a theoretical model containing blind date and free love, and proposes a theoretical hypothesis. On the empirical side, in order to verify the theoretical hypothesis, we collect China's CFPS and CGSS data , Japan's JGSS and JPSC data and conduct Logit model, Probit model and multiple Logit models which are used to analyze the determinants of blind dating. China's data fully supports the theoretical hypothesis. Taking the regression results of CFPS data as an example, the higher the level of education is, the more inclined to choose love marriage; the more traditional the concept is, the more inclined to choose blind date marriage. The higher education degree of the mother is, the more inclined to choose love marriage. Compared with the birth cohort before 1961, the birth cohort in the

1970s and 1980s are more inclined to free love marriage, and raising the sex ratio would reduce the possibility of blind date marriage. The data of Japan partially supports the theoretical hypothesis. Taking the regression results of JGSS data as an example, the older people are, the more likely they are to get married by blind date, and the positive and negative signs of the degree of education and the traditional degree of concept are similar to the regression results of China's data.The birth cohorts of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were more likely to choose free love marriage than the birth cohort before 1951. However, in Japan, family social capital has no significant influence on whether individuals choose to get married or love marriage. The possible reason is that with the changes in economic development and family patterns, the involvement of parents and siblings in individual mate selection and marriage issues gradually cut back. This may also be the situation China will face in the future. The above conclusions provide an explanation for the causes of the phenomenon of "leftover men and women" in China and Japan. At the same time, the proportion of blind date marriage has decreased, and there is no alternative spouse search method, and opportunities for love fail to appear at the age of marriage in time, so a large number of "leftover men and women" are born.

Secondly, based on the theoretical model, it is also found that free love marriage is more effective than blind date marriage, and blind date marriage is more stable than free love marriage.Based on the theoretical hypothesis, we use the data of China CFPS 2014 to establish an ordered Logit model and an ordered Probit model to analyze the influence of blind date on marital satisfaction, and establish a discrete time logistic model and a Cox proportional hazard model to analyze the effect of blind date on marriage stability. The empirical results are consistent with the theoretical hypothesis, indicating that blind date reduces marriage satisfaction, but also leads to a more stable marriage. The empirical results also show that after controlling other relevant variables, the more beautiful the appearance is, the higher the satisfaction of marriage is. However, whether it is beautiful has no significant effect on the stability of marriage. This is consistent with reality because beautiful people are not necessarily good at dealing with problems in marriage life. Being beautiful doesn't mean marriage is stable. In order to overcome the selectivity deviation of the sample,

we also established the Heckoprobit model and the Heckprobit model. The results show that the blind date still has a negative impact on the marriage satisfaction, and the blind date is beneficial to reduce the risk of divorce. At the same time, considering the endogenous problem of blind date, we construct two kinds of instrumental variables, that is, whether the parents choose blind date marriage , interactive items of whether parents choose blind date or not and between districts and counties, urban and rural areas and the same age group,using the CMP estimation method for regression analysis, the empirical results once again validate the theoretical hypothesis. The transition from blind date marriage to free love marriage seems to be only a product of the times.This paper provides an explanation for the transformation of the concept of marriage and love by comparing the quality of marriage under the two kinds of spouse search methods of blind date and free love.

Further, based on the theoretical model, this paper uses a variety of measurement techniques, such as simultaneous equation model, mediation effect model and instrumental variable method, to study the mechanism of the relationship between blind date marriage and marriage happiness. It is found that the mediating effect of blind date marriage through the material matching path and thus affecting happiness is significantly positive, and the conclusion is established for males, females, and groups of different ages. This provides a positive assessment of the "matching angle" and "matching tide" prevailing in the society. Evidence also shows that the mediating effect of blind date marriage through the spiritual matching path and thus affecting happiness is significantly negative. This conclusion provides an explanation for the single population, especially the single person who pays attention to spiritual matching and refuses to get married. At the same time, the mechanism analysis based on KHB method finds that blind date reduces the marriage satisfaction by affecting the degree of spiritual matching between husband and wife. Spiritual matching is an important channel for dating satisfaction, but it is not a significant channel that affects the stability of marriage.

Furthermore, based on the data of China and Japan and the geographical location information of micro-individual data, this paper first matches the big data of the blind date and the micro-individual data, and empirically analyzes the impact of the

macro-degree dating boom between China and Japan on the individual's choice of blind date marriage. The results show that "dating boom" has no significant effect on whether people choose to get married, and both data of China and Japan supports this view. At the same time, based on the analysis of Japan's data, it is found that "dating boom" has a significant positive effect on the new type of marriage, and the "dating boom" improves the probability of the new type of blind date marriage by improving people's konkatsu participation and the success rate of konkatsu. Combining the empirical evidence of China and Japan, we can basically believe that the traditional dating arranged by parents is difficult to effectively solve the marriage problem of single children, and the new type of blind date marriage based on government forces or social organizations has promoted the blind date marriage.Through the comparative study between China and Japan, it is known that the reason why China's continuous fermentation of the holiday "dating boom" is inefficient. One possible explanation is that in the process of blind date, if the initiative of a single individual is lost, it is simply dominated by parents or relatives. Although the participation of the blind date is increased, the success rate of the blind date cannot be improved.

In summary, the conclusions of this paper mainly have the following three policy implications. First, with the increase in the education level of the whole people, the number of years people stay in the school increases. How can they help single persons during college or postgraduate periods to bid farewell to singles? This requires targeted guidance and corresponding policy support, such as organizing networking activities within the school or across schools, and organizing associations between schools and enterprises through alumni associations. Second, the organizers or planners of the blind date (matchmaking, relatives, parents, or other organizations) need to consider not only the material fit of the blind men and women, but also fully understand the degree of matching between the blind men and women at the spiritual level on the basis of mastering the information. Third, China's current traditional acquaintances led by parents, relatives and friends cannot effectively promote the single population to bid farewell to singles. In order to alleviate the pressure on the single population, it is necessary and urgent to implement some new-style blind date similar to Japan's konkatsu. Of course, the key element of the new-style blind date is

to stimulate the enthusiasm of the single-person population to find the object, rather than passive acceptance, which is also the place where the organizers of the various blind date activities and policy makers need to pay enough attention.