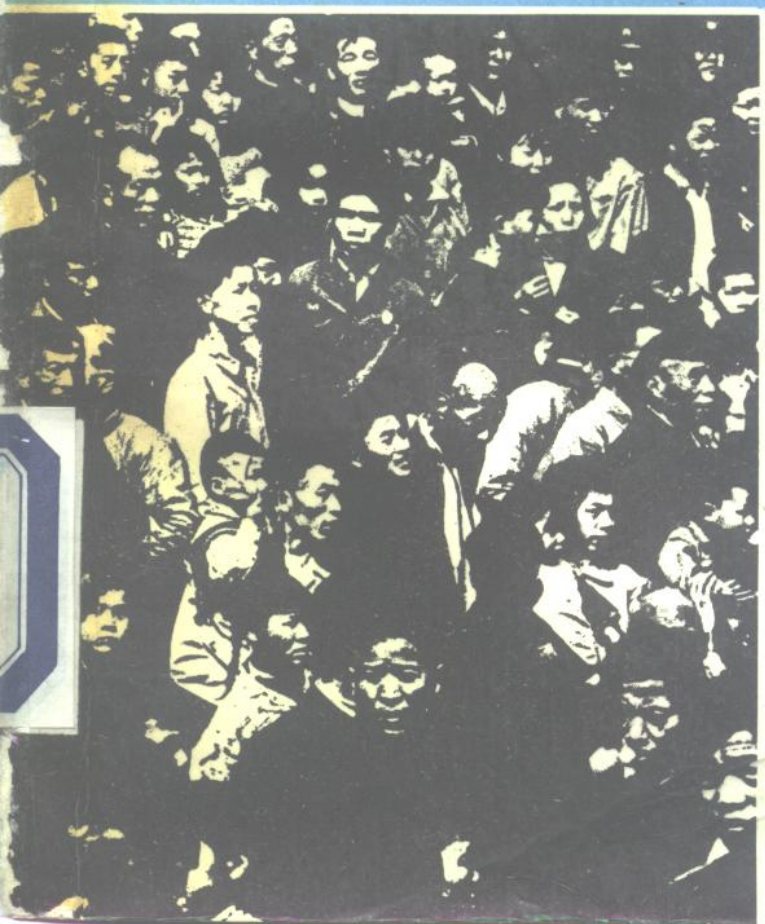


就业•增长•现代化

——中国劳动力转移的历史与未来研究



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《农村劳动力转移与现代化进程》课题组

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序

国务院农研中心于1988年与科委政策法规司联合委托的农村劳动力转移与现代化进程课题，经过近两年的努力，已完成了题为《就业结构变迁与现代化进程》的总报告以及若干个分报告。该项课题已被国务院农村发展研究中心评为1989年度“农村经济社会发展研究优秀成果”一等奖，引起了该领域理论和政策研究专家的注意和反响。为了推进该项研究的深入，决定将该课题总报告和一些分报告汇集成册，题为《就业·增长·现代化——中国劳动力转移的历史与未来研究》，由中国华侨出版公司正式出版，以飨广大读者。

一个民族从农耕社会向现代化工业社会的跃迁，是神圣的事业，也是痛苦的转变，因为在剧烈的现代化的多国角逐中，我们不得不面对有限的甚至常常是狭小的资源空间，但却要尽快争取时间。国际上正反两方面的经验教训都是很多的，有的国家只用了不到半个世纪就完成了从传统社会到现代社会的转变，有的国家花了几百年却仍然在传统和现代社会之间的走廊里徘徊，奥秘在于资源组合。人类长期的研究表明：有效的资源组合和交换，常能弥补资源短缺和不平衡的限制，加快现代化的步伐。从微观上讲，常用技术进步水平和劳动生产率这样的指标来衡量资源组合的有效性；但从宏观上讲，要考虑充分就业程度这个宏观条件的约束，在劳动力不断从农业转向非农业的条件下，技术进步和劳动生产率的提高是整体性的，这表明了资源组合的宏观效率的提高。而如果将大量劳动力长期阻滞在狭小的耕地上，仅在少数部门和企业里提高技术装备程度，就会导致很多发展中国家易出现的二元结构问题。这就是研究劳动力转移问题的意义和重要性所在。

使资源组合更加宏观有效，需要正确的战略选择和体制改革。正确的战略选择来自对资源的正确评价，在一个劳动力过剩但土地和资本稀缺的国家，发展战略的选择应突出节约土地和资本但多使用劳动的主题；反之，如果一国的劳动力已变得稀缺而资本却过剩，发展战略的选择应突出节约劳动但多使用资本的主题。发展战略和长期计划决不等于可以随心所欲，想怎么干就怎么干，而只是在认清资源条件的情况下，象大禹治水那样因势利导，以避免长期考虑的失误。体制改革与发展战略同样重要。好的体制设计可以发挥激励和微调两种功能，激励解决发展动力问题，微调解决局部矫正失误的问题，把局部出现的问题消灭在萌芽之中，以防其积累为长期问题和全局问题。如果没有好的体制设计相配合，再好的发展战略也是不可能变为现实的。这就是改革和发展的辩证法。

《就业·增长·现代化》的研究者们在广泛搜集资料信息的基础上，应用定性和定量研究相结合、实证和规范分析相结合的方法，大胆地提出了一些有关中国劳动力转移的新见解和新论点，且不论正确成熟与否，确是一项比较规范扎实的研究。希望通过本书的出版为契机，引起更广泛的关注、讨论和研究，以深化这一领域的研究工作，为推进我国的社会主义现代化进程尽我们的责任。

杜润生 1990年7月于北京

TRANSFER OF EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN COURSE OF ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION IN CHINA

Abstract

The modernization of labors' occupation is the essence and an important symbol of economic modernization in the process of economic development. The modernization process of labor's occupation can be defined as that of motion of labors from agriculture to non-agriculture sector. As far as dynamics concerned, such a motion is manifested both speed and scale, while statics, the change in employment structure. This paper will analyse experiential and positively the course of labor transfer in China, and forecast circumstantial the futural possibilities of labor transfer. We are confronted by on the basis of the actual condition and international experience, so as to find out the predicament. We are faced with and put forward some specific decision making orientation of precautionary significance.

1. Theory Background

In the process of modernization of national economy, the transfer of labor is affected by a series of factors.

In general, the major variables affecting long term transfer of labor in one country may include scale of population and its increasing rate, scale and rate of capital accumulation, capital efficiency, technological level and model to distribution of capital, labor and other resources, primary industrial structure in sectors such as industry and agriculture, demand scale and its expansion rate, coordinative follow up of increasing core of urbanization in the process of labor transfer and etc.

The above variables effecting the cause of labor transfer are neither completely independent nor ultimate. In other words, these variables relate to each other and influence each other. Moreover, they are influenced by other variables like the institution and the strategy. Therefore it is rather difficult to clarify completely the cause and effect of those variables. More important thing, which is also possible, is to distinguish the structure among them and to define the relative importance of variables, through positive analysis. So as to deepen the research and understanding of labor transfer.

It is evident that negative effects of over fast increase of labor supply on labor transfer is increasingly accepted by economists and policy-makers. The fact that labor supply is mainly influenced by population scale shaped in history and current population policy is also commonly understood in China.

It is commonly embraced in China that scale and rate of capital accumulation are the key variables affe-

cting transfer of labor. However, there is still a considerable divergence of views on model difference and different influence on labor transfer accumulation. Capital accumulation is mainly affected by consuming demand and efficiency of capital utilization. In general, there are two models of capital accumulation, namely intensional accumulation and extensional accumulation. Realization of intensional accumulation principally rely on raising efficiency of capital utilization. While extension one, reduction of consumption. Even at the same rate of capital accumulation which affection on transfer of labor differs according to accumulation model. The major factors affecting accumulation model of capital may include enterprise stimulation mechanism, competing-pressure, model of consumption and demand, policy of distribution and option of industrial development strategy.

Impact of option of technical standard of resource allocation on labor transfer has been accepted by, following Mr. Mabro R, and Sen A.K. a quite number of development economists. However, there are still many - understanding barriers owing to lack of positive research in this field in China, what we mean by option of technological standard here is the average proportion of capital to labor disposition in micro-economics, which imply that technological option is to economize capital or labor. Experience extracted from development shows that select such technological model as economizing labor, in early stage of modernization,

often leads to deterioration of labor transfer and its development. Wrong selection of such technical standard in early stage often can be attributed to market barrier of factors flowing, strategy laying particular stress on development of heavy industry and policies restricting specially investment and employment and so on.

Influence of urbanization level on labor transfer usually indicate two aspects namely direct influence and indirect influence. Direct influence is resulted from direct attraction of gathering of industry in urban area to employment, while indirect one manifested deepening of division of work of both industry sector and region caused by urbanization, hence, the interlocking expansion of employment in necessary sectors serving to lading sector. Coordinating follow up of urbanization level is decided by government's strategic consideration, mechanism of city forming, employment institution and etc.

We would like to analysis on such theoretical basis relationship between labor transfer and modernization since 1950's.

II. Transfer Hysteresis and Structure Unbalance

Study on labor transfer in the process of economic development of many industrialized countries shows;

1. The transfer of labor from agricultural sector to nonagricultural sector has a hysteresis of percentage comparing to the transfer of GNP proportion from

agricultural sector to nonagricultural sector. Such a tendency can not tend to be reversed and balanced in structure until late stage of industrialization.

2. Capital generating structure obeys the sequence of "Infrastructure service—manufacturing industry—primary industry". 35-40 per cent of net capital generated is concentrated in infrastructure and 30 percent in service sector.

3. The sector structure of the capital per worker leans to the field of infrastructure. The intersectoral difference of net capital per worker assumes tendency of "gradual convergence". Among which deviation of net capital per labor in manufacturing industry from acreage sector value present the tendency of "Convergence at first and then divergency". It means, the capital structure per worker of manufacturing industry closes up to average value while national income per capita ranges from 100 to 300 U.S. \$, while national income per capita exceeds 300 U.S. \$, or rather, 500 U.S. \$, the capital structure per worker of manufacturing industry will evidently deviate from average sector value.

4. Income distribution and demand by population group caused by labor sector structure transfer is correspond to (Kuznets') inverted "U" shape law of "divergency at first and then convergence".

In comparison with this, the labor transfer from 1950's to late 1970's in China has its unique Characteristic, which was manifested mainly:

1. Sector transfer of labor, relative to GNP stru-

cture, was not only hysteresis but much more considerable in terms of level of hysteresis than average level of hysteresis of international multinational model.

The maximum hysteresis coefficient with average national income of 70 to 300 U.S.\$ will account to 54 per cent, 8 per cent higher than average value of multinational model.

2. Structure of capital generating which was embodied the structural order of "manufacturing industry—service—primary industry—infrastructure" differed greatly from that of multinational model. In late 70's, about 40 per cent of net capital was allocated in the field of manufacturing industry, while infrastructure sector shared less than 15 per cent.

3. The capital composition per worker inclined evidently towards the sector of manufacturing industry. The capital composition per worker of manufacturing industry sector is 10 times as much as that of agricultural sector. The multiple even registered 20 times once in 1960's. Apparently it assumed in conventional feature of "divergency at first and then convergence".

4. A considerable income difference between rural population and the urban.

Although distribution of income within urban population group and rural population group presented such feature of equalization as "convergence at first", the difference of average income between urban population group and rural population group was enlarged since rural population could not, through employment shift,

share the gains brought about by industrialization due to restriction of shift of agricultural labor and population. Hence resulted in peculiarity of demand and for motion over that period in China it is the poverty of rural population restrict the expansion of domestic market.

Then what are the reasons to cause unconventionality and hysteresis of labor transfer in comparison with international experience, our trial explanation is.

1. Because we adopted at that time the developing strategy of giving priority to manufacturing industry and heavy industry in particular and made investment leaning to industry and heavy industry particularly, we have adopted such concealed tax levy policy as fixing price in primary industry by government. The policy not only restrained the capability and incentive to develop primary industry, but also due to the recessive subsidy for manufacturing industry, weakened the efficiency of those sectors.

2. Adoption of the policy of recessive cost subsidy over long period, at one hand, encouraged the demand by manufacturing industry for investment, hence results in overextended capital construction line which make primary industry and infrastructure industry become a bottle neck of development, at the other hand reduced the competitive pressure over enterprises. Simply because of that, the capital output coefficient of enterprise over that period amounted only 0.277, 40 per cent less than that of multinational model in the world which registered some what 0.45. This making capital accumulation is

of extension type character-relying chiefly on the reduction of consumption.

3. Long term continuation of extensional capital accumulation restrained normal expansion of market contain, weakened vitality of creation of opportunity for labor transfer and increasing of economy. The annual growth rate of non-agricultural employment opportunity registered in 1970's was even 50 per cent less than that of annual growth of labor.

4. Caused by elimination of factor market, the factors were splitted and kept in many narrow regions. Thus the opportunity to rectify micro economically the error of macro investment strategy was missed because every microeconomic investor like to put into more capital rather than labor, the option of technical standard of resource allocation diverged from such actual condition of "surplus labor and short capital" in China and employment elasticity of accumulated capital was also reduced. Over the period of 1957 to 1977 the employment elasticity of accumulated capital was only 0.436. It was in turn magnified the unfavorable [faults of investment strategy for transfer of labor.

5. The faults of technical standard option sharpened the employment contradiction between demand and supply of non-agricultural labor. In order to alleviate the contradiction and uphold stability, we had to put into effect a series of policies of blockading cities from countrysides, settling down of education youths in countryside, special household registration and etc. As the

difference between urban and rural area enlarged, accumulation slowed, market shrieked and labor transfer bogged down.

III. Institution Reform and Acceleration of Labor Transfer

As a result of acceleration of labor transfer, Nonagricultural employment increased by 7.4 per cent annually over the period of 1977 to 1988, 81 per cent faster than that of 1957 to 1977. Hence relaxed considerably hysteresis of labor transfer. While the portion of nonagricultural employment went up from 25 per cent to 40 per cent and hysteresis coefficient of agricultural employment portion relative to that of net agricultural output value reduced from 54 percent of prereform to 42 per cent. With reduction of agricultural employment portion the deviation of inter-sectorial capital composition per worker has also reduced. The hysteresis coefficient of average capital of per agricultural labor reduced by 5 per cent and extra coefficient of average capital of per industrial labor reduced about 50 per cent, so that industrial structure tend to be coordination.

The visible direct cause leading to acceleration of labor transfer in past 10 years included mainly;

1. The output efficiency of capital increased considerably although accumulation rate decreased in comparison with original one. The average efficiency coefficient which amounted from 0.277 before 1978 to 0.345 after 1978. Which has raised 0.439 since 1985. It showed

that accumulation had been changed from extensional model relying on reduction of consumption to intensional model depending on efficiency. Apparently it is extremely beneficial to the transfer of labor.

2.Fluidity of the factors had been enhanced, thus the option of technical standard tended further to labor intensive model and employment elasticity coefficient of capital increased from 0.435 registered over 20 years before 1978 to 1.345 after 1978 which will surely be favorable to labor transfer.

3.Blockade to prevent nonagricultural employment in urban area from that in rural area had been broken through evidently. So that distribution model of income and demand between urban and rural was reversed to be beneficial to transfer of labor i.e.Gini coefficient of income distribution both in the rural and urban area expanded. However average income of population group in the rural and the urban as well as, the differences in their demand had presented the tendency of convergence.Consequently the poor situations of rural population alleviated greatly. The contribution of countryside to expansion of market from 30 to 40 per cent of prereform to 50 to 60 per cent. It is of vital importance to the development of industry and commerce as well as transfer of labor.

Readjustment of developing strategy and reform of economic institution were farther reasons to cause acceleration of labor transfer. Readjustment of developing strategy was manifested the rectification of strategy to

give priority to the development of heavy industry, while institutional reform manifested a multiple reform in investment subject and partial introduction of factor market. So as to intensify competition environment and speed up flow of factors.

However transfer of labor in this period in China was of an evident uncommon character of i. e. the transfer of labor was mainly realized through rural enterprises which served as carrier. As far as newly transferred labor concerned, the contribution coefficient even registered 61 per cent. By contrast the contribution coefficient of urban collector together with state run enterprises was only 39 per cent. Since, in comparison with state owned enterprise, the rural enterprise had better competition environment and resource fluidity, it is of the characters of higher capital efficiency and lower technical standard option. Hence cut down the marginal cost of labor transfer and accelerated the transfer of labor. Especially in such state as unbalanced structure caused by long term restrict in farmers to enter the investment field of nonagricultural sector, rise of rural enterprise attached great significance to rectifying deviation of technical standard option and acceleration of labor transfer. However from long term a point of view, Labor transfer had already been faced a clash between structure function of rural enterprise and that of urban enterprise, which was principally indicated in a chase of rapid development of rural enterprise and hysteresis of urban "increasing nucleus". Such a hysteresis