

河南省软科学研究计划项目

人口流动与 社会经济发展

——基于河南省情况的统计观察

○ 赵乐东 著



中国农业大学出版社

ZHONGGUONONGYEDAXUE CHUBANSHE

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前 言

自 20 世纪 80 年代至今,我国发生了人类历史上规模最大的人口流动,对我国社会经济造成了巨大的影响,引起了人们对人口流动和流动人口问题的极大关注。同国外的人口流动相比,我国的人口流动具有显著的特点。研究我国的人口流动问题,不仅要研究人口流动本身,而且要涉及经济发展、社会管理、城乡差别、劳动就业以及户籍制度、分配制度,等等。本书在全国人口流动的大背景下,结合河南的实际,采用定性分析与定量分析相结合、动态分析与静态分析相结合、理论分析与实证分析相结合的方法,对人口流动与社会经济发展问题进行了探讨。全书共分七章,第一章阐述了与人口流动有关的一些基本问题,第二至第六章是本书的主体部分,对人口大规模流动的具体问题、人口流动对社会经济发展的影响、社会经济发展程度与人口流动的关系等重要问题,进行了比较系统地研究。最后一章是本书研究的基本结论。

本书得到河南省科技厅软科学计划项目“中原崛起中的河南人口流动战略研究”的支持。

由于作者理论有限,又是人口流动问题研究领域的“新兵”,因此,书中可能存在许多瑕疵、谬误和差错,恳请读者批评。

赵乐东

2007 年 3 月

Abstract

Population flow is a kind of social economic phenomenon since ancient times. According to the characteristics of population flowing in contemporary China, we can divide it into two kinds, population flow of registered and non-registered permanent residence, which are determined by China's peculiar household register system. Population flow involves two kinds of situations from the essence, namely migration and mobility, the former refers to those leaving its original resident place for rather a long time, here in this thesis, the time is defined as more than half a year; the latter means the flow among different professions and industries of national economy.

Floating population of China in 2000 raises up to 144 million people, among which 42.419 million people flow trans-provincially. The subjects of China's population flow are peasants, and the directions of their flowing are whether from countryside to towns and cities (mainly cities), or from the developing area to developed areas (mainly the southeast coastal area). The population flow among many developing countries has a lot of similarities with that in China. China's so extensive population flow is influenced by a lot of external conditions, not completely because of China's large population. China implements special household register system. Population flow was strictly limited before 1980s; people in the countryside were unable or couldn't flow to the cities and towns. After 1984, the restrictions of population flow were relaxed a bit, and there was a quick increase of the population flow from countryside to towns. At this moment, because of the gradual implementation of reform policies and opening to the outside world, the road traffic got a fast development, the cities and towns were in sufficient supply, people's housing conditions were improved, enterprises increased, the system of society's employing new labors reformed, the scale of service profession was expanded, all these have improved the accepting ability and holding capacity of cities and towns to the floating population. In the countryside, the implementation of the agricultural responsible system greatly

liberated the productive forces, and peasants have regained "freedom", but the improvement of the productivity has turned numerous people in the countryside into "surplus labors", namely rural jobless people. This thesis estimates that 16.79 million labors in the countryside of Henan Province need to move or migrate to non-agricultural industry, or to cities and towns. The most important factor causing rural residents' outflow is their average low income. The average income of city and town residents is 1~2 times higher than those rural residents all the time, which is an enormous pulling factor for cities and towns, but in the rural area, it is a pushing factor. Many surplus labors in the countryside, together with other unfavorable factors, including low income, scarce basic education resources, low education quality and the disappearance of the social security system form a strong push for the population flow.

Generally speaking, the extensive population flow from the countryside to cities and towns will bring enormous pressures to urban employment, make a rapid increase for urban jobless people. But the fact is not always the case. In Henan Province, the registered number for city and town unemployment was 250.9 thousand in 1990; 201.1 thousand in 1995; 214 thousand in 2000; and 263.1 thousand in 2003, which did not have a notable increase, but the unemployment rate actually decreased. Even if the urban unemployment population increases, it is still not a bad thing, because if the urban unemployment number increases several ten thousand, the unemployment number in the countryside will reduce several million. This change of the town-countryside unemployment pattern has brought positive influence on a lot of respects of the whole national economic and social development

Peasants flowing into cities and towns often obtain employment in the "intermediate zone", that is to say, their salary income is lower than that of the urban residents, but their works are bitter than those of the urban residents, and their working time is longer than that of the urban residents. It is such working condition that causes the situation that, floating population has work to do, while urban residents are jobless. This kind of unemployment is "conditional unemployment" (the unemployment due to the dissatisfaction with the working posts). Floating population in city "intermediate zone" working 5~6 month

might get the income higher than their working in the countryside for one year. In the countryside, agricultural labor productivity is the lowest and its payment is still the lowest, together they cause the mobility or movement of rural laborers from agricultural industry to non-agricultural industry. Because of having limited scales, the rural non-agricultural industry does not develop fully, which has a low accepting capacity for agricultural workforces. Increasing the labor productivity of rural non-agricultural industry will produce further push power for the existing rural laborers.

Among the floating population, primary school graduates and junior middle school graduates occupy the greatest proportion, and their education standard represents the education standard of the floating population on the whole. The average education standard of the rural outflow population is higher than that of those rural un-floating population; the proportion engaged in physical labors in rural floating population is higher than that of the urban floating population; as for those relatively "honorable positions", they are obtained mostly by urban floating population. Compared with laborers of cities and towns, floating population is in the weak position; compared with floating population of cities and towns, rural floating population is in the weak position.

Provincial capital is the largest "population flowing centre" of a province, but the capital of a country might not be the largest "population flowing centre" of a country. Apart from some factitious factors (restrictions not allowing flowing population excessively entering big cities), this is decided by economic development degree and growth momentum. Henan Province is the net outflow population province, the counties (or cities) having net inflow population inside the province concentrate on the areas around the railway lines, and mainly near the areas of Longhai Railway and the northern part of it. Seldom are counties (or cities) of net inflow population in the areas south of Zhengzhou, —even if near Beijing-Guangzhou Railway. Everyone knows that "It is better to be in a higher social position", the north part of Henan Province is just the "higher social position" of Henan Province.

Compared with the situation 20 years ago, the scale of the population flow of registered permanent residence does not have remarkable changes, this mainly

dues to the reason that there is no reform of household register system which divides and rules in urban and rural areas of our country. Within the past 20 years, the scale of the moving population of the unregistered permanent residence increased several times. Hubei, Shanxi, Anhui, Shaanxi, Shandong, Hebei, Xinjiang, Sichuan, and Zhejiang are several "partner provinces" of Henan Province, where people of Henan Province flow into those provinces in large quantity. But during the last ten years, because of the relatively low social economic development level in Henan Province, the status of being the destination of floating population coming from other provinces has decreased greatly. The outflow population of Henan has more than 3 million, which is smaller than the outflow population in other provinces, including Hunan, Jiangxi, Anhui and Sichuan, the outflow population rate is even lower—no matter the flow within the province or among different provinces.

Population flow will influence the area both flowing in and out. The population flow theory advocated by a famous American economist M. P. Todaro can not well explain that population flow in China. Practice has proved that rural residents' flowing into towns and cities in a large scale has not caused great influence on the employment of cities, nor has appeared serious "urban disease", but on the contrary, it has made great contributions to the economic growth of the inflow areas. It is estimated that, in 2000, GDP produced by floating population throughout China occupying 14.46% of the total GDP that year, and the GDP produced by the floating population of Henan Province occupying 7.09% of the GDP of Henan Province. Population flow has greatly reduced the rural unemployment rate, and the reducing of the unemployment rate means the economic improvement of rural residents. In Henan Province, if the rural laborers can all obtain employment effectively, then peasants' net income will be raised by one time at the present income level. The consumption of the floating population can also play an important role in developing the local economy.

As far as the outflow area (mainly the countryside) is concerned, apart from reducing the rural unemployment, the population flow can also increase rural residents' cash income by a large scale, which is the most important factor troubling lives and productions of peasants. However, the population of the

labor force with relatively higher cultural qualities flowing from rural areas is unfavorable to the continuing social development and rural economy, and at the same time, it will have a passive impact on the countryside where social security system has not been established, and it will also cause the question of rural families' supporting parents more serious.

Nationwide population flow plays and will continue play an important role in forming the unified labor market in urban and rural areas, changing the employment structure, disposing the human resources in urban and rural areas fully and effectively, improving the social labor productivity and promoting quicker development of national economy.

Population flows towards the area where the social economic development level is rather high. This phenomenon is determined by the pushing and pulling forces of the outflow and inflow areas. "Pushing" and "pulling" forces are two aspects of a thing, namely the factor that influences population flow may be the pushing, or pulling force; the pulling force of the inflow area actually is the pushing force of the outflow area. With the changes of situations, pulling and pushing forces may decline or increase. So based on the "pushing-pulling force theory" of population flow, we may choose factors influencing population flow to calculate the "pushing-pulling force coefficient" of different areas in China. As long as factors chosen are abundant, it can fully reflect different respects of population flow, and the coefficient will be effectual. When the coefficient is a positive number, it represents the pulling force; the reverse represents the pushing force.

The mark of "pushing-pulling force coefficient" in a certain area should be the same as the mark of the net inflow rate in this area, namely when the coefficient is "+", the population net inflow rate is also "+", which shows a relatively high social economic development level in this area, and the population flow is net inflow; when the coefficient is "-", the population net inflow rate also is "-", which shows this area's social economic development is relatively low, and the population flow is net outflow. When the absolute value of coefficient approaching zero, it means the social economic development in this area is among the medium-size (average) in the whole country.

The scale of population flow is not the larger, the better, it should have an appropriate scale, and the critical point of this "appropriate scale" is the scale when the population flow does not cause negative effects on the whole national economic and social development as a whole, that is the scale meeting the needs of population and workforce which does not influence the sound social and economic development of rural areas. The essential measures to adjust the scale of population flow are to develop the countryside synthetically, to promote its overall development and progress and to narrow the differences between cities and countryside, especially the level of income.

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第一章 绪 论

第一节 人口流动的研究背景

一、人口流动史回顾

(一)人口及其流动

人口,是在一定的社会历史条件下,生活在某一特定地域内的一定数量的人的总称。这些人具有一定的文化背景,一定的风俗习惯,遵循一定的社会道德或社会规范,在一定的生产方式下从事一定的社会生产和生活活动。

人是一切生产活动、生活活动和社会活动的主体。人口流动是伴随着人类社会的产生、发展而产生和变化的。

在远古时代,现代意义上的人类尚未出现,因此,人口也无从谈起。在漫长的进化过程中,类人猿逐步学会使用简单的工具,但即使在这时也不能说人类社会已经产生。科学家们发现,如今生活在非洲原始丛林里的大猩猩,也会使用简单的工具,甚至还具有某种“创造性”。但大猩猩的社会,不能称为“人类社会”。也就是说,在人类的祖先学会使用工具时还不能称为“人类”,只有到了他们会真正制造生产工具的时候,人类才产生。据考证,在几百万年以前,即第三纪晚期最进步的南方古猿已经能够制造工具,从而在人类和其他一切动物之间,划出了一条深刻的、愈来愈宽的鸿沟。

人类的产生,同时也就是人类社会的产生。在原始社会的早期,人类只会制造和使用简单的工具,生产力极其低下,生产成果极其有限,要想在同野兽和其他自然灾害的斗争中生存下来,他们就必须团结起来,合作生产,共同生活,统一行动。于是,“社会”产生了,“人口”出现了。由于生产力低下,早期人类赖以生存的食物基本靠采集野果和狩猎来取得,数量极其有限;同时,由于野兽也时刻威胁着人类的生存,因此,他们必须成群结队地行动,而且经常变换自己的聚居地,以求得更安全的生活,于是,有了“人口流动”,同时“流动人口”也产生了。此后漫长的岁月中,人类一直在不断地同自然界进行着斗争,不断地改变着他们的栖息地,并因此形成了一个逐水草而居的游牧民族,即使到了后来人类改造自然的能力和创造物

质财富的能力有了巨大的提高,人们仍然选择濒临江河湖海的地区作为他们的聚居地。在一定程度上,人类社会生存和发展的轨迹,就是一个人口流动的轨迹。从这个意义上讲,人类社会的发展史,就是人口流动的历史。

人类在同自然的抗争中,不断地发展和壮大着自己,人口的数量不断地增加,人类活动的地域范围不断地扩大,从而形成了不同的“流派”、不同的分支、不同的民族、不同的国家。

虽然自人类社会产生以来人口流动就一直在进行着,但人口流动由于其规模较大以及对流出地和流入地产生的亘古未有的影响而成为受人关注的社会问题,则是很久以后的事。

最早的人口流动,可能发生于人类躲避自然灾害、寻找更加安全合适的居住地的行动,实际上,这也是人口迁移的最基本的动因,而类似的迁移行为今天仍在世界各地发生着。据考证,公元前 40000 年前后,居住在亚洲(很可能是中国)的一部分人类,经西伯利亚最初宽度只有 100 米的白令海峡陆桥,到达阿拉斯加,成为人类最早的远距离的大规模流动。公元前 25000 前后,人类流动的足迹已经到达澳大利亚。在公元前 10000 前后,人类基本上已经占据了六大洲大陆上的全部土地^①。

但在人类社会漫长的进化与发展过程中,在人类艰难地四处流动、寻求和开拓更为优越的生存空间的过程中,并不总是风平浪静的,更非总是自觉自愿的。或者毋宁说,人类的流动总是被自然的或社会的因素逼迫的、充满艰辛的。

(二)古代人口流动的主要原因

中国是世界四大文明古国之一,有几千年的文明历史。从某种意义上讲,考察中国古代人口流动的历史,就是考察世界古代人口流动的历史。

中国古代经历了大大小小几十个朝代,而不论哪个朝代都发生过大规模的人口流动。这里仅根据研究需要选取历史长河中人口流动的一些史实,而不进行系统的人口流动史的研究。

(1)战争造成人口流动。在古代,战争是造成人口流动的重要原因和主要方式之一。统治阶级之间的战争、封建王朝的更替以及由此造成的难民,无疑是造成人口大规模流动的主因。史学研究表明,我国春秋时期(公元前 770 年—公元前 476 年),兼并战争频频发生,仅在 240 年的鲁史里,就记有列国兼并的军事行动 483 次,平均每年 2 次^②。秦始皇(公元前 250 年—公元前 210)统治时期,先后多次强

①胡焕庸,张善余:《世界人口地理》,华东师范大学出版社,1982年,P2~3。

②路遇,滕泽之:《中国人口通史》,山东人民出版社,1999年,P43。

制性地迁徙人口,总计约 180 万人,占当时总人口的 9%左右^①。可以说,如此大规模的强制性人口流动,无论是在中国古代史还是世界古代史上,都是极其罕见的。

(2)工程性人口流迁。秦始皇修筑万里长城曾发丁 40 万人,这是出于政治军事的考虑;为其穷奢极欲的生活而修筑的阿房宫、骊山墓,就征召天下能工巧匠 70 万人^②。隋炀帝(公元 560 年—公元 618 年)登基后的三四年间,建东都(洛阳)、开济渠(运河)、筑长城、凿驰道,动用男女人口劳力 500 多万人^③。这些人除有一部分是本地者外,绝大部分都需要从全国各地招募,而且这些工程都规模巨大,旷日持久,因此,那时的人口流动,定会对当时的社会经济发展产生极大的消极影响。沉重的徭役和赋税,往往使得百姓难以忍受。大规模的流动人口所蕴藏的能量是巨大的,一旦这种能量充分聚集,并受到某种因素的引导或者诱导,就会迅速释放出来,导致巨大的社会变革是完全可能的。秦朝的覆灭就证明了这一点。

(3)屯垦和戍边而发生的人口流动。这样的人口流动,在中国历史上每个朝代都存在,因为这是开发边疆、保卫边疆、保障国家安全所必需的。

(4)灾荒造成的人口流动。这样的人口流动在历史上真是数不胜数,如旱灾、洪涝灾、蝗灾等等,都会造成农产品颗粒无收,迫使众多人口流离失所。人们将这样的人口流动叫做“流民运动”。

(三)人口争夺

在科学技术和生产力水平十分低下的古代,人口数量的多少对战争胜负有决定性的影响,没有一定规模的人口,战争便无以进行;很多情况下,没有一定的人口规模优势,战争便难以取胜。不仅如此,人口数量的多少还同社会生产能力和社会财富的创造能力的大小密切相关。在我国奴隶社会和封建社会,人口是最重要也是最主要的生产力,是最主要的社会资源和财富,奴隶主和封建统治者占有人口的多寡,在一定程度上决定着国家强弱与兴衰,决定着国家的生存与灭亡,统治者深谙此道。因此,人口就成了他们争夺的对象。

通常有两种争夺人口的方式,都可以引起人口较大规模的流动。

一种方式是通过制定具有吸引力的移民政策,“招徕”和吸引他国人民到本国定居,我们不妨将其称为“政策性争夺”。政策性争夺是一种“文明争夺”,一般来讲,这种争夺对流动人口本身有益而无害。它一方面增加了本国人口的数量,增强了本国的势力,所谓“人多势众”;另一方面,减少了他国人口,削弱了他国的实力,

①路遇,滕泽之:《中国人口通史》,山东人民出版社,1999年,P72~73。

②路遇,滕泽之:《中国人口通史》,山东人民出版社,1999年,P74。

③路遇,滕泽之:《中国人口通史》,山东人民出版社,1999年,P338。

所以是一种一箭双雕的争夺。早在 2 000 多年前商鞅(公元前 390 年—公元前 338 年)就提出了“徕民”政策,招徕他国人口,并给他们以田地、房屋,减免其税赋和徭役,“利其田宅而复之三世”。唐朝(公元 618 年—公元 907 年)为招徕因战乱而逃亡塞外的人口,曾规定免役 3~5 年,甚至可以“赎回”他们。

另一种争夺人口的方式也是历朝历代统治者最常用的办法,就是通过战争掳掠和强迫迁徙等强制性手段争夺人口,增加或保存本国(本地区)人口数量。他们甚至以大量杀戮人口的方式来达到减少敌国人口数量的目的。我们不妨将这种争夺称为“暴行争夺”。“暴行争夺”会对流动人口造成直接的、巨大的伤害和耗损。例如东汉(公元 25 年—公元 220 年)时期,董卓挟持献帝(公元 190 年—公元 220 年)从洛阳迁都长安,就曾胁迫数百万人口大迁徙,使洛阳由都城变成了无人之地^①。

(四)流民和流民运动

“流民”,是指因战争、灾害和饥谨等原因而无法在原籍生存、流离失所、四处漂泊的贫苦农民。当流民人数达到一定规模时,就称为“流民运动”。流民运动是我国历史上一种特殊的人口流动,战争和饥荒是其形成的基本原因。

在中国历史上,明代(公元 1368 年—公元 1644 年)大概是流民问题比较严重的朝代之一。例如,明代几次与河南有关的历史记载说明地处中原的河南在历史上确为大量流民的目的地和来源地:永乐十九年(公元 1421 年),“河南水灾,民多流亡,长吏不加恤”,造成大量人口死亡;7 年后,宣德三年(公元 1428 年),山西饥民流徙河南 10 万人;13 年后,正统六年(公元 1441 年),山东、陕西流民就食河南者 20 余万人;“流徙河南”“就食河南”者,即流入河南寻求生路的流民。相隔仅 13 年,就有 30 万人口流入,可以想象对当时河南土著人口生存的压力和影响,更可以想象流入者的苦难困境;11 年以后,景泰三年(公元 1452 年),南畿(今安徽、江苏)、河南、山东,均出现大批流民,其中河南逃民 20 余万户,100 余万人,流徙江汉之间。(据推算,明代时河南总人口也不过 200 多万人^②,竟有 100 余万人成为逃荒的流民而流离他乡,可见当时流民规模之大,范围之广,程度之重)。24 年后,成化十二年(公元 1476 年),湖广(今湖南、湖北两省地)、河南、陕西经招抚编入户籍的 113 000 户,438 000 口^③。河南、山西巡抚于谦抚定诸省流民也有 34 230 户……至少

①路遇,滕泽之:《中国人口通史》,山东人民出版社,1999 年,P172。

②赵文林,谢淑君:《中国人口史》,人民出版社,1988 年,P364。

③路遇,滕泽之:《中国人口通史》,山东人民出版社,1999 年,P663~664。

有 30 多万人口^①。而对于流民,封建统治者的态度是恶劣和残忍的。1428 年,山西流入河南的人口,不仅得不到官府的安置,反而受到官府的遣散驱赶,出现大批死亡。当流民被迫起义时,他们就派官军镇压,造成更多的死亡。

饥寒交迫、背井离乡、走投无路、抛儿弃女、朝不虑夕、饿殍遍地,是古代流民的惨状。张养浩的《哀流民操》就是一幅揪心撕肺的“流民图”:

哀哉流民,为鬼非鬼,为人非人。

哀哉流民,男子无袍,妇女无完裙。

哀哉流民,剥树食其皮,掘草食其根。

哀哉流民,昼行绝烟火,夜宿依星辰。

哀哉流民,父不子厥子,子不亲厥亲

哀哉流民,言辞不忍听,号泣不忍闻。

哀哉流民,朝不敢保夕,暮不敢保晨。

哀哉流民,死者已满路,生者与鬼邻。

哀哉流民,一女易斗粟,一儿钱数文。

哀哉流民,甚至不得将,割爱委路尘。

哀哉流民,何时天雨粟,使汝俱生存^②。

这就是古代流民的生存写照。“何时天雨粟,使汝俱生存。”腐朽的封建统治者既不可能使“天雨粟”,也根本不会顾及人民的死活,从一定程度上说,古代的流民运动正是封建王朝腐朽统治的产物。

中国古时候的人口迁徙和流民,与现代社会的人口迁徙和人口流动虽然形式上相似,但却有着本质的区别。因此,我们不能将古代的流民和流民运动同中国当今的人口流动和流动人口相提并论。

二、现代人口流动的状况

社会的发展到了今天的时代,人口对国家(或地区)的重要性,已经主要不在于数量的多少,而在于人口质量的高低,在于人才的多寡和素质的高低。但是,这并不是说人口数量对一个国家不重要,例如俄罗斯就在为他们日益减少的人口而发愁。因为如果没有足够多的人口,就无法“填满”和“经营”它那若大的国土。当然,当今世界存在的主要问题是人口过多,控制和减少人口,是绝大多数国家和地区的政策取向。但人口争夺并没有停止,世界各个国家(地区)之间、国内各个地区之间

^①牛建强:《明代的人口流动与社会变迁》,河南大学出版社,1997年3月,P127。

^②转引自池子华:《流民问题与社会控制》,广西人民出版社,2001年,P7~8。