

新生代农民工城市融人的进程测度及政策创新研究

许 光◎著





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大规模的人口流动迁移是人类社会发展中的必然现象。无论是工业化早期的西方国家,还是改革开放后处于社会转型期的我国,乡城移民都是工业化和城市化的一种伴生现象。与西方国家不同的是,我国的乡城移民具有两个显著特点:一是随着城乡二元结构的松动,城乡、区域之间积蓄了巨大的人口流动迁移势能,乡城移民的流动方向和流动时间都非常集中;二是在特殊的"制度遗产"和渐进性改革模式的综合作用下,我国乡城人口转移呈现出与其他市场经济国家迥然不同的"中国路径",即从农民到农民工、再从农民工到市民的"两阶段转移"现象。因此,我国乡城人口流动并非普通意义上的"农民市民化"或者"农村人口城市化",而是更具中国特色的"农民工市民化"。

农民工作为我国乡城转移劳动力的主体,是现代化建设的一支重要力量。据国家统计局抽样调查,2014年我国共有农民工 27395万人,比上年增加了501万人,增幅为1.9%。其中,外出农民工 16921万人,增长了1.3%;本地农民工 10574万人,增长了2.8%。从行业分布来看,农民工在第二产业的从业比重为56.6%,在第三产业的从业比重为42.9%,目前已成为我国现代产业工人的重要组成部分。从供给总量和发展趋势来看,"十三五"时期我国农民工的供给总量将继续增加,但结构性矛盾也更为突出,"总量过剩、结构短缺"的局面有可能向"全面短缺"转变。与农民工供求矛盾密切相关的,除了经济转型和产业结构升级的客观需求之外,农民工群体内部的代际分化(即新生代农民工问题)逐渐占据理论视野,成为各级政府部门需要密切关注的重大现实问题。

2010 年中央"一号文件"首次使用"新生代农民工"概念,明确要求"采取有针对性的措施,着力解决新生代农民工问题"。新生代农民工

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是指 20 世纪 80 年代以后出生,拥有农村户口,具有高中(包括中专、技 校)及以下学历,基本不具有务农经验的16—30周岁在城市打工生活的 青年农民工。与上一代农民工相比,新生代农民工的成长环境、外出动 机、生活理念和价值诉求等均发生了显著变化,是城市融入意愿最强且最 有可能实现城市融入的群体。目前、理论界有关新生代农民工的研究主要 集中在群体特征、生存状况和权益保护等方面,对其城市融入进程的研究 则较多探讨相关约束因素(主要是户籍制度、劳动就业制度和社会保障 制度等)及破解思路,对市民化的内在动力机制研究不足,对城市融入 的阻滞因素也缺乏理论解释深度。此外,从研究方法上看,国内现有研究 主要基于问卷调查和实证访谈,以定性手段对新生代农民工的职业生存状 况、权益保障状况和公共服务获得状况等进行客观描述。在为数不多的数 理模型构建中, 国内学者对新生代农民工城市融入的内涵理解不一致, 特 别是对模型的假设条件、指标选取和体系构建存在认识上的分歧,因而相 关研究结果差异甚大。例如,面对新生代农民工城市融入的阻力,理论界 对"农民工市民化成本是否可承受"这一关键问题的回答持有争议。— 定程度上动摇了流入地政府强化公共产品供给的信心。

从促进新生代农民工城市融入的实践来看,近年来全国各地通过明确责任归属,对现行社会政策不断进行调整,使新生代农民工城市融入的制度环境得到极大改善。但不可否认,现行社会融入机制与新生代农民工的城市融入期望之间仍然存有差距。究其原因:第一,现有政策多是在目前体制框架基本保持不变的前提下进行的,"渐进式改革"和"碎片化"调整并未撼动城乡二元体制,户籍依然承担着社会福利和权利分配的载体功能,极大制约了新生代农民工的城市融入。第二,现有政策多为被动的应急性、补偿性政策,仅局限于解决突出的社会问题,并未上升到前瞻性、发展性的社会政策层面,因而在维护公平正义、促进社会融合等方面相对乏力。第三,现有政策多为地方政府的自主决策,带有很强的临时性、随意性和分散性,区域之间政策规定差异较大、制度关联性较差,也极大增加了新生代农民工的城市融入成本。在此情况下,"半城市化"既是新生代农民工的现实状态,也是其占优决策,会与政策实施形成悖论。

事实上,城市融入是新生代农民工作为理性"经济人"追求自身效 用最大化的行为过程,是移民与市民、流出地政府与流入地政府等多方博 弈的综合结果。对流入地政府而言,要积极稳妥地推进新生代农民工市民化,既要考虑其融入意愿和融入能力,也要考虑地方政府的财政能力和城市综合承载力。据此,对新生代农民工的城市融入水平(进程)和质量(效度)进行客观衡量,并科学判断市民化进程中的相关约束因素,对增强地方政府政策调适的针对性和可操作性,破解外来人口机械增长与城市融入效度偏低的"两难"困境,就具有十分重要的意义。而要实现这一目标,就有必要在借鉴传统主流分析范式的基础上,制定符合我国国情的新生代农民工城市融入"自致路径"。

基于以上思路,本书的主要研究内容及框架结构安排如下:

第一章是导论。主要阐述选题背景和研究意义、国内外研究现状综述、研究思路及研究方法、预期创新点和不足。同时,对问卷调查的实施方案和样本设定等进行必要说明,并对调查样本的个体特征进行统计性描述。

第二章是理论支撑。在对传统主流的二元结构理论、社会融合理论和社会资本理论进行文献梳理的基础上,创新性地引入成本收益理论和"第三条道路"理论。通过借鉴福利经济学的研究范式,确立了经济、政治、社会、文化"四维度"分析框架;通过将被动的"问题视角"转变为积极的"主体视角",为构建"多元复合主体"的市民化融入机制提供了理论支撑。

第三章主要探讨新生代农民工的生存现状。经济社会发展与人口流动 迁移具有密切的内在逻辑关系,农民工"双向流动"的正外部性对加快 城市化、解决"三农"问题等具有重要意义。本章基于五省市的问卷调 查,系统分析了新生代农民工的群体特征、生存现状和城市融入诉求,并 结合市民化进程讨论了城市融入"双向循环陷阱",从而客观把握了农民 工类型分化基础上的需求差异。

第四章和第五章分别测算了新生代农民工城市融入的进程(水平)和效度(质量)。具体而言,通过构建新生代农民工城市融入"进程评价指标体系"和"效度评价指标体系",以定量研究的方法综合把握和判断了新生代农民工的城市融入状况。其中,对城市融入进程的测算是基于"四维度"分析框架,采用层次分析法(AHP)和模糊综合评价法进行的,对城市融入效度的测算则是基于"福利多元组合"分析框架,采用

多元线性回归和因子分析法进行的。两部分内容相结合,有助于客观把握新生代农民工的市民化现状,也能够有效解释乡城人口流动"中国路径" 所面临的理论困境。

第六章从体制根源层面探讨了新生代农民工城市融入的相关制约因素。与新生代农民工"半城市化"、"逆城市化"和"示范性融人"并存的,是其"生存职业困境—空间地域流动—社会阶层固化"的"双向循环陷阱"。依托"四维度"分析框架,本章探讨了经济层面的融入成本约束、政治层面的制度屏蔽约束、社会层面的资本缺失约束和心理层面的认同危机约束,进而为后文构建综合性的政策体制框架提供了决策依据和现实支撑。

第七章为国内外经验借鉴。新生代农民工城市融入既具有国际乡城移民社会融合的共性,也带有显著的中国制度转型烙印,客观上需要遵从人口流动迁移的内在规律。从西方国家促进移民社会融合的实践来看,政策着力点主要集中在四个方面,分别是人力资本投资、社会资本积累、产业转移引导和强化社区支撑。在国内,广东、浙江、上海、山东等东部沿海发达省市近年来针对户籍制度改革迟滞进行了有益探索,政策着力点主要是以"准人条件"取代"指标控制",通过降低进城落户门槛,分类分批推进新生代农民工市民化。

第八章是结论与对策建议。在此部分,首先对加快推进新生代农民工市民化的总体目标、思路和原则进行探讨,进而结合我国"十三五"时期体制改革和政策调适的有关要求,以"共享发展"理念为引导,从创新管理模式、完善公共服务、加强技能培训、消解融入成本、强化社区支撑和实施梯度转移六大层面提出相应的政策建议,以最终构建基于"政府引导、市场调节、社会参与、个人主体"原则的新生代农民工城市融入"自致路径"。

总体来看,本书致力于构建一个相对完整、视角新颖、富有逻辑的研究框架,并尝试在以下方面有所创新和突破:

1. 在研究视角上,基于传统社会学主流分析范式,创新性地引入成本收益理论和"第三条道路"理论,将分析框架由"帕累托改进"演变为"卡尔多改进"。一方面,尝试将被动的"问题视角"转变为积极的"主体视角";另一方面,强调外部制度改革与内在能力提升相结合。进

而通过将政策思路从"赋权"向"增能"转变,论证了由"补偿性社会政策"向"发展型社会政策"调适的必要性和可能性,从而使促进新生代农民工城市融入的相关政策更具针对性和可操作性。

- 2. 在研究方法上,改变了学术界目前较为单一的定性和静态分析方法,采用理论分析与实证调研相结合、定性分析与定量研究相结合的方法,尝试构建具有代表性和普适性的"城市融入评价指标体系",对新生代农民工城市融入的进程(水平)和效度(质量)进行差异化研究。同时,尝试将国外与国内、宏观与微观、中央与地方等多个层面的研究相结合,实现研究方法的逻辑递推。有理由相信,这种改变对宏观把握人口流动迁移的共性规律,完善新生代农民工市民化政策的顶层设计具有积极意义。
- 3. 在研究内容上,统筹考虑了新生代农民工市民化进程中相关利益主体的差异性需求(如新生代农民工的融入诉求、地方政府的财政压力、流入地城市的综合承载能力等),进而依托经济、产业和法律相结合的手段,提出对各主体的利益关系进行调整,最终实现多方共赢、共享发展的实践策略。其中,提出以居住证制度为依据,构建"梯度累进"的公共服务供给机制具有较强的学术创新价值,有助于从源头上化解新生代农民工城市融入的外部压力,对提高城市的经济一人口空间分布一致性也具有积极意义。

总体而言,新生代农民工城市融入是一个长期、复杂的渐进过程,存在着大量不确定、不稳定性因素。"十三五"时期,随着我国工业化和城镇化进程的不断加快,新生代农民工城市融入将面临更多的问题和挑战。本书以党的十八届五中全会提出的"共享发展"理念为引领,在研究中尝试结合国际人口流动迁移的内在规律和我国经济社会发展的客观实际,对加快推进新生代农民工城市融入提出了一系列创新性构想。但由于目前学术界尚缺乏一个具有代表性和普适性的城市融入评价指标体系,而且受调研时间和样本数量等多方面因素的制约,本书的相关研究结论仍需深化,模型检验的方法也有待于进一步验证和加强。对此,课题组保持虚心接受的态度,恳请学术界前辈和专家批评指正。

Preface

The massive population migration is an inevitable phenomenon with the society's development. Rural – urban migration comes with the industrialization and urbanization in western early period of industrialization and China's social transitional period. China's migration has two features. Firstly, as the dualistic urban – rural structure becomes flexible, a huge potential energy of population migration exists from rural to urban, and the flowing direction and period are intensive. Secondly, limited by the institutional bequest effect and gradual reform, China's rural – urban migration with Chinese characteristics has two phases that are from peasant to peasant – worker and to citizen.

Peasant – workers are the principal part of transferring rural labor force in modernization. According to the State Statistics Bureau of China, in twenty fourteen, there are 27.395 million peasant – workers, increased by 5.01 million, 1.9 percent, including 16.921 million outgoing country workers, a growth of 1.3 percent, and 10.574 million local peasant – workers, going up by 2.8 percent. From the perspective of industry distribution, the second industry and tertiary industry respectively occupies 56.6 percent and 42.9 percent. From the view of total supply and development trend, in the period of 13th Five Year Plan, peasant – worker supply goes up and its structural imbalance intensifies, which lead to a change from "supply surplus and structural shortage" to "overall shortage". Besides the economy transition and industrial upgrading, the intergenerational differentiation of peasant – workers is another explanation to peasant supply and demand contradictions, which is becoming the new – age peasant – workers (or the new generation of migrant workers) issues.

The 2010 "Central First Document" uses the "new generation of migrant workers" concept firstly, and puts forward some solutions and requirements. The new generations of migrant workers are 16-30 years old who are rural registered permanent residence, have a high school education or less and have no experience in farming. Compared with their ancestors, this new generation has a different living situation, work motivation, life style, and value propositions and so on. Besides, they have a greater aspiration to live in the city. At present, study on the new generation of migrant workers focuses on group features, living situation and rights protection, institutional constraints including household registration system, employment system and social security system. However, the discussion about their internal motive mechanism of citizenization is not enough. Moreover, research methods are mainly qualitative analysis by questionnaire survey and empirical interviews. In few mathematical models, there are lots of differences, such as the connotation of the new generation of migrant workers, model's assumed conditions and indexes system. However, the key to solve constraints on integrating peasant - workers into the city lies in "whether the government is able to afford the cost of peasant - workers' citizenization".

From a practical point of view, the government is providing a better institutional environment for the peasant – workers' citizenization by defining responsibility and adjusting social policies. But there is an expectation gap between present urbanization mechanism and peasant – workers' citizenization requirements. There are three reasons for this gap. Firstly, gradually – advanced reform and fragmentation policy adjustment do not change the urban and rural binary system. Secondly, current policies are mostly passive, emergency and compensation, and just focus on the outstanding social issues. Thirdly, local governments make decisions on their own which is random and disperse, so the policies between regions are different and the institutional linkages are weak. In this case, peri – urbanization becomes peasant – workers' best choice.

In fact, the new generation of migrant workers' citizenization is not only a behavioral processes to pursue their own maximum benefits as a economic man, but also a game result between migrants and citizens, out flowing places' governments and inflowing places' governments. For governments who absorb peasant – workers, they should consider peasant – workers' will and ability of moving into the city, fiscal capacity and comprehensive carrying capacity. So, it is meaningful to have a study on the new generation of migrant workers' citizenization process and quality, and find out the restraints on urbanization, so that the government can make targeted and operable policies. Based on the above ideas, this book's research contents and frame are as follows.

The first chapter is an introduction, including topic selection background and significance, related theories and researches from home and abroad, research design and methods, and anticipated innovations and shortages. Meanwhile, it explains questionnaires' implementation plan and gives a sample's statistical description.

The second chapter is a theory basis. Firstly, it goes with a literature review on traditional major dual structure theory, social inclusion theory and social capital theory. Then, it innovatively uses cost income theory and the third way theory. By learning from welfare economics research paradigm, this paper establishes a four – dimensional analysis frame including economy, politics, society and culture. And by changing a passive "problem viewpoint" to a positive "subject viewpoint", it provides a theoretical basis for building a citizenization mechanism.

The third chapter talks about the new generation of migrant workers' current living situation. Based on a five provinces' questionnaires, this paper elaborates the new generation's group features, living situations and citizenization appeal, and analyses bi – directional circular trap in citizenization, to classify peasant – workers' needs.

The fourth and fifth chapter respectively calculates the new generation of migrant workers' citizenization process and quality. In details, the paper builds an indicator system to evaluate the process and quality. For the process of citizentization, it uses analytic hierarchy process and fuzzy comprehensive evaluation method; for the quality of citizentization, it uses multiple linear regression and factor analysis.

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The sixth chapter discusses the restraints on the new generation of migrant workers' citizenization from an institutional viewpoint. The bi – directional circular trap, which is starting from living and work troubles to spatial mobility and to consolidating social hierarchical system, coexists with peri – urbanization, counter – urbanization and demonstrative urbanization. Based on a four – dimensional analysis frame, the paper discusses citizentization's cost, institutional restraints, capital lack and identity crisis, which provide a decision basis.

The seventh chapter is experiences and enlightenments from home and abroad. Western countries' policies focus on human capital investments, social capital accumulation, industry transfer guiding and strengthening community supports. Domestic policies focus on replacing index control with entry conditions, lowering settlement requirements and undertaking citizentization in turn.

The eighth chapter is conclusions and policy suggestions. It puts forward some suggestions, which are based on the principle "government guidance, market regulation, social participating, individual dominant" to build a self – fulfilling way to peasant – workers' citizenization. The suggestions are innovate management modes, improve public services, strengthen industrial supports, improve population quality and optimize space layout.

Overall, this book tries to establish a complete, new perspective and logical analysis frame, to make some innovations and breakthrough as follows.

The first innovation is research perspectives. The book is based on traditional mainstream sociology analysis approach, and innovatively uses cost – income theory and the third way theory to change the analysis frame from "Pareto improvement" to "Kaldor efficiency". This makes a perspective shift from the passive "problem perspective" to positive "subject perspective" and combines the institutional reform with ability enhancement. Moreover, it proves the necessity and possibility to shift the social policy from compensatory to developmental.

The second innovation is research methods. The book tries to build a typical and general citizenization evaluation index system by taking theoretical analysis and empirical research, by using qualitative analysis and quantitative research.

Meanwhile, it makes a logical transitive inference in many levels, like home and

abroad, macroscopic and microcosmic, the central and local and so on.

The third innovation is research contents. We take into full account the related stakeholders' discrepant demand, put forward interest adjustment to gain win – win by economy, industry and law measures. Among them, we suggest to establish a progressive provision system of public services based on residence permit system to resolve external pressures.

In a word, the new generation of migrant workers' citizenization is a long, complex and progressive process. There are lots of uncertain and unstable factors. During the period of 13th Five Year, there will be more new challenges with the development of industrialization and urbanization. This book aims at proposing some innovative thoughts to integrate the peasant – workers into the city by combining international population migration's inherent law with China's objective reality. However, in academia, a typical and general citizenization evaluation index system is lack. And restrained by research time and sample size, this book's research conclusions need deepening and the model needs to be verified. So, we keep an open mind and a receptive attitude to welcome any comments from the scholar of the elder generation and colleagues.

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