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内容摘要

配合体制转轨和社会转型的需要，中国的扶贫计划已经推进了 10 多个年头。其成就是举世公认的，主要体现在农村反贫困行动已经取得突破性进展，贫困人口由 20 世纪 80 年代初的 2 亿多人锐减到目前的 3000 万人左右。虽然如此，中国反贫困的任务仍是十分艰巨。当前，贫困现象不仅表现在农村，而且表现在随着体制转轨，国企改革进入攻坚阶段，资金、技术和人力资源的重新组合以及产业结构调整不可避免，企业下岗职工人数和城市失业者数量都在逐年增加，城市就业压力不轻，企业下岗职工再就业尚有相当困难，以贫困职工和城市长期下岗失业者以及部分农村流动人口为主体的城镇新贫困人群正在形成。原来不为人们关注的城镇贫困问题正快速地凸显出来。政府、社会各界均已意识到城镇贫困问题的治理已迫在眉睫，中国扶贫事业面临新的情况和挑战。因此，我们必须对中国的贫困问题和反贫战略进行重新反思和定位。

本书的研究正是基于中国经济体制和社会结构“双重转型”的背景，对骤然而起的城镇贫困问题进行经济、社会、人文、历史等多视角的深入考察和系统研究，即主要是从基本概念，贫困

测度，致贫因素，反贫对策，目标和趋势以及国际比较这几个方面对城镇贫困问题进行更深入，更全面的调查研究和认识分析。并力求通过理论与实践相结合的研究，构建符合中国特色的城镇反贫困战略体系，冀望能有助于缓解当前城镇贫困的蔓延，以便在继续推动改革深化的同时统筹兼顾、协调好各种利益关系，尤其是切实维护好贫困弱势群体的切身利益，使他们能够分享到改革与发展的利益和成果，从而促进经济、社会 and 人的全面发展，实现全面建设小康社会的宏伟目标。

本书共分7章，主要内容及观点如下：

第一章，作为全书的引论部分，开宗明义地提出了贯穿城镇贫困与反贫困研究思路的理论主线是人文关怀精神，由此点明了本书的研究主题和意义，并为后面各章的理论研究和实证分析注入了灵魂和精髓。而全书对这个研究内核的提炼：

一方面，是通过对经济学研究贫困的历史梳理，发现从古典经济学到现代经济学关于人的研究和人文关怀精神已经逐步地丢失，这样，对涉及到人的贫困问题及其治理，主流经济学建树不多。相反，始终以社会生产方式及其社会制度作为研究对象，以人类解放作为奋斗目标的马克思主义经济学，科学地分析和深刻地洞见了自工业化以来资本主义社会贫困存在的根源，提出了解决资本主义社会贫困的制度变革方式，在这方面留下了宝贵的理论财富。这也正是我们要以马克思主义为指导，着力对当前中国转型期城镇贫困与反贫困研究进行理论创新和制度建设的根本所在。因此，笔者在引论中以马克思主义关于人的解放和人的全面发展的论断与邓小平共同富裕的思想为指针，重新诠释现代人文关怀精神，从而铸造中国转型期城镇贫困与反贫困研究的理论内核。

另一方面，是基于对工业化社会以来反贫困的经验教训的深刻总结。要突破过去仅仅将贫困视为一种低经济收入和物质匮乏

现象（当然这是贫困最基本的现象，但贫困的表现不止于此）的理解，扭转将反贫困囿于临时性、施舍性的给钱送物的简单做法，提高扶贫的效果和效率，促使反贫困行动走上制度化、规范化和人文化的轨道，必须张扬人文精神的旗帜（这也是当前一些国际机构将物质贫困上升为人类贫困来治理的理由所在）。这样，才能从经济、社会、人文等方面构建中国城镇反贫困的战略框架、政策体系和组织结构；这也为我们在后面各章的研究中提供了一个跨学科边缘交叉分析的理论框架。

此外，引论部分还界定了众说纷纭的贫困概念的基本内涵与反贫困的要义，提出了关于贫困类型的划分，给出了测量贫困程度的指标体系；同时从文献角度重点阐述了马克思主义的贫困学说和社会主义国家及其转型过程的贫困与反贫困理论，以及经济学、社会学中关于贫困研究的代表性理论，并且确立了本书的研究方法、研究思路即框架结构。这一切为下文的分析奠定了必要的理论前提和学术准备。

第二章，从现实客观的角度描述了中国转型期城镇贫困存在的状况。由于当前城镇贫困问题的突显直接反映在城镇贫困人口构成的变化上，故为了说明这个变迁，我们运用了社会学关于社会分层的理论，分析了随着转型原来计划经济体制下一些占有资源的阶层出现的分化以及中国社会分层呈现多元化的格局。在社会分层加剧的条件下，城镇贫困人口结构发生了变化。为了识别这个变化的规模，探讨了尚无法统一的中国城镇贫困线标准，以及按照不同贫困线标准测算的城镇贫困人口规模，其中包括笔者提出的应把从农村进城的流动贫困人口估算在内的规模。在此基础上，分析了城镇贫困人口的分布情况和生存状况，运用英国学者汤森关于“贫困三分法”的理论，将当前城镇贫困归结为介于绝对贫困与相对贫困之间的“基本贫困”状态。最后，归纳出转型期城镇贫困的基本特征和社会影响。

第三章，基于中国经济与社会的双重转型背景，全面探讨了20世纪90年代以来中国城镇贫困日渐显露的致因机制。中国经济与社会的转型是不可逆转的发展趋势，而转型进程中的阵痛则以城镇贫困问题的扩大表现出来，说明导致城镇贫困恶化的因素相当复杂。首先，着重探讨了经济增长、收入分配和下岗失业这三者之间的变动关系对城镇贫困深化的影响。力图从其内在联系的机制上，解读90年代以来，中国经济高速增长，而城镇失业率逐年攀高，收入差距不断扩大，城镇贫困率日渐提高，这种“三高、一扩大”的格局。其次，将社会环境和个人因素纳入到贫困原因的分析框架之中，主要是探讨了区域发展不平衡、城镇化总体滞后与局部过度、新型社会保障体制不完善和人力资本脆弱性等因素对城镇贫困发生的综合作用，其中既有经济因素对贫困的影响分析，也有社会、文化乃至个人健康、心理等非经济因素对持续贫困的制约分析。最后，将上述贫困致因归纳起来，寻找出它们之间存在相互影响、相互强化的回路反馈网络——“城镇贫困陷阱”。而打破这个陷阱，帮助贫困家庭摆脱贫困，正是我们提倡建立城镇反贫困战略体系的初衷。

第四章，中国转型期城镇反贫困战略的指导思想与战略构架。确立邓小平理论和“三个代表”的思想，是中国转型期城镇反贫困战略的指导思想。由此，规划了城镇反贫困的基本方针和战略构架，并且在对本世纪中国城镇反贫困发展走势做出基本判断的情况下，提出了城镇反贫困战略的推进阶段以及创造性地构想城镇反贫困与农村扶贫相整合的城乡一体化反贫困战略模式。可见，第四章承上启下，是转型期城镇反贫困战略的纲领。

第五章，探索中国转型期城镇反贫困战略模式选择中的经济战略类型，主要包括：加强宏观调控、协调区域经济发展、深化国有企业改革、理顺收入分配关系和充分扩大就业等战略模式共同推进城镇反贫困。在实施这类反贫困战略模式的过程中，更加

强调了政府的主导性、贫困者的主体性和社会的参与性，这三者之间的协调统一。虽然，政府主导的反贫困，大多是以公共品形式来实现，但它也不能造成市场效率的极大损失。而上述反贫困的经济战略类型，要取得良好的效果，也必须考虑利用市场机制的作用。因此，反贫困过程中效率与平等的兼顾是一个重大主题。

第六章，继续探讨中国转型期城镇反贫困战略模式选择中的综合战略类型，主要包括：加强可持续发展、推进城镇化步伐、完善社会保障体系和增加人力资本积累等方面的制度创新和政策安排对城镇反贫困的重大作用。这类反贫困战略模式，体现了将贫困的认识扩大到物质贫困以外的生态贫困、知识贫困、健康贫困的分析理念。因此，解决城镇贫困除了要有经济战略类型，还必须要有体现人文性的综合战略类型。

总体上讲，第五、六章的战略模式分析是对第四章提出的城镇反贫困战略纲领的具体展开，表明城镇反贫困战略的实施要整体推进、相互配套。

第七章，国际城市反贫困的经验与启示。基于贫困问题已经是一个世界性问题的结论，本书肯定了当今世界各国面临贫困的共性。但不同国家在制度、经济、政治、文化以及自然环境上的差异性，又决定了贫困存在的特殊性。因此，中国城镇反贫困要批判性地借鉴世界上其他国家城市反贫困的经验教训。如，西方发达国家在长期反贫困中的制度建设、发展中国家在扭转贫穷落后状况中推出的“增长——分配”模式、前苏联和东欧国家在对付“转型”中陡然增大的贫困风险和社会动荡所采取的措施，都留给我们许多值得深思的启示，这对于我们建立和完善符合中国特色的城镇反贫困战略体系是大有裨益的。

虽然，贫困从远古走来，但对贫困的系统研究却发轫于工业化社会之后。而社会主义国家在相当长的一段时期内将自身的贫困研究划为理论禁区。尤其是中国转型过程中显露的城镇贫困更

是近几年才发生的,虽然已逐渐成为理论研究的热点,但权威性的研究文献或学术成果并不多见,反而争鸣与歧见更多。因此,这给本书的研究及写作带来了相当的难度。尽管如此,笔者力求在以下方面做出探索性研究:

1. 本书的选题具有很强的现实性、前瞻性和对策性。关于中国城镇贫困的研究,学术界已有一些成果,但系统地研究转型期城镇反贫困战略的理论与实践,本书尚属首次尝试。并且,本书针对治理中国转型中突发的城镇贫困提出的制度建设与政策建议,不乏可操作性和推广性。

2. 注重将马克思主义的贫困学说与治理中国城镇贫困的实践相结合,确立了以邓小平理论和“三个代表思想”作为中国城镇反贫困的指导思想,并正确借鉴西方经济学、社会学、政治学、文化伦理学中关于贫困研究的代表理论,力求将它们紧密结合起来构建一个研究城镇贫困与反贫困的理论框架。

3. 将人文关怀精神注入到经济学对贫困的研究之中,不但增强经济学对贫困问题的解释力及指导反贫困实践的科学性和有效性,而且将推动经济学向“人学”复归的理论进程。

4. 将导致中国转型期城镇贫困的经济、社会、人文因素综合起来,剖析了它们之间内在联系的机制,由此提出了城镇贫困陷阱的运行网络。

5. 创造性提出将城镇反贫困与农村扶贫相整合,进而建立城乡一体化反贫困战略体系,这对在本世纪推进中国扶贫事业的发展具有重要意义。并且,在城镇反贫困的宏观经济政策分析中,尝试了将农村扶贫中运用的“以工代赈”、“小额信贷”等形式移植到城镇反贫困计划之中的研究论证。

6. 本书与许多研究 20 世纪 90 年代以来中国城镇贫困凸显的观点的一个不同之处在于,不仅看到遏止城镇贫困扩大与深化国企改革存在两难选择,还提出了深化国企改革在城镇反贫困中的

战略地位,探讨了二者良性互动的机制,得出了深化国企改革与推进城镇反贫困具有兼容性的新观点。

7. 将城镇贫困与反贫困的研究拓展到物质贫困以外的生态贫困、知识贫困、健康贫困等资源环境及人文因素的分析,从而探讨了矿产资源枯竭城市贫困及其治理、贫困人口人力资本脆弱性及其改善的政策建议,这在目前研究中国城镇贫困与反贫困中尚不多见。

8. 在研究方法上尝试了经济学与社会学、政治学、心理学、文化伦理学多学科边缘交叉的跨学科研究,力求将规范研究与实证分析、定性分析与定量分析紧密结合起来,形成对中国转型期城镇贫困与反贫困问题进行多视角透析的方法论支撑。

同样,由于本人理论素养的局限和知识积累的不足,以及统计调查指标的缺失,本书还待更进一步完善的地方,主要在两个方面:一方面,贫困问题是一个复杂的社会经济问题,深入地研究它必须具备多学科的理论知识。而本人在经济学之外的其他学科上面知识储备的局限,常常为无法深入研究感到自愧和不安,因而通观全书还欠缺一套严密的理论研究范式以及衡量人文贫困的数量指标体系。另一方面,国家统计局还没有公布我国城镇贫困的统计指标体系,因此这方面的统计口径无法统一。本书中的有些数据资料只能来源于抽样调查或专家学者及笔者的估算,这与科学性、精确性的标准还有一定的差距。

关键词:中国转型期 城镇贫困与反贫困 人文关怀 战略体系

Abstract

Based on the “Double Transition” background of Chinese economic system and social structure, this book gives a thorough research and systematic study into the sudden emergence of urban poverty from the perspectives of economy, society, humanities, and history. Through the study of integrating theories and practices, this book tries to set up a strategic system with Chinese characteristics against urban poverty, which hopefully can be helpful to slowing down the spread of urban poverty at present, with the aim of taking into consideration in the interests of all concerned and making a good coordination among them, and especially maintaining the vital interests of the poor and weak in real earnest and ensuring that they can share the benefits and achievements of reform and development so as to promote the all-around development of economy, society and individual and fulfill the grand goal of building all-around well-off society.

This book consists of seven chapters. Here are the main Content and points:

Chapter One: as the introduction of the whole book, it comes

straight to the point that the theoretical theme of studying urban poverty and anti - poverty is the spirit of humanistic solicitude, and makes clear the research subject and significance of this book, preparing the way for the theoretical research and empirical analysis of the following chapters. Moreover, the introduction makes a clear definition to the basic connotation as well as the importance of anti - poverty in spite of existing various opinions, and suggests classifications of the types of poverty and index system for the measurement of poverty degree. Meanwhile, from the perspective of historical document, it mainly illustrates poverty theories as held by Marxists, some poverty and anti - poverty theories of the socialist countries in this transitional period, and some representative poverty theories in economics and sociology. The methodology and the train of thought, i. e. the framework of thought, are specified in this part, which lays the necessary theoretical foundations and makes the academic preparation for the analyses of the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two: it describes the existing situation of urban poverty in China's transitional period from the realistic and objective perspective. The sudden emergence of urban poverty is directly reflected from the change of population structure of the urban poor. In order to explain this change, the author has borrowed the theory of social classification from sociology and analyzes that with conversion, differentiation occurs among the class that possess resources under the planned - economy system and a diversified setup comes into being in Chinese social classification. With the aggravated differentiation of social class, the population structure of the urban poor has changed. In order to identify the scale of this change, this chapter has discussed the standard for Chinese urban poverty line that cannot be unified at present, and

the population scale of the urban poor measured according to different standards of poverty line. According to the author, the population scale should include the shifting poor pouring into the city from the countryside. Based on this, it analyzes the distribution and living conditions of the urban poor. Using English scholar Townsend's "trisection of poverty" as a reference, the book classifies the existing urban poverty as the "basic poverty", between absolute poverty and relative poverty. In the end, it sums up the basic features and social influence of urban poverty in China's transitional period.

Chapter Three: based on transition background of Chinese economy and society, it gives all-around discussion to the increasingly apparent causes of Chinese urban poverty since 1990s. The transition of Chinese economy and society is an irreversible trend. But the great difficulties in the process of conversion are revealed in the intensification of the problem of urban poverty, which suggests that the causes of urban poverty are very complicated. In this chapter, the author first discusses the effects that interactions of economic growth, income distribution and unemployment have on the intensification of urban poverty. With the help of internal relations of the three, the book tries to give a full analyses of the situation since 1990s of "three growths and one enlargement"—rapid economic growth, growing unemployment rate in city, increasing rate of urban poverty and enlargement of income difference. Second, the author takes social environment and personal factors into the framework of analyzing the causes of poverty, mainly discussing that such factors as the unbalanced regional development, the overall lagging of urbanization and partial over-development, imperfection of new social securities and frangibility of human capital play a comprehensive part in the occurrence of urban poverty.

ty. In this chapter, the analyses are given to the effects that economic factors have on poverty as well as the constraints that some non-economic factors such as society, culture and personal health and psychology have on the sustained poverty. In the end, the author sums up the above-mentioned causes and conclude that these causes affect and intensify one another and there exists a feedback net—"the trap of urban poverty". And breaking the trap to help the poor households shake off poverty is our original intention to advocate establishing the system against urban poverty.

Chapter Four: it introduces the guiding ideology and framework for the strategies against urban poverty in China's transitional period. Deng Xiaoping Theory and "Three Represents Thoughts" are the guiding ideologies for the strategies against urban poverty in this transitional period. According to this, this part suggests the basic guidelines and strategic framework for anti-poverty. After offering a basic judgment on the trend of China's fighting against urban poverty in this century, it also suggests the promoting stages for the strategies against urban poverty and creatively offers a strategy mode of anti-poverty that integrates fighting against urban poverty with helping the rural poor. So the fourth chapter serves as a connecting link, introducing the guides for anti-poverty strategies in this conversion period.

Chapter Five: it explores the types of economic strategies among the choices of modes for fighting against urban poverty in conversion period of China, mainly including: strengthening the macro-regulation, coordinating regional economic development, deepening the reform of state-owned enterprises, straightening out the relations of income and distribution, and enlarging the employment so as to promote the fight against urban poverty all together. In the process of carrying

out such anti - poverty strategy mode, the stress is laid on the government's role as a leading part, the poor's role as a main body, the participation of society and the coordination and unity of the three.

Chapter Six: it further explores the types of comprehensive strategies among the choices of modes for urban anti - poverty in China's transitional period, including: strengthening the sustainable development, quickening the speed of urbanization, improving social securities, and enhancing the systematic innovations in pooling human resources and increasing the effects that policy arrangements have on anti urban poverty.

Chapter Seven: it is about the international experiences and enlightenment of urban anti - poverty. Based on the conclusion that poverty is a global problem, the book affirms the commonness that countries around the world are all faced with poverty. But the differences of national system, economy, politics, culture and natural environment amongst various countries determine the particularity. Therefore, China should critically learn the experiences from other countries in carrying out the policies of urban anti - poverty. For example, western developed countries' institution construction in long - term anti - poverty, the "growth - distribution" mode promoted by developing countries in remedying poor and backward condition, the emergency measures adopted by the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries to cope with abruptly increased poverty risk and social turbulence, all this gives us much enlightenment to pond over and is quite helpful for us to build and improve a strategic system with Chinese characteristics against urban poverty.

In conclusion, the book tries to make an exploration in the following aspects:

1. The selection of the subject reflects the reality, predicting the

future and offering solutions. As for the study of urban anti - poverty in China, the academic circle has already made some achievements, but it is this book that gives the first try to analyzes systematically the theories and practices of anti urban poverty strategies in conversion period. Furthermore, this book suggests some system constructions and policies aiming at remedying the suddenly occurred urban poverty of China in conversion period. It is easy to operate and spread.

2. It pays attention to integrating Marxist poverty theories with the practices of remedying urban poverty in China, makes Deng Xiaoping Theory and "Three Represents Thoughts" as the guiding ideology for China's urban anti - poverty effort and correctly borrows the representative theories concerning poverty study from western economics, sociology, politics and cultural ethnics, for the purpose of combining them closely so as to form a theoretical framework for the study of urban poverty and anti - poverty.

3. Integrating the spirit of humanistic solicitude into the economic studies on poverty not only helps economics better to explain the problem of poverty and guide the practice of fighting against poverty more scientifically and efficiently, but also promotes the theoretical course that economics reverts to "humanistic science".

4. Colligating all the factors of economy, society, humanities that result in the urban poverty in China's transitional period in this book analyzes the inter - relationship of these factors and put forward the operating net for the trap of urban poverty.

5. It creatively suggests that fighting against urban poverty should be integrated with helping the rural poor so that a strategic system of anti - poverty with integration of the city and country can be set up, which is of great significance in promoting the development

of help – the – poor in this century. Moreover, while analyzing the macroeconomic policies in fighting against urban poverty, it tries to argue that the programs of “work for relief fund” and “small credit” which are used in the rural help – the – poor can be transplanted into the plans of fighting against urban poverty.

6. The point that makes this book different from those studying the sudden emergence of poverty since the 1990s is that it does not merely realize the dilemma existing between preventing the spread of urban poverty and deepening the reform of state – owned enterprises, but brings forward the strategic status of the latter in fighting against urban poverty. It explores the positive interactive mechanism of the two and comes to a new idea that there exists compatibility between the two.

7. It extends the studies on urban poverty and anti – poverty to the analyses of resource environment and humanistic factors, i.e. the non – material poverty——ecological poverty, intellectual poverty, and healthy poverty. It further analyzes the exhausted mineral resources, urban poverty and its improvement, the fragility of human capital of the poor population and its improving suggestions. This analysis is seldom in the existing studies on urban poverty of China and fighting against poverty.

8. As far as methodology is concerned, the book tries to carry out inter – disciplinary studies of economics, sociology, politics, psychology, cultural ethnics, bringing the standard study, empirical analyses, quality analyses and quantitative analysis together so as to form the methodological support for the analysis of urban poverty and anti – poverty in China’s transitional period from multi – perspectives.

Meanwhile, because of the limitation of personal theoretical at-