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# 不确定性、风险与 中国农村劳动力区际流动

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梅金平 著

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### 总 序

一个没有思想活动和缺乏学术氛围的大学校园,哪怕它在物质上再美丽、再现代,在精神上也是荒凉、冷清和贫瘠的。欧洲历史上最早的大学就是源于学术。大学与学术的关联不仅体现在字面上,更重要的是,思想与学术,可谓大学的生命力与活力之源。

我校是一所学术气氛浓郁的财经政法高等学府。范文澜、嵇文甫、潘梓年、马哲民等一代学术宗师播撒的学术火种,50多年来一代代薪火相传。因此,在世纪之交,在合并组建新校而揭开学校发展新的历史篇章的时候,学校确立"学术兴校,科研强校"的发展战略。这不仅是对学校50多年学术文化与学术传统的历史性传承,而且将成为谱写新世纪学校发展新篇章的战略性手笔。

"学术兴校,科研强校"的"兴"与"强",是奋斗目标,更是奋斗过程。我们是目

的论与过程论的统一论者。我们将对宏伟目标的追求过程寓于脚踏实地的奋斗过程之中。由学校斥资资助出版《中南财经政法大学学术文库》,就是学校采取的具体举措之一。

本文库的指导思想或学术旨趣,首先在于推出学术精品。通过资助出版学术精品,形成精品学术成果的园地,培育精品意识和精品氛围,提高学术成果的质量和水平,为繁荣国家财经、政法、管理以及人文科学研究,解决党和国家面临的重大经济、社会问题,作出我校应有的贡献。其次,培养学术队伍,特别是通过对一批处在"成长期"的中青年学术骨干的成果予以资助推出,促进学术梯队的建设,提高学术队伍的实力与水平。第三,培育学术特色。通过资助在学术思想、学术方法以及学术见解等方面有独到和创新之处的成果,培育科研特色,力争通过努力,形成有我校特色的学术流派与学术思想体系。因此,本文库重点面向中青年,重点面向精品,重点面向原创性学术专著。

春华秋实。让我们共同来精心耕种文库这块学术园地,让学术果实挂满枝头,让思想之花满园飘香。

2001年11月28日

### **Preface**

A university campus, if it holds no intellectual activity or possesses no academic atmosphere. no matter how physically beautiful or modern it is in, would be desolate and barren in spirit. In fact, the earliest European universities in history were originated from academic learning. The relationship between a university and the academic learning is not simply incarnated literally, more importantly, ideas and learning constitute the sources of the energy and vitality of all universities.

Zhongnan University of Economics and Law is an institution of higher learning enjoying full — embodied academic atmosphere. With the academic germs seeded by such great masters as Fanwenlan. Jiwenfu, Panzinian and Mazhemin, generations of scholars and students

in this university have been sharing the favorable academic atmosphere and making their own contributions to it as well during the past fifty – five years. As a result, at the beginning of the new century and a time when a new historical developing page is turned over with the combination of Zhongnan University of Finance and Economics and Zhongnan University of Politics and Law, the newly established university has set its developing strategy as "Prospering the University with academic learning. Strengthening the University with scientific research", which is not only a historical inheriting of more than fifty years of academic culture and tradition, but also a strategic decision which is to lift our university onto a new developing stage in the 21st century.

Prospering and Strengthening the university is our ultimate goal; it is. however. in greater sense our struggling process. We tend to make a unification of the destination and the process by embodying the pursuing process of our grand goal in the down - to - earth struggling process. Academic Library of Zhongnan University of Economics and Law, published under the financial aid from the university, is one of our specific measures.

The guideline or academic purport of this Library lies first at promoting the publishing of elaborate academic works by funding them, thus an academic garden with high – quality fruits can come into being. We should also endeavor to foster the consciousness and atmosphere of elaborate works and improve the quality and level of our academic productions, so as to make our due contributions in prospering national scientific research in such fields as finance and economics, politics and law and humanities, as well as in working

out solutions for major economic and social problems facing our country and the Chinese Communist Party. Secondly, our aim is to cultivate academic groups, especially through funding the publishing of works of middle – aged and young academic backbone, to boost the construction of academic echelon and elevate the strength and level of our academic groups. Thirdly, we aim at fostering the academic characteristic of our university. By funding those academic fruits which have some original or innovative points in their academic ideas, methods and views, we expect to engender our own characteristic in scientific research. Our final goal is to form an academic school and an academic idea system of our university through our efforts. Thus, this *Library* emphasizes particularly on middle – aged and young people, on elaborate works and on original academic monographs.

Spring flowers and autumn fruits. Let us join in hand to cultivate this academic garden and make it be opulent with academic fruits and intellectual flowers.

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发源于 20 世纪 80 年代初期, 并在 20 世 纪 90 年代以来得到迅速发展的农村区际劳动 力流动、表明在中国大陆作为工业化和现代化 一般规律的农村剩余劳动力向城市的转移过程 实际上已经开始。不过这种转移过程并不完全 等同于西方国家以及其他基本上实现了工业化 的发展中国家。从现象上看, 那些国家的工业 化过程是农村居民到城市中工作和定居, 即工 业化和城市化是同步进行的。而这个过程在中 国却是以"农民工流动"的形式表现出来的。 农民工流动作为中国经济转轨过程中的一个重 要经济现象,既创造了在软化的制度安排约束 下农村劳动力向城市转移的途径, 并成为中国 工业化和现代化的重要推动力量;但同时也产 生了其特有的问题,那就是由于制度、市场和 社会诸多方面的障碍,使得农民工中的绝大多 数仍然滞留在农村、没有转化为"市民"、农 民工流动表现出极大的不确定性。

从农民工流动现象出现以来,在政府部门、社会大众和学术界中,就发生了对于农民工流动现象的种种争论。虽然随着时间的推移,社会对农民工流动会经历一个从不接受到逐步接受的过程,但是,要使数量庞大的农村劳动力在较短时间内转化为城市居民谈何容易,更何况制度的转变必然要经历一个过程,而地区经济发展不平衡以及由此产生的地方政府(特别是城市政府)对外来农民工政策和措施的多变性更是使这种转化变得扑溯迷离。正是在这种背景下,本文试图研究在不确定性和风险条件下中国区际劳动力的流动问题。

本文以奈特(F.H.Knight, 1921)提出的不确定性和风险理论为基础,但又不完全如此。这里的区别主要表现在两个方面:一是奈特的研究主要集中在微观方面(企业),而区际劳动力流动的不确定性则更多的是一个宏观(或中观)方面的问题;二是奈特研究的不确定性主要表现为事件的不确定性,而区际劳动力流动中的不确定性更多的是市场的不确定性。正因为如此,本文在奈特的不确定性和风险理论的基础上,构建了分析中国区际劳动力流动不确定性的框架。

笔者认为,造成中国区际劳动力流动不确定性的原因表现在以下三个方面:

- (1)制度方面。由于转轨国家制度的重要性,因此本文将制度因素作为区际劳动力流动的首要障碍进行分析研究。而在制度方面,又主要分析了户籍制度以及与此相关的就业制度和社会保障制度。笔者认为,城乡分割的二元户籍制度以及与此相关的二元就业制度和二元社会保障制度是造成中国区际劳动力流动不确定性的主要根源。
- (2) 市场方面。中国经济转轨的首要任务是进行市场化改革, 而市场化改革毫无疑问要经历一个过程。目前, 造成中国区

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际劳动力流动不确定性的市场因素表现在:劳动力市场存在严重 的分割现象和市场秩序混乱;劳动力市场建设明显不足。

(3) 社会方面。经济转轨必然会引起社会结构的变迁,而社会结构变迁不完全也会造成区际劳动力流动中的不确定性。

从中国区际劳动力流动不确定性的根源出发,笔者认为,降低中国区际劳动力流动风险必须降低制度、市场和社会因素对区际劳动力流动的障碍。

- (1) 彻底变革户籍制度以及与此相关的就业制度和社会保障制度。户籍制度改革的主要思路是: 打破农业与非农业户口管理二元结构,建立全国统一的户口登记制度; 逐步放宽户口迁移限制,根据经济社会发展需要和社会综合承受能力, 实现户口自由迁移; 逐步剥离各有关部门附加在户口上的诸多行政管理职能,还户口本来面目。就业制度改革必须打破城乡分割、地区分割的二元就业制度,实施城乡统筹就业。社会保障制度改革必须将农民工纳入城市社会保障的范围,建立城乡统一的社会保障制度。
- (2)在市场建设方面,必须建立城乡统一的劳动力市场、整顿和规范劳动力市场秩序、加快劳动力市场"三化"(科学化、规范化和现代化)建设,同时加强制订和实施入世对劳动力市场影响的各项应对措施。
- (3) 在社会变革方面,应降低偏好、文化和歧视等社会因素 对区际劳动力流动不确定性的影响。为此,必须协调城市居民和 外来农民工的关系,建立一个新型的融合的城市社会。

### **Abstract**

Originating in the early 1980s' and having been rapidly developing ever since 1990s', the rural interregional flow of labor force indicates a virtual start of the shift of rural surplus labor force to urban areas in mainland China in conformity with the general laws of industrialization and modernization. However, the shifting process is not entirely identical with those happened in the western countries as well as in those basically industralized developing countries. In terms of form, industralization course those countries is in characterized by the rural resident' working and settling in cities, while the flow of rural laborers is characteristic of China. As an important economic phenomenon in the transition process of China's economy, the flow of rural laborers proves to be an original means shifting rural work force to urban

areas under the restraints of softened institutional arrangement and is thus likely to give valuable impetus to Chinese industrialization and modernization. On the other hand, that type of flow leads to a typical problem: most rural workers still remain as rural residents rather than being converted into townspeople as a result of various systematic, market and social barriers, shifting rural labors to urban areas face uncertainty and risk.

Ever since the emergence of the flow of rural laborers, there have been constant and various controversies on the phenomenon among government departments, the public and academic circles. With the time going on, there will be a course from non - acceptance to gradual acceptance in the society, nonetheless, it is no easy matter whatsoever for large numbers of rural laborers to be changed into townspeople within a short term. In addition, the institutional change will necessarily undergo a rather long process, and the unbalance of regional economic development and the consequent changability of policies and measures on alien rural laborers taken by local governments (esp. the city governments) make the conversion all the more complicated and confusing. Under all the above circumstances, the auther tries to study uncertainty and the risk in the interregional flow of labor force in China.

The theoretical source of this paper lies in F. H. Knight's theory of uncertainty and risk economics, yet the former does not depend wholly on the latter. The differences between them can be found as below. For one, Knight's study focuses on the micro aspect—enterprises, while the interregional flow of labor force is in more senses a macro issue. For another, the uncertainty studied by

Knight mainly manifests as one of incidents, but the uncertainty in the interregional flow of laborers can be more easily categorized as one of markets. Accordingly, the auther attempts to construct its theory on uncertainty in the interregional flow of labor force in China on the basis of Knight's theory.

The auther argues that the causes of uncertainty in the interregional flow of labor force in China cover the following three aspects:

- (1) System. With deep concern for the significance of systems in countries undergoing transformation, the paper highlights the factor of systems and takes it as the first impediment blocking interregional flow of labor force. And thereupon, this paper concentrates on the domiciliary control system and the closely related employment system and social security system as well. This paper proposes that the uncertainty of the flow of labor force arises ultimately from the dual domiciliary system, the corresponding dual employment system, and the dual social security system, which jointly alienate town from country.
- (2) Market. The first task of China's economic reform is to conduct marketization reform, which, however, must undergo a rather long process. At present, market factors resulting in uncertainty of the flow of labor force include pervasive phenomena of discrimination, disorder and evident insufficiency of the construction of labor markets.
- (3) Social factors. Economic reform will surely bring about changes of social structure, while incomplete transformation of social structure is also apt to lead to uncertainty in interregional flow of

labor force.

Starting from the sources of uncertainty in the interregional flow of labor force, this paper puts forth that the influence of systems, markets and social factors on that flow should be abated in an effort to diminish the risk.

thoroughly reform the domiciliary system corresponding employment system and social security system. The main train of thoughts in reforming the domiciliary system is to disintegrate the dual structure of rural and urban domicile control, set up a unified national system of household registration, gradually loosen the control over household relocation, realize free household relocation in the light of need of social and economic development and comprehensive social capacity, gradually expropriate various administrative functions attached by relevant departments onto the household registration booklet, and retain or recover its original function. As for the reform of employment system, the dual employment system leading to urban and rural alienation and regional alienation is supposed to be de constructed, while overall planning of employment should be implemented. Social security system should be reformed and cover the work force from rural areas, which involves the establishment of a new social security system taking care of both rural and urban residents.

Second, regarding construction of markets, it is necessary to establish a unified rural and urban labor market, rectify and regulate the order of labor markets, and speed up the construction of a scientific, regulated, and modern labor market.

Third, the influence of social factors like preference, culture