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人口与劳动绿皮书

GREEN BOOK OF POPULATION AND LABOR

中国人口与劳动 问题报告

No.17

迈向全面小康的共享发展

The Shared Development to an Overall Well-off Society

主编 / 蔡昉 张车伟

REPORTS ON CHINA'S POPULATION AND LABOR (No.17)



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序言

共享发展的内涵、外延与实现路径

蔡 昉*

2015年10月，党的十八届五中全会审议通过了《中共中央关于制定国民经济和社会发展第十三个五年规划的建议》（以下简称《建议》）。在《建议》中，党中央正式提出了“创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享”五大发展理念。上述理念是新的历史时期破解发展难题、增强发展动力、实现发展目标的思想纲领。作为长期关注民生状况的品牌皮书，今年的人口与劳动绿皮书（No. 17）紧紧围绕“共享”理念，从“全面二孩”政策调整的社会经济影响、户籍制度改革与“以人民为中心”的城镇化、缩小收入差距、反贫困与共同富裕、劳动力市场建设与和谐发展、社会保障制度的改革及完善等层面，细致深入地探讨当下中国民生领域的重点话题。

在我国经济发展进入新常态的情况下，推进改革开放、加大对“短板”领域的投资力度等措施皆有紧迫性和现实性。我们也倾向于认为，在经济增长减速的情况下，更应借助共享发展来延续中国奇迹。当然，在系统论证本书观点之前，首先得廓清“共享”的概念，以及共享发展的内涵、外延与实现路径。

从概念来看，与共享式发展较为接近的是“包容性增长”（Inclusive Growth）。该词较早见于亚洲开发银行2007年的一项报告。2010年9月16日，时任国家主席胡锦涛在出席第五届亚太经合组织人力资源开发部长级会议开幕式时，发表题为《深化交流合作，实现包容性增长》的讲话中，再

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次提到了“包容性增长”。为了避免“包容性增长”被曲解为可以包容经济增长过程中的负面因素，人们倾向于用“共享式发展”来替代、升华“包容性增长”。换言之，“共享式发展”是“包容性增长”的升级版。当然，类似的提法还有“基础广泛的增长”“分享型增长”“益贫式增长”，但在内涵和外延上都没有“共享发展”深广。

那么，什么是共享？有学者认为，共享即共同体内不同的行为主体，经由某种制度安排和机制设计，实现对财富、收入、利益、信息、知识和技术等资源的分享。共享或分享的目的，在于达成各行为主体间的协调或均衡发展，即实现共享性发展^①。从权威解读来看，共享的内涵主要有全民共享、全面共享、共建共享和渐进共享等四大方面^②。显然，共享式发展着眼于解决社会公平正义问题，体现了中国特色社会主义本质要求和发展目的。全面建成小康社会，也必须以全体人民的共同进入为根本标志^③。基于此，我们认为共享式发展的内涵和外延在具体表现上至少应该包括以下几个方面，即民生的普遍改善、社会的公平和谐、人民享有更多更好的发展权、各民族共享改革发展成果。

从改革开放 30 多年的发展历程看，我国经济社会的发展可以说是共享式的。这体现在诸多方面。首先是备受关注的收入分配问题。1978 年改革伊始，我国城镇居民人均可支配收入仅为 343.4 元，农村居民人均纯收入仅为 133.6 元。及至 2015 年，城镇居民人均可支配收入增加到 31195 元，农村居民人均纯收入则增至 10772 元。显然，我们的绝对收入水平有了非常大的提高。尽管基尼系数在经济发展过程中曾一度高企，但近些年来，特别是 2009 年之后有了较为明显的下降。国家统计局最新数据显示，2015 年全国居民收入基尼系数为 0.462，是 2003 年以来的最低值。这表明我国的收入分配改革取得了一定的成效。

① 周兴维：《西藏共享性发展理路述要》，《西藏研究》2011 年第 6 期。

② 中共中央宣传部编《习近平总书记系列重要讲话读本（2016 年版）》，学习出版社、人民出版社，2016。

③ 蔡昉：《践行五大发展理念 全面建成小康社会》，《光明日报》2015 年 11 月 5 日。



在反贫困方面，我国也取得了巨大成就，实现了世界上规模最大的减贫。1978年，按当时我国政府确定的贫困标准每人每年100元统计，温饱不保的贫困人口多达2.5亿，占农村总人口的30.7%。而按照每人每年2300元（2010年不变价）的农村扶贫新标准计算，2015年农村贫困人口已减至5575万，贫困发生率大幅下降。事实上，根据购买力平价法计算，中国的扶贫标准是高于国际贫困标准的。世界银行、联合国开发计划署等国际机构也承认，30年来全人类取得的减贫成就，2/3应归功于中国^①。在迈向“十三五”的进程中，中央制定了精准扶贫战略，该战略是对以往扶贫工作的发展和补充。可以预期，随着对贫困的精准识别、精准帮扶、精准管理和精准考核，我国的反贫困事业将会进一步取得重大突破，民生也将不断改善。

户籍制度改革不仅有利于生产要素在城乡和区域间的流动，提高资源配置效率、推动新型城镇化建设，还有利于人民享有更多更好的发展权，有利于构建和谐稳定的社会环境，是共享发展的重要一环。这些年来，随着户籍制度的改革、农民工社会保障的强化，我国农民工得以保持着庞大的规模，2015年，全国农民工总量高达27747万人，其中外出农民工16884万人。

人均预期寿命的延长则反映了营养、健康和医疗卫生条件的改善，也是共享式发展的重要体现。统计数据显示，2015年我国人均预期寿命已达76.34岁，比1982年第三次全国人口普查时的67.77岁延长了8.57岁，这是很了不起的。人力资本积累是另一项重要成就。1982年我国每十万人中仅拥有615名大专及以上学历人口，2015年则上升至12445人，增长了19.24倍。受教育程度的提高不仅能提升劳动者劳动生产率和收入水平，使个人享有更多更好的发展权，真正体现以人为本，而且对社会也能产生正向溢出效应。从这个意义上讲，以人为本与共享式发展相互促进、互为因果。

费孝通先生曾系统论述中华民族的多元一体格局^②。可以说，中华文明

① 蔡昉：《破解中国经济发展之谜》，中国社会科学出版社，2014。

② 费孝通：《中华民族的多元一体格局》，《北京大学学报》（哲学社会科学版）1989年第4期。



是中原文明、高原文明和草原文明相互融合之后的瑰丽和美。中华人民共和国成立以来，各族人民在党和政府的正确领导下，生活水平和生产条件都有了极大提高和改善，社会经济状况发生了翻天覆地的变化。特别是改革开放之后，这一进程得以加速推进，共享式发展特征越发明显。以西藏自治区为例，中央在1980年、1984年、1994年、2001年、2010年和2015年先后召开了六次西藏工作座谈会。在2015年的西藏工作座谈会上，习近平总书记更是强调，“同全国其他地区一样，西藏和四省藏区已经进入全面建成小康社会决定性阶段”，并提出到2020年农牧民的人均纯收入和基本公共服务接近全国平均水平等发展目标。党和政府对民族地区的扶持及重视，将极大推动各族人民在中华民族伟大复兴历史进程中，共享经济社会发展成果，实现共享式发展。

以“大历史”的眼光看，中国已经经历过马尔萨斯式的贫困陷阱、刘易斯式的二元经济发展、刘易斯转折点和索洛式的新古典增长四种增长类型中的前三个过程^①。在越过刘易斯转折点后的新古典增长阶段，中国经济将不可避免地蕴含着许多现实的和潜在的挑战，新常态也许就是这些挑战的综合体现。未来应当如何破局，如何“在增长的迷雾中求索”，是摆在理论家和实操者面前的难题。

如前所述，我们可以借助共享式发展来延续中国奇迹。在实现路径上，共享式发展可从继续深化改革开放，调整户籍制度，完善生育政策，推动劳动力市场建设，提高扶贫效能，密织社会安全网等方面着手。这些都是本书着重探讨的内容，读者可在相关章节获取具体信息。

这里想强调的是，当下及未来的一大工作重心，是如何更有效地实现低收入群体的“收入倍增”，如何密织社会安全网。我们知道，商业秩序的扩展并不能使每个人都得到关照，总有一部分人被排除在生产性经济之外，他们往往会游离在主流社会经济活动之外。这部分人无论是人力资本还是社会

^① 蔡昉：《理解中国经济发展的过去、现在和将来：基于一个贯通的增长理论框架》，《经济研究》2013年第11期。

资本都相对缺乏，我们的社会安全网能否有效“兜住”他们，关乎未来的和谐稳定。在共享式发展道路上，我国取得了不少成就，但也存在着一些不平衡、不协调问题。这是必须承认的现实，不应讳疾忌医。“理念是行动的先导，一定的发展实践都是由一定的发展理念来引领的。”^① 发展理念是否对头，从根本上决定着发展的成效乃至成败。在全面建成小康社会的进程中，在坚持共享式发展的道路上，我们要深入贯彻习近平总书记“坚持以人民为中心的发展思想”，坚持普惠性、保基本、均等化、可持续方向，扫清经济社会发展障碍，破除中等收入陷阱，拥抱中华民族伟大复兴。

^① 中共中央宣传部编《习近平总书记系列重要讲话读本（2016年版）》，学习出版社、人民出版社，2016。

Preface

Connotation and Extension of Shared Development and the Path to Its Realization

Cai Fang*

In October 2015, the Fifth Plenum of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) considered and adopted the “Recommendations for the 13th Five – Year Plan for Economic and Social Development” (“Recommendations”) . In the “Recommendations”, the CPC Central Committee formally proposed the five concepts of development— “Innovative Development, Coordinated Development, Green Development, Open Development, Shared Development” . Above-mentioned concepts are the ideological program to solve the problems of development, enhance driving force for the development, and achieve the goals of development in the new historical period. As a well-known Green Book which concerns the status of people’s livelihood for a long time, this year’s “Reports on China’s Population and Labor (No. 17)” evolves around the concept of “sharing” to investigate the key topics of people’s livelihood in contemporary China in depth. The topics discussed in the report include the socio-economic impact of the universal two-child policy adjustment, the reform of household registration system and the “People – Centered” Urbanization, narrowing the income gap, anti-poverty and common prosperity, the construction and harmonious development of labor market, and the

* Cai Fang, Vice President of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), CASS member.



reform and improvement of social security system and other aspects.

As China's economic development has entered a new normal, it is urgent and realistic to apply some measures including promoting the reform and opening up, increasing the investment on the areas of weakness, and so on. We also tend to think that as economic growth has slowed, we should use shared development to help continue the China miracle. Of course, before systematically demonstrating the insights in this book, we need to clarify the concept of "sharing" and the connotation and extension of shared development and the path to its realization.

From the point of view of the concept, one concept closer to "Shared Development" is "Inclusive Growth". This concept—Inclusive Growth—was found earlier in a report of Asian Development Bank in 2007. On September 16, 2010, Hu Jintao, former President of the People's Republic of China, addressed a speech on "Deepen Exchanges and Cooperation for Inclusive Growth", when he attended the opening ceremony of the Fifth APEC Human Resources Development Ministerial Meeting. In the speech, Hu mentioned "inclusive growth" again. In order to avoid "inclusive growth" misunderstood as containing the negative factors in the process of economic growth, therefore, people tend to use "shared development" instead of "inclusive growth". In other words, "shared development" is an upgraded version of "inclusive growth". Of course, similar wording includes "broad-based growth", "shared growth", and "pro-poor growth", but the connotations and extensions of them are not as broad and deep as those of "shared development".

So, what is sharing? Some scholars believe that sharing is that different actors within the same community achieve a joint use of wealth, income, interest, information, knowledge and technology and other resources, through some institutional arrangements and mechanism design. The purpose of sharing is to achieve the coordinated or balanced development among the various actors, namely shared development^①. From the perspective of authoritative interpretation, the meanings of sharing mainly are four aspects as universal sharing, comprehensive

① Zhou Xingwei (2011), "A Brief Introduction to the Tibetan Shareable Development Venation", *Tibetan Studies*, No. 6.



sharing, co-constructive sharing, and progressive sharing^①. Obviously, shared development focuses on solving the problems of social equity and justice, which reflects the essence and development purposes of the Socialism with Chinese characteristics. Completing the building of a moderately prosperous society must use the common entering of all the people as the basic symbol^②. Based on this, we believe that the connotation and extension of shared development concretely should at least include the following aspects, namely, the general improvement of people's livelihood, social equity and harmony, more and better rights of development enjoyed by people, and fruits of the reform and development shared by all ethnic groups.

From the perspective of more than 30 years' development course of the reform and opening up, China's economic and social development can be viewed as a shared development. This is reflected in many aspects. The first aspect is the income distribution which has been received much concern. At the beginning of the reform in 1978, the per capita disposable income of urban residents in China was only 343.4 yuan; while the per capita net income of rural residents in China was only 133.6 yuan. By 2015, the per capita disposable income of urban residents in China increased to 31,195 yuan; while the per capita net income of rural residents in China increased to 10,772 yuan. Obviously, the level of our absolute income has been improved a lot. Although the Gini coefficient was high in the process of economic development, in recent years, especially since 2009, the Gini coefficient has significantly declined. The latest data from National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China shows that the Gini coefficient of national income was 0.462 in 2015, which was the lowest value since 2003. This indicates that China's income distribution reform has achieved certain results.

In terms of anti-poverty, China has also made great achievements to realize the largest poverty alleviation in the world. In 1978, using the standard of poverty

① Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China edit (2016): "General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping's Series Important Speeches Reader (the 2016 Edition)", Xuexi Press, Renmin Press.

② Cai Fang (2015), "Practice Five Development Concepts, Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society", *Guangming Daily*, December 5, 2015.

line—100 yuan per person per year—determined by our government at that time as the threshold, the population below the poverty line, who was insufficient for clothes and food, was up to 250 million, accounting for 30.7 percent of the total rural population. And using the new standard of rural poverty reduction—2,300 yuan (constant price of 2010) per person per year—as the threshold, the rural population below the poverty line reduced to 55.75 million in 2015; this shows that the incidence rate of poverty dropped significantly. In fact, calculating based on the purchasing power parity, China's poverty line is higher than the international one. International institutes such as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme also acknowledge that two-thirds of the achievements mankind made in poverty alleviation should be attributed to China in the past 30 years^①. In the process of marching toward the “13th Five – Year Plan”, the central government formulated a strategy of taking targeted measures to help people lift themselves out of poverty. The strategy is a supplement and development of the poverty alleviation work in the past. It can be expected that with the targeted identification, targeted help, targeted management, and targeted measures of poverty, China's anti-poverty will make further major breakthroughs and people's livelihood will continue to improve as well.

The reform of household registration system will not only benefit the flow of factors of production between urban and rural areas and regions, improving the efficiency of resources allocation, and promoting the construction of new urbanization, but also benefit people enjoying more and better rights of development and building a harmonious and stable social environment. The reform of household registration system is an important part of the shared development. In the past years, with the reform of household registration system and the strengthening of the social security of migrant workers, China's migrant workers have maintained a large size. In 2015, the total number of national migrant workers was up to 277.47 million, in which 168.84 million was outgoing countryside migrant workers.

^① Cai Fang (2014), *Demystifying the Economic Growth in Transition China*, China Social Sciences Press.



Increase in life expectancy reflects the improvement of nutrition, health and medical and health conditions; it is also an important manifestation of the shared development. Statistics show that in 2015 China's life expectancy reached 76.34 years, which increased for 8.57 years, comparing with the life expectancy—67.77 years—at the time of the third National Population Census of the People's Republic of China in 1982. This is a remarkable achievement. The accumulation of human capital is another important achievement. In 1982, only 615 people had junior college and above per 100000 people in the population in China; while in 2015, that number was up to 12445 people, which increase 19.24 times. Improvement of the level of education not only raise employees' productivity and income levels, so that it makes people enjoy more and better rights of development and truly reflects putting people first; but also benefit the society by generating positive spillover effects. In this sense, people oriented and shared development promote and reinforce each other.

Professor Fei Xiaotong systematically discussed the pattern of diversity in unity of the Chinese nation^①. We can say that Chinese civilization is a magnificent and beauty after the merging of Central – Plains civilization, plateau civilization, and prairie civilization. Since the founding of People's Republic of China, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and government, all the people of China have greatly improved their living standards and production conditions and socio-economic situation has enormous changed. Especially after the reform and opening up, this process has accelerated and the characteristics of shared development have become more and more obvious. Use the Tibet Autonomous Region as an example, the CPC Central Committee held six forums on Tibetan work in 1980, 1984, 1994, 2001, 2010, and 2015, respectively. On the forum on Tibetan work in 2015, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China XI Jinping emphasized that “as with the other regions of China, Tibet and the Tibetan areas in four provinces has entered the decisive stage of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects”, and raised the goals of

① Fei Xiaotong (1989), “The pattern of diversity in unity of the Chinese nation”, *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, Vol. 4.

development including by 2020 the per capita net income of farmers and herdsman and the capacity of basic public services will be close to the national average level. The support and attention of the Party and government on the ethnic minority areas will greatly promote that in the historic process of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, people of all ethnic groups share the fruits of economic and social development, to realize the shared development.

From the perspective of “Macro History”, China has experienced the first three processes of four types of economic growth, which include the Malthusian poverty trap, the Lewis dual economic development, the Lewis turning point and the Solow neoclassical economic growth^①. In the neoclassical growth phase after crossing the Lewis turning point, China’s economy will inevitably contain many realistic and potential challenges. The new normal is perhaps a comprehensive reflection of these challenges. What should be done to break through in the future and how to “the elusive quest for growth” are difficult problems faced in front of theorists and practitioners.

As mentioned earlier, we can use the shared development to continue the China miracle. In terms of the path to its realization, the shared development can embark on continuing to deepen the reform and opening up, adjust the household registration system, improve the fertility policy, promote the construction of labor market, improve the effectiveness of poverty alleviation, closely weave social safety nets and other aspects. These are the contents this book focuses on. Readers can get specific information in the relevant chapters.

Here I would like to emphasize that a major focus of the present and future work is how to achieve the “income doubling” for low-income groups more effectively and how to closely weave the social safety net. We know that the expansion of order of business does not always make everyone get care; while there are always some people who are excluded from the productive economy and are away from the mainstream of socio-economic activities. Those people are relative lack of either human capital or social capital. Whether the social safety net can

① Cai Fang (2013), “ Understanding the Past, Present, and Future of China’s Economic Development: Based on A Unified Framework of Growth Theories”, *Economic Research Journal*, Vol. 11.



effectively “catch” those people or not matter to the harmony and stability in the future. On the path of shared development, China has made a lot of achievements, but there are still some unbalanced and uncoordinated issues. This is a reality that must be acknowledged, which should not be concealed. “Philosophy is the precursor of action, certain practices of development is to be led by certain concept of development”^①. The correctness of the development concept fundamentally determines the effectiveness and even the success or failure of development. In the process of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and on the path of shared development, we need to thoroughly implement the General Secretary Xi Jinping’s “vision of people-centered development”, follow an inclusive, basic, equal, and sustainable direction, clear obstacles for economic and social development, across the middle-income trap, and embrace the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

① Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China edit (2016), *General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping’s Series Important Speeches Reader (the 2016 Edition)*, Xuexi Press, Renmin Press.

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