# 农民工反贫困



### 城市问题与政策导向

黄 平 杜铭那克 ● 主编(中英双语本)



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# **Urban Poverty Reduction among Migrants**

Problems and Policy Orientation in China

Edited by
Huang Ping &. Genevieve Domenach-Chich

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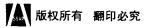
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#### 农民工: 从研究到行动

本书汇集了中国学者黄平先生、陈昕先生、占少华先生、马春华女士、王红艳女士和潘杰女士的研究成果。他们是联合国教科文组织自 2002 年开始启动的"我们在一起"农民工项目的主要合作方中国社会科学院该课题组的成员。

本书由联合国教科文组织北京办事处资助,通过在八个项目点的实践经验,汇集了项目关于中国农民工问题的政策建议性文章。事实上,关于农民工问题的讨论和辩论正是中国社会政策如今面临的严峻挑战之一。这些辩论和讨论反映了很多问题,例如:东西部的不均衡发展;中国经济增长的模式融合了重工业、第二产业、劳动力密集型经济,以及市场经济等;中国二元社会结构的特点以及农村和城市之间的巨大差距;社会的不平等和社会的排斥增大了贫富之间的差距;最后,关于流动人口方面的辩论,与关于全球化、管治、社区重建、非正式就业、人权、歧视、新兴的社会运动以及社会的混乱等方面的辩论是不可分开的。

\* \* \* \*

联合国教科文组织于 2002 年开始实施 "我们在一起"这一研究和行动相结合的项目,此项目是现行的联合国教科文组织的 "消除贫困"项目之一,并将进行到 2007 年。联合国教科文组织和中国社会科学院的项目策略是通过项目点的实际工作来补充现

农民工:从研究到行动 |

存的研究,来探索解决农民工社会融入问题的具体方法,通过 "以问题解决为导向"的方法来向相关的政府部门递交和农民工有 关的政策建议。

项目总目标旨在使农民工通过享受各种服务融入都市社会与经济环境。这些服务是:实际基本工作技能培训、职业培训、职业咨询、计划生育、健康与权益启蒙。女性农民工占农民工总人数的 1/3 或更多,我们的主要目标人群是年轻女性农民工,因为她们作为农民工、作为女性,要承受双重的歧视。

项目共有四个目标。第一个目标就是解决城市流动人口的贫困问题,特别是年轻女性外来务工者面对的经济和社会的歧视问题。这个项目帮助她们更好融入城市社会生活中,提高她们的生活条件,通过具体的社会帮助活动和专业技能培训来提高他们的生活能力以及对法律和公民权利的意识,增强她们的自我发展能力。

许多农民工面对社会和经济的排斥。通过创办外来务工者互助网络,增强他们的权利意识,让他们从社会角度和职业技能方面更容易地融入城镇生活成为城市的新居民;同时,此项目也有助于减少这些不平等的歧视。

此项目的第二个目标和第一个目标紧密相连,即:希望能影响当地和国家的决策层。全社会都来关注贫困和社会歧视这些长期的社会问题,必须靠各级决策层的关注才能成功。作为一个国际组织,联合国教科文的任务在于建议和支持国家平衡、持续发展。这个项目完全符合中国中央政府的建立平和、舒适、稳定社会的意愿。联合国教科文组织还为政府提供了可以在解决这一问题时提出很多宝贵建议的专家队伍。

第三个目标是保护人权,例如:工作和拥有安全工作环境的权利,拥有信息的权利,住房的权利,享有健康保证、安全以及受教育的权利等等。

最后,第四个目标是消除公众对农民工的歧视。为此,联合国 教科文组织通过媒体、辩论、艺术展、电影展,以及活动周来提高 公众对农民工问题的意识。这些活动的目的是将艺术的表现方法、 公众的辩论,以及学术研究和实践经验相结合起来,共同反抗贫困。 我们的目的是在中国促成自下向上的社会运动,使人们意识到农民 工也是社会的公民,他们为社会的发展贡献了巨大的力量。我们希 望这一系列活动可以影响到政府决策层,促进改善农民工生活状况 的政策建议的出台。

中国社会科学院社会学研究所是该项目在中国的主要合作伙伴。 黄平教授带领的工作组全权负责项目的追踪和评估。他们负责联系 其他合作方、监督项目的进行,特别是处理好具体行动,如一般性 流动人口问题的研究以及国家政策等复杂的关系。在地方,我们拥 有近 22 个地方合作机构,例如:四川省妇联、大连市公安局、云南 省社科院等等。

由于中国城市化的进程加快,大量的农民工涌入城市,致使城市面临更多新的挑战。此项目在中国八个项目点(北京、上海、成都、昆明、大连、赤峰、迪庆、涿鹿)和蒙古国的一个项目点进行。为了使调查更加全面,在选择城市的时候,我们涵盖了输入地、输出地及中转地;在每个项目点,都和当地的政府、非政府组织(包括各级妇联)及研究机构建立了合作关系。

#### 项目的主要成果:

- 8万多名女性农民工从项目活动中受益:
- 联合国教科文组织和中国社科院组织了三次全国性工作会议。2006年10月将举办一个国际研讨会,提交六份文件作为对政府政策的建议;
- 唤起公众意识。联合国教科文组织举办了几次成功的大型活动,如 2003 年的艺术展、2004 ~ 2005 年的电影展以及2006 年的活动周。艺术家、农民工、学者、联合国各机构、记者和大众都积极参与,共 5000 多位观众到场,并得到中外媒体的广泛关注;
- 另外有两个预算外项目加入到"我们在一起"项目。它们 是: "农民工子弟支持"项目和"中国一蒙古流动人口和 少数民族社区的艾滋病防治和关怀"项目;
- 2005 年 7 月发表了重要政策研究文章《农村劳动人口外流: 对政策的巨大挑战》;

在地方一级,通过项目的实施,成功促进了对农民工有利的新出台的地方法规,如大连、赤峰和昆明。

2006年2月,第一批政策建议成功完成,并在联合国教科文组织和中国社会科学院的会议中讨论。在本项目的最后,我们将在这批政策建议的基础上,汇集本书中的所有政策建议文章,经过在各个项目点的深度讨论,于2007年出版"蓝皮书"。参与讨论的机构包括:中国各级政府和有关部门(例如:扶贫办、公安局、劳动部等);联合国机构(联合国开发计划署、联合国人口基金会、国际劳工组织、国际移民组织、联合国艾滋病规划署、联合国人居署、国际卫生组织、世界粮农组织、联合国儿童基金会等),中外私营部门以及联合国教科文组织全国委员会等。

联合国教科文组织北京办事处 社会及人文科学部项目负责人 杜铭那克 2006 年 8 月 17 日



#### 关于劳动力流动与城镇贫困 问题的几点战略性思考

#### 黄平"

从数量上来说,中国的人口流动主要是城乡之间的劳动力流动, 特别是数以千万的年轻农民离开村庄到附近的乡镇、县城、市或者 省会城市从事非农活动,到沿海地区和大城市打工。

只要中国还有 50% 以上的人口生活在农村,只要政府和学者都继续尽全力推进现代化(尤其是城镇化),并把它们作为国家发展的优先战略,这种潮流就还将至少持续 20~30 年,在数量上也可以增加到好几亿。

毫无疑问,城乡之间的劳动力流动和更为永久性的城镇化,将 会为中国缓解长久以来一直存在着的人多地少的压力,而且同时可 以为农村居民和农村社区带来大量的现金收入。

但另一方面又必须意识到,城乡之间的人口迁移也有可能会在 城市中形成一个数量庞大的下层贫民阶级,并有可能同时导致农村 社区的衰败和农业经济的萧条。

为了能够使城乡之间的劳动力流动与人口迁移有可能最大化其 益处,同时又避免其可能会造成的灾难性后果,我们不得不问问自

<sup>\*</sup> 黄平,中国社会科学院教授,"城市外来务工者贫困扶助"项目中方总负责人。

已:如何才能使农村劳动力(以及他们的亲属:子女、父母或者弟妹)离开农村走向城镇的迁移成为一种使农村和城市同时获益的"双赢"过程,从而最终逐步缩小而不是扩大城乡之间的差距?从这个角度来看,城乡之间劳动力迁移的速度和规模应该维持在什么样的水平上?

按照政府对于城镇化进程的规划,到 2030 年中国将有 50%以上的人口在城镇居住和工作。即使将来城镇化能够按照规划顺利推进,而且完全获得成功,即大量农村居民变成了城市居民,他们中也没有人无家可归、没有人失业,城镇贫困问题也并不会就不存在,更不会自然解决。在城镇,贫困人口依然会数量庞大,这既包括那些国有企业的下岗职工,也包括刚刚来到城市的农村移民,他们往往报酬微薄,也没有什么社会保障和福利,也得不到多少社会保护,并因此处在社会边缘的位置上。

劳动力的流动与人口迁移也并不能够解决农村存在的一切问题。即使到 2030 年城镇化率达到了 50%,仍旧有 8 亿左右的人留在农村。农村的改革与发展将继续处于落后于城镇的水平,因此还会产生新的城乡之间的不平等形式,形成新的农村贫困人口,他们的收入倒不一定在国家规定的贫困线以下,但是很有可能没有能力支付基本的医疗、义务教育和维持拥有最低限度尊严的生活,在这个意义上,要防止他们成为受到社会排斥的人。

各级政府应该怎样在以市场化为导向的社会变迁过程中,更周密地考虑这些问题,并想办法找出应对的妥善措施?这不仅意味着要增加财政预算,更重要的是提供相应的服务,如培训农村外出务工者;根据可持续发展和以人为本发展的原则,培养农村社区和村民自我发展的能力,为农村外出务工者提供起码的住宿与基本的医疗条件,为他们的子女提供就近得到基础教育的条件;并制定相应的政策,如保护农村外出务工者的合法权益和社会权利的政策和法规:等等。

在处理这些问题的时候,应明确几条底线:首先,我们不可能 阻止城乡之间的劳动力流动;其次,政府不应再继续过去几十年中 通过从农村和农民身上提取剩余的办法来实现城市积累的政策。 以此为基础,在政策上我们需要做出的选择包括:

- (1) 要么,按照一些人的建议,立即全面而彻底地废除户籍制度,使所有的人都拥有申请成为城市居民的同等权利;要么,通过渐进的方式,逐步改善户籍制度,逐步形成一种既对城乡的普通居民不会有过多的冲击,也不会给社会可持续的协调发展带来太多风险的城镇化进程。
- (2) 要么,在农村彻底实行土地私有化,形成大规模农场并以此提高劳动生产率;要么,延长并完善与农户的土地承包合同,使合同变得更为灵活,确保土地承担农户家庭社会保障的功能,即使这些家庭的主要劳动力可能已经主要从事非农职业,也还应该拥有一小块土地。
- (3) 要么,继续实施以城市为中心的精英教育体系,这将会为农村一些非常出色的聪明孩子提供极好的机会,但是也会使农村地区"智力流失"的情况更加恶化;要么,创造一种更为平衡的教育体系,包括对那些不愿意或者没有能力接受更高层次教育的年轻人提供当地所需要的技能培训。

. . . . . .

#### 剩下的问题是:

对于这些已经被普遍意识到的具体问题,学者和政策研究者在未来数十年可能提供什么样的更为清晰的见解,它们将不只是描述性的,也不只是用来支持或者反对任何著名的模型,而是更具有独创性的看法和更深刻的分析;它们既能有利于宏观层面的总体发展,又能够符合农民的切身利益,特别是贫困的和处于社会边缘的农民的切身利益?

同时,国际性或区域的发展机构怎样能够更加积极地参与到这个变迁和发展过程中,它们不仅是提供一些资金和技术,而且能与 当地的伙伴长期共同工作,既对这种合作做出贡献又能从中学习和 受益?



#### Migrants: from Research to Action

This publication is the result of a work conducted by Chinese researchers, Mr. Huang Ping, Mr. Chen Xin, Mr. Zhan Shaohua, Ms. Ma Chunhua, Ms. Wang Hongyan, and Ms. Pan Jie. They are members of the research team led by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), which has been UNESCO's main partner for the "Together with Migrants" project in China since 2002.

This publication, supported by the UNESCO Beijing Office, presents analyses, researches and policy suggestions using the lessons learnt in the field in our 8 pilot sites. These papers cover different aspects on the debate of migration in China. Actually, the debate on migration in China tells us one of the major challenges of social policies China is facing. It reveals a lot about: the unequal development between East and West of the country; the style of economic growth China has adopted with heavy industry, secondary sector, labor intensive economy, market oriented economy, etc.; the dualistic characteristic of Chinese society and the huge divide between rural and urban areas; the huge social inequalities and social exclusion increasing gap between the rich and the

poor; at last, the debate on migration cannot be separated from the debate on globalization, governance; community rebuilding, informal employments, human rights and discrimination as well as on emerging social movements and risks of social disorder.

UNESCO initiated the "Together with Migrants" research-action project in 2002 within the framework of the overall UNESCO programme on poverty alleviation and will continue it until 2007. The UNECCO-CASS consists of supplementing existing researches and analyses through fieldwork experiences and in testing the concrete solutions on different aspect of integration of migrants, drawing on the results of the project in a "problem-solving oriented" fashion to deliver policy recommendations to relevant institutions able to make effective changes in the regulations and policies connected to migration issues.

The overall objective of the project is the integration of migrant workers into urban social and economic fabrics through concrete services including training in basic and life skills, vocational training, career counselling, family planning, and health and rights awareness. The main target group is young and female migrants, as they face double discrimination as migrant workers and as women.

We have identified four main goals for the project:

1. The first is to address urban poverty, as well as social and economic exclusion faced by young and, especially, female migrants. The project aims to facilitate their integration into urban society, and to improve their living conditions through concrete social services, activities and vocational training that can empower them, improve their awareness of their basic rights, and enhance their capabilities and self-development. Utilizing a demand-driven and participatory approach, the activities of the project are designed according to the needs expressed by the migrants themselves.

Many migrant workers face social and economic exclusion. By

- building solidarity networks between migrants, enhancing their rightsawareness, and aiding their social and professional integration as new urban dwellers, the project aims to reduce these inequalities.
- 2. The second objective of the project directly follows the first; to impact policymaking at both the local and the national levels. Indeed, addressing poverty and social exclusion is a long-term effort that can only succeed in China as a whole if it is implemented nationwidely by the government on all levels. As an international organization, it is UNESCO's mission to advise and guide UN member states towards balanced, equitable and sustainable developments. This project is in absolute accordance with the Chinese government's will to establish a well-balanced and sustainable society. UNESCO contributes expertise invaluable to the government in such crucial matters.
- 3. The third objective involves protection of human rights, such as the right to work and to safe working conditions, right to information, right to adequate living and housing conditions, access to health care, right to security, and education.
- 4. Finally, the fourth objective of Together with Migrants is to fight public discrimination towards migrant workers. To this end, UNESCO raises awareness of the migrants' situation in China through mass media, debates, art exhibitions, film screenings and festivals. The purpose of these events is to combine artistic expression and public opinion debates with research and daily fieldwork of the fight against poverty. UNESCO aims to create a bottom-up movement within Chinese society, so that people may recognise that migrants are citizens as well and that they contribute greatly to the advancement and development of the country. Our hope is that this movement may also influence policy-makers, advocating the implementation of concrete policies, aimed at improving migrant workers' living conditions and respect for their rights.

The Institute of Sociology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sci-

ences (CASS) is our main partner for this project in China. Their team of researchers led by Professor Huang Ping fully participates in the coordination, the "follow-up", the monitoring and final assessment of the project in China, and in particular the interactions between analysis of the results of action, general research on migration issues, and recommendations for policymaking. At the local level we work with 22 local partners such as Sichuan Women's Federation, Dalian Public Security Bureau, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, etc..

As the urban explosion is taking place in China on a national scale and exposes migrants to complex and highly divergent challenges, this project focuses on 8 pilot sites throughout the country: Beijing, Shanghai, Dalian, Chengdu, Kunming, Diqinq, Chifeng, and Zhuolu and an additional site in Mongolia. These sites have been selected to include sending, receiving and transitional areas in an effort to capture the full spectrum of challenges confronting migrants. In each pilot site, working partnerships are built between social scientists, NGOs (including local Women's Federations), and local authorities in order to promote and facilitate the provision of various training, counselling and health services for migrants.

The project has already seen great success:

- More than 80 thousands female migrants have benefited from the project's activities.
- UNESCO-CASS has held three national workshops on the project.
   Another international conference on Together With Migrants will be held in October 2006, presenting the six policy papers with relevant policy suggestions.
- Public awareness was raised through successful public events with artists, migrant workers, scholars, UN agencies, journalists and the general public in an art exhibition in 2003, various film screenings in 2004—2005 and the "Together with Migrants Festival 2006".
   The events gathered more than 5000 audience, and received exten-

- sive press coverage (Chinese and foreign press).
- Two extrabudgetary fund projects were aligned to "Together With Migrants": "Migrant Children in Need" and "HIV/AIDS Prevention and Care for Migrants and Ethnic Minority Communities in China and Mongolia".
- In July 2005, a MOST policy paper on "Rural Labour Migration:
   Challenges for Policies" was produced.
- At the local level: Through the implementation of our project, some
  of the local partners have successfully promoted the establishment of
  new local regulations and new local projects in favour of migrant
  workers, e. g. in Dalian, Chifeng, Diqing and Kunming.

In Feb. 2006, the first draft policy recommendations had been produced and discussed during the UNESCO-CASS conference. The final product of the project will be a blue paper based on the first draft policy recommendations, consisting of a set of recommendations for policymakers using the recommendations and policy papers that you will read in this publication. This blue paper will be published by 2007, after indepth consultation process in different pilot sites all over China between local, provincial and national authorities (Leading group on poverty reduction, Public Security Bureau, Ministry of Labour and Social Protection...) as well as United Nations Agencies (UNDP, UNFPA, ILO, IOM, UNAIDS, UNHABITAT, WHO, FAO, UNICEF), members of the private sector (Chinese and foreign companies) and the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO.

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## Some Strategic Thinking on Rural-Urban Migration in China

#### Huang Ping

In terms of numbers, migration in China is mainly internal rural labour movement, mainly labour flow from rural to urban areas, which brings about tens of millions of young people from villages to nearby townships, county towns, prefecture centres, provincial capitals, as well as the coastal and metropolitan areas.

This trend will last for at least another 20 to 30 years, and it may even increase in size up to hundreds of millions, so long the country has more than 50% population in the countryside, and the government as well as the mainstream researchers continue to push the modernization-urbanization in particular as the national priority.

This rural labour migration may reduce the "classic problem" of too many rural labours vs. too little per capita arable land, in the meantime bring in great amount and proportion of off-farm cash income for rural residents and communities.

On the other hand, it can also possibly result in a massive urban underclass, or the new urban poor in cities, and at the same time a decline

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