

# 制度变迁视角下的 城乡劳动力市场一体化研究

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张福明 著

中国社会科学出版社

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## 中文摘要

城乡劳动力市场一体化，是经济现代化必须经历的发展阶段，也是当前困扰我国经济社会稳定发展的现实问题。

本书在制度变迁理论框架下，综合运用规范分析、实证分析、博弈分析等方法，对我国城乡劳动力市场一体化的变迁机制、变迁过程、已经取得的进展、仍然存在的问题、问题的成因及应对策略等进行了深入系统的研究。

城乡劳动力市场一体化研究涉及的三个基本概念是劳动力市场、统一劳动力市场和城乡劳动力市场一体化。劳动力市场由劳动力市场制度与劳动力市场机制构成。其中，劳动力市场制度是劳动力市场机制高效运行的制度保障，它在劳动力市场中起决定作用，决定劳动力市场的特征、劳动力资源配置效率。从理论上讲，统一劳动力市场，是完全竞争劳动力市场的均衡状态。但在现实中，劳动力市场往往是分割的。劳动力市场一体化就是劳动力市场由分割趋向统一的过程。在我国，城乡劳动力市场分割是制度性分割。这决定了我国的城乡劳动力市场一体化首先是一个制度变迁的过程，包括城乡劳动力市场制度一体化变迁和城乡劳动力资源配置一体化变迁两个方面的内容。

由于制度变迁具有路径依赖的特征，因而城乡劳动力市场一体化研究必须以传统的劳动力资源配置制度、配置格局为出发点。传统的劳动力资源配置制度，是城镇偏向、城乡隔离的劳动力资源计划配置制度。这一制度的形成机制是：对经典马克思主义理论的僵化理解和对苏联社会主义建设经验的迷信，使政府形成了建立劳动力资源计划配置制度的设想；重工业优先发展战略与资源禀赋结构的矛盾使政府最初的设想发生扭曲，最终形成了城镇偏向、城乡隔离的劳动力资源计划配置制度。该制度由四部分构成：城乡二元结构的户籍制度、城乡完全隔离的就业制度、平均主义的

工资制度和城乡反差巨大的社会保障与福利制度。由于这一制度，改革开放前我国农村劳动力的城乡流动受到严格限制；城乡就业结构与产值结构大幅度背离；全国劳动效率低下、隐性失业严重；城乡居民收入差距长期处于较高水平。

随着改革开放的不断深入，我国的城乡劳动力市场一体化水平不断提高。城乡劳动力市场制度一体化已取得的主要成就有：户籍制度改革不断深入，实现了农村劳动力在城乡间的非户籍自由流动，进而形成了由农村传统产业部门、农村非农产业部门、城镇非正规部门和城镇正规部门构成的四元就业格局。除了农村传统产业部门外，其他各部门都确立了带有典型市场经济性质的自主就业制度、工资个体协商制度。另外，无论是在农村还是在城镇，都开始了以建立现代社会保障制度为目标的社会保障制度改革，并且已经开始实施各自的最低生活保障制度、医疗保险制度等。

然而，直到目前城乡平等的劳动力市场制度仍未形成。在就业制度方面，农村劳动力市场的劳动合同签订率低且质量不高、劳动关系不稳定、劳动力的流动率高。在工资制度方面，农村劳动力市场的工资收益权没有保障，利润侵蚀工资的现象很严重。在社会保障制度方面，农村传统产业部门的社会保障制度供给不足，致使现行的社会保障制度的保障项目不健全、保障水平低；农村非农产业部门和城镇非正规部门，政府颁布的社会保障制度没有得到有效落实。在户籍制度方面，由于大中型城市入户门槛过高，农村劳动力的城乡流动多为非户籍暂时性迁移；由于没有城镇户口，大部分在城镇务工的农村劳动力被排除在城镇的社会保障制度和福利制度之外。

在不同部门，城乡不平等劳动力市场制度的实质和形成原因不同。在农村传统产业部门，城乡劳动力市场制度不平等的实质是某些劳动力市场制度供给缺位，原因有三：一是发展经济学理论和发达市场经济国家的经验使政府相信，一个国家工业化的早期阶段就应该实行城镇偏向的劳动力市场制度；二是制度变迁的路径依赖使原有劳动力资源配置制度的城乡分割没有完全消除；三是城镇阶层对政府决策有更强的影响力，使我国在改革开放后颁发的劳动力市场制度仍带有一定的城镇偏向性。在农村非农产业部门、城镇非正规部门，城乡劳动力市场制度不平等的实质是政府颁发的某些劳动力市场制度没有得到有效落实，原因在于：农村非农产业部

门、城镇非正规部门劳动力市场制度的落实是地方政府与用人单位间的非合作博弈过程。地方政府与用人单位的风险偏好、中央政府对地方政府不履行监督职能的惩罚力度、地方政府对用人单位不落实劳动力市场制度行为的惩罚力度和用人单位落实劳动力市场制度的成本等，都制约着劳动力市场制度的落实。

就城乡劳动力资源配置一体化而言，改革开放以来取得的主要成就有：一是农村劳动力城乡流动的规模不断扩大，城乡劳动力的就业领域不断融合。二是农村劳动力在一次产业就业的比重不断下降，城乡就业结构的扭曲程度有所缓和。但是，必须强调的是，当前我国劳动力资源配置城乡分割的现象仍然十分严重，相对于产值结构，城乡就业结构依然存在很大的偏差。三是城乡居民收入差距并没有因农村劳动力的大规模城乡流动而缩小。四是农村劳动力的城乡流动多是暂时性的非户籍城乡迁移。我国劳动力资源配置城乡分割得以长期维系的制度性根源仍在于城乡劳动力市场制度不平等。另外，调查显示，城乡劳动力市场一体化还受到一些除劳动力市场制度之外的其他因素的影响，主要是：农村耕地过于分散带来的劳动力就业不充分；农村劳动力进城定居意愿不强；外出务工所导致的农村劳动力两地分居；进城就业渠道的社会化程度低，等等。

当前的劳动力资源秉赋和城乡劳动力资源配置格局决定了我国城乡统一劳动力市场的目标模式应有的特点：一是保持充分的竞争性以开发劳动力资源；二是建立城乡平等的劳动力市场制度以实现城乡劳动力平等就业；三是建立“广覆盖、低水平”的社会保障制度以激发劳动者就业的积极性；四是实施积极的就业政策以促进农村劳动力在城乡间的自由流动。

进一步推进城乡劳动力市场一体化，需要改革现行的城乡不平等的劳动力市场制度。在农村传统产业部门，改革的重点在于建立养老保险制度、失业保险制度，提高医疗保险制度的水平。在农村非农产业部门、城镇非正规部门，改革的重点在于落实政府颁布的城镇劳动力市场制度。为此，必须采取多种措施来降低地方政府和用人单位的风险偏好。包括加大中央政府对地方政府不监督行为惩罚的力度；创新就业制度以降低用人单位执行城乡劳动者平等就业制度的成本；加大地方政府对用人单位不执行行为惩罚的力度；把农村劳动者组织起来以提高他们对就业制度变迁的影

响力。对于户籍制度，改革的关键在于消除城镇的户籍歧视。

在劳动力市场制度既定的条件下，扩大农村劳动力城乡流动的规模可以进一步推进我国城乡劳动力市场一体化。当前，促进农村劳动力城乡流动可采取的措施有：农村耕地适度集中以保证农村传统产业部门的劳动力充分就业；为农村劳动力举家迁移创造条件；提高农村劳动力城镇就业渠道的社会化程度；降低农村劳动者在城镇生活的成本以提高他们的城镇定居意愿，等等。

**关键词：**制度变迁 劳动力市场分割 统一劳动力市场 城乡劳动力市场一体化

# Abstract

The urban – rural labor market integration is an integrant stage of development that the modernization of the economy must go through. It's also the realistic problem that affects the stable development of our country's economy and society in the present stage.

Within the theoretical framework of institutional change, the paper combines the use of documentary, comparative static analysis, game analysis, field study and regression model analysis, etc.. The author makes systematic study about the change mechanism, the course, the achievement we has been made, the problem still exists, the causes of the problem and responses strategies, and so on.

Three basic concepts that the study on urban – rural labor market integration in this regard: institutional change, rural labor market segmentation, unified labor market, urban – rural labor market integration. The labor market is composed of the labor market system and the labor market mechanisms. The labor market system is guarantee of efficient and operational labor market mechanism. It is of decisive role in the labor market, and it decides the characteristics of the labor market and the labor efficiency in allocating resources. In theory, a unified labor market is perfectly competitive labor market equilibrium. But in reality, the labor market is often segmental. The labor market integration is the process of labor market from the partition to unification. In our country, the urban – rural labor market segmentation is institutional. It will decide our country's urban and rural labor market integration which is first and foremost a process of institutional change. It includes the integration of urban and rural labor market system and resources allocation.



Because of institutional change with the characteristics of path dependence, and therefore the integration of urban and rural labor market studies of the labor force must be based on the traditional system of resource allocation, with configuration pattern as the starting point. The traditional system of labor resource allocation is the labor resource planning system biased towards urban areas and isolated urban and rural areas. Formation mechanism of this system is: the classical Marxist theory of the rigid understanding and the experience of the Soviet socialist construction superstition, thus the idea that the government builds a labor resource planning system are formed. That priority are given to the development of heavy industry and resource endowments structure of the contradictions of government envisaged to enable the twist happened, eventually formed the labor resource planning system which biased towards urban areas and isolated urban and rural isolation configuration. The system consists of four parts: the urban – rural dual structure of household registration system, areas employment system completely isolated from urban and rural areas and the employment system, the equalitarianism wage system and enormous contrasts of urban and rural social security and welfare system. As a result of this system, flow of China's rural labor force in urban and rural areas was subject to strict restrictions before the reform and opening up. Urban and rural employment structure and output structure are of a significant departure. National labor is inefficiency, the hidden unemployment is serious and the income gap between urban and rural residents is at a high level for a long time.

With the deepening of reform and opening up, the level of integration of China's urban and rural labor market continues to improve. As for as system of urban and rural labor market integration is concerned, the main achievements has been made: the reform of household registration system continued to deepen, implementation of the rural labor force between urban and rural areas at the free movement of non – residence, and the formation of four pattern employment which constitutes of rural traditional industries sections, rural non – agricultural sections, the urban informal sections and urban informal sections. In addition to the traditional rural industries, other departments have established system of self –

employment, wage system of individual consultations with the nature of a typical market economy. In addition, whether in rural or urban, we have begun to set up the social security system reform in order to build the modern social security system as the goal, and have begun to implement their own system of minimum living insurance, medical insurance system, etc. .

However, the equal labor market system in urban and rural areas has not yet formed. In the employment system, the signing rate of labor contracts is low and the quality is not high, labor relations are unstable, the flow rate of the labor is high. There is no guarantee of the income and the erosion of wages is very serious at the rural labor market in the wage system. As to the social security system, the social security system supply for the rural traditional industries isn't enough which leads to the insufficiency of the guarantee of the existing social security system. In rural non - agricultural sections and the urban informal sections, the government - promulgated social security system has not been effectively implemented. As to the household registration system, because of strict restrictions in large and medium - sized town, the flow of rural labor in urban and rural areas are the most of temporary transferring. Without rural citizenship, the majority of rural migrant workers in cities are excluded from the urban social security system and welfare system.

In different sections, there are different reasons in the essentiality and the formation of urban - rural inequality in the labor market. For the traditional industries in the rural sections, the essence of the urban - rural inequality in the labor market system is that some of the labor market supply becomes vacant. there are three reasons: The development economics theory and the developed market economies experience made the government believe that a country in the early stages of industrialization should be biased towards the urban labor market system; The path dependent made the original labor resource allocation system of urban - rural segmentation unable to be completely eliminated; Cities and towns class have more influence upon government decision-making in our country which causes urban bias of the labor market system after reform and opening up; In non - agricultural industries sections and the urban informal sections in

rural areas, the essentiality of urban – rural inequality in the labor market system is that some of the labor market system the government issued has not been effectively implemented. The reasons: The incomplete implement of the labor market system in non – agricultural industries sections and the urban informal sections in rural areas, local governments and employers' risk preference, the lack of the central government punishment to the local governments who don't enforce the supervision the lack of local government punishment to the employers who don't enforce the labor market system and the employers' costs of enforcing the labor market system, all of which will affect the implementation of the labor market system.

As for the urban – rural labor market integration, the main achievements since the reform and opening up are: The flow scale of rural labor in urban and rural areas is expanding, the field of urban and rural labor employment continues to amalgamate, the proportion of employment of the rural labor in agriculture continues to decline and the distortion of the employment structure in urban and rural areas is smoothing down a bit. However, the phenomenon of urban – rural segmentation and urban – rural labor resources allocation is still in a very serious situation in China. Compared with the output value structure, the structure of employment in urban and rural areas still has a lot of deviations. The income gap between urban and rural residents has not been narrowed in accordance with the flow of rural labor in urban and rural areas. Flow of rural labor in urban and rural areas is of temporary transferring. China's urban – rural segmentation of labor resource allocation system have maintained for long time because the inequality of the system in urban and rural labor market. In addition, the survey shows that urban – rural labor market integration has been affected by a number of non – institutional factors which are: the fragmentation of rural land brought about inadequate employment, the wish of the rural labor to settle in the city is not strong, migrant workers are separated, and the socialization degree of employment channels is still low, etc. .

The current labor resources endowments and the pattern of the allocation of urban – rural labor resources require the characteristics of goal model of China's

integral urban – rural labor market should be: keeping competitive edge in order to maintain the development of labor resources, setting up the equal employment system in order to ensure equal employment opportunities for both urban and rural residents, establishing a “wide coverage range, low – level” social security system in order to stimulate the enthusiasm of workers in employment. We will continue to follow a proactive employment policy among the rural labor in order to promote the free flow of labors between urban and rural areas.

To further promote the integration of urban and rural labor markets, we need to reform the existing system of inequality in the urban and rural labor market. In rural traditional industries sections, emphasis should be on the reform of pension insurance system, unemployment insurance system and the improvement of the level of medical care insurance system. In non – agricultural industries sections and the urban informal sections in rural areas, emphasis should be on the reform of the rural – urban labor market system that government issued. Therefore, local government must take a variety of measures to reduce the risk of employer preference, which require the central government to increase the punishment to the local governments who don't enforce the supervision and innovate employment system to reduce the employers' costs by enforcing the equal employment system on the urban and rural residents. Local governments should increase punishment upon employers who don't implement and improve rural labors' organizing degree to increase their influence upon the modification of employments system. As far as the household registration system is concerned, the key of the reform is to eliminate the discrimination in the urban household registration.

Given the established system in the labor market, the expansion of the flow of the rural labor force in urban and rural areas can further promote China's urban and rural labor market integration. The current non – institutional measure to increase the flow of rural labor force in urban and rural areas are: the concentration of arable land in rural areas to ensure full employment of rural labor force in rural traditional industries sections, the creation of opportunities for the migration of rural labor family, the improvement of the degree of socialization for

the employment of rural labor and the reduction of the cost of living in cities and towns in order to increase their willingness to enter the urban life, etc. .

**Keywords:** institutional change; labor market segmentation; unified labor market; Urban – rural labor market integration

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