

中国国情与发展丛书

中国新时期 阶级阶层报告

李培林 主编

SOCIAL
STRATIFICATION

in
THE MARKET TRANSITION
in
CHINA

辽宁人民出版社



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前 言

在现代社会，对阶级阶层利益格局的分析历来是国家、政府和执政党制定各项法律、法规、方针和政策的重要依据。中国自1978年改革开放以来，经济进入了高速增长的起飞时期，社会结构也进入了加速转型的阶段，产业结构、就业结构、城乡结构和阶级阶层结构都发生了显著的变化。经济的转型已使市场机制成为中国整个经济生活中具有决定性意义的主导机制，综合评价的市场对商品和劳务价格的调节范围已达到90%以上。但与此同时，原有利益格局发生迅速的变化，在个人之间、单位之间、行业之间、城乡之间、地区之间、不同所有制部门之间以及劳动收益与资本收益之间，收入的差距和利益的差距都在扩大。在人民生活水平普遍提高的同时，一部分人的收入水平和财产占有规模以超乎寻常的速度提升，同时也有相当一部分人的相对经济地位明显下移。这种变动一方面刺激了对效率和利润的追求，另一方面也导致了社会整合的失序和社会价值观的冲突，引

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起了各种各样的疑虑和部分阶层对自身状况的不满。特别是收入来源方面存在的权钱交易和各种非法行为，有时甚至动摇了人们对改革和社会公正的信念。中国要建设有中国特色的社会主义，就不能回避这些重大的现实问题以及有关的重大理论问题。

中国目前的经济体制改革和社会发展已经进入一个“新时期”：改革初期通过放权让利和体制能量释放使改革参与者普遍受益的过程已经基本结束，改革的深入已越来越触及到利益格局的刚性部分，改革的难度明显地增加了，似乎任何新的改革都要付出巨大的代价和成本，触动一些基本社会群体的利益。特别是目前的体制创新阶段，长期的结构性矛盾和现时期的体制性摩擦纠缠在一起，国家的利益补偿能力尚不足，同时又需要在稳定中以果断的改革开辟前进道路，在这种情况下，对社会基本阶级阶层的利益分析显得格外重要，因为这不仅涉及到如何调整阶级阶层关系、化解社会的利益摩擦和冲突，更重要的是涉及到对改革方案的公共选择以及如何在新时期确立社会公正价值观。在现实中，一项改革方案能否顺利实施和取得成效，并不仅仅取决于方案是否完备或是否符合理性设计，而是取决于能否被大多数参与改革者所接受。虽然说被大多数改革参与者所接受的方案并不就是“最佳的”或“最经济”的方案，但利益上的整合显然是一切改革方案的“可操作性”的基础。

对中国新时期阶级阶层利益关系的分析是本书的主旨。1994年3—4月间，中国社会科学院“建设有中国特色社会

主义理论研究中心”多次开会讨论研究选题，参加讨论的有来自中国社会科学院二十几个研究所的不同研究领域的几十位专家学者，在社会学研究所提交的6个选题中，各位专家学者一致认为，“中国现阶段阶级阶层结构研究”最为重要，最具有现实意义和理论意义。于是，这项课题经申报和评议后，列入了当年中国社会科学院的重点研究课题，由我主持。

为了使这项研究更能够反映中国社会学界在此方面所达到的实际水平，课题组的成员以中国社会科学院社会学研究所的研究人员为主，同时邀请部分在高校和国家部委研究部门以及其他研究单位的知名学者参加，他们多数在该研究领域中都已有所建树。课题组成立后，曾先后多次开会讨论，最后确立了以下几条研究和写作的原则：1. 应正面回答有关阶级阶层关系的重大现实问题和理论问题，不能回避；2. 研究报告以对经验调查材料的实证分析为主，不作无根据的判断；3. 此项课题以对新时期利益格局的分析为主线，把利益的冲突和协调决定改革、发展的局势作为基本前提假设；4. 鉴于近些年来已对各社会阶层做了不少大型问卷调查，而许多调查都只限于一次性的使用和结果描述，此项课题将重点运用和开发已有的问卷调查材料，不再把主要精力放在设计和实施新的问卷调查上；5. 由于此项研究具有很强的探索性特点，我们不强求各位调查和研究报告的作者观点一致，而且欢迎在同一问题上有争论，但要言之有据。因此，本书不完全是同仁作品，各调查研究报告只代表作者本

人的观点，而我则理所当然要对全书负责。

本书各调查和研究报告所使用和开发的大型问卷调查材料主要有：中共中央书记处会同中华全国总工会于1982年进行的我国工人阶级状况抽样调查；中华全国总工会于1986年、1991年（所属工运学院进行）和1992年分别进行的中国职工队伍状况抽样调查；农业部固定观察点办公室对300个固定观察村的年度调查；国家统计局农调队和城调队的家庭住户年度抽样调查；国家计委和中组部等6部门于1993年全国高级自然科学知识分子的抽样调查；中国社会科学院社会学研究所和全国工商联于1993年进行的全国私有企业抽样调查；国家体改委和国家工商局于1991年11月至1992年2月对全国个体私营经济的抽样调查；中国人民大学社会调查中心于1994年全国城乡居民收入差距问题的抽样调查；等等。这些调查的实施和数据的分析处理都花费了大量的人力、物力和财力，问卷设计和数据处理的技术水平也在不断提高，这次对有关材料的开发，我们又再次投入大量劳动和财力，但我们要诚挚地感谢进行这些调查的有关部门和课题组，他们同意我们使用这些调查材料和对我们的大力协助，使我们大大地降低了调查和研究的成本。本书各报告行文中有些按百分比分类的项目，有时加总后与100有微小差额，是因为分类中有“其他”一项，在行文中省略，特此说明。

本书的各篇调查和研究报告都凝聚着作者本人的艰辛劳动和研究成果，没有他们积极和有效的合作，本课题是难以

在一年多的时间内完成的。全书作者分工如下：主报告、结语：李培林；分报告一、七：李强；分报告二：韩俊；分报告三：冯同庆；分报告四：黄平；分报告五：石秀印；分报告六：戴建中；分报告八：王春光；分报告九：沈红；分报告十：樊平；分报告十一：罗红光；附录：孙立平。全书由我设计总体框架、统稿和编纂，如有不当之处和差误，均应由我负责。

在此，我要诚挚地感谢中国社会科学院“建设有中国特色社会主义社会主义理论研究中心”和科研局对这项课题给予的大力支持和指导，同时还要由衷地感谢社会学研究所社会调查中心、办公室和科研处的积极协助。辽宁人民出版社的领导和本书的责任编辑李英健同志从课题一开始就给予积极的关切，热情支持本书的出版，在此一并致谢。

李培林

1995年7月于北京西郊

Introduction: Social Stratification in the Market Transition in China

By Li Peilin

Analysis of the interest pattern in a society has always been the key basis on which the policies are made by the governments and the ruling parties at the modern time. Since 1978 when the new policy of Reform and Open-Door was inaugurated in China, the Chinese economy has begun its taking-off. Accompanying the economic boom, a rapid transition of the social structure is speedy, which is paralleled by the notable changes in industrial structure, employment structure, urban-rural structure and social stratum structure.

The transition from a planned to market economy has enabled market mechanism to be a decisive factor affecting the entire economic life of the Chinese people. According to a general study, 90 percent or more of the prices of commodities and laborers are now regulated by market mechanism.

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Nevertheless, an equally rapid change has been seen in interest differentiation of the society, which is characterized by an widening income disparity between people in different units, different trades, different regions, the enterprises of different ownerships as well as between rural and urban areas. In the meantime, the disparity between labor income and capital profit is also broadening.

Despite the fact that a general improvement of people's living standard has been achieved, the income and capital of certain groups have risen very rapidly while the others' economic status are relatively descending. This change has galvanized a rush for efficiency and profit on the one hand, and resulted in problems in social order and value system on the other, which caused certain suspicions and dissatisfaction from various social strata with the current situation as well as the state of their own. Rampant corruption and various illegal economic behaviors in chasing wealth are, to certain extent, adding to the collapse of the public's belief in justice and their support for the Reform.

The reform of economic system and social development in China has entered into a new period. The first stage of the Reform, during which decentralization of power and redistribution of interests were adopted by the government in order to let the majority of the public benefit from the reform, is drawing to a close.

Movement of the reform has slowed down as the rigid part of the old interest pattern is showing itself to be a drag on the progress. It is clear that all the social reforms would take place at a tremendous cost since it has to be against the interests of some old social groups.

What makes the situation now even more complicated is that the structural contradiction which has existed for a long time and the system conflict broken out in recent years are getting entangled with each other during the new period. Even worse, the government is short of financial power necessary for compensating those who suffer most from the change. Social stability is thus genuinely in crisis.

It is under this circumstance that an interest analysis of different social classes and strata is appearing to be extremely important. It has a significant bearing not only on how social relations will be adjusted and how the interest conflicts between different social groups will be dealt with, but also on how to work out a reform blueprint which will benefit the majority of the public, and how to foster a fair-minded social value during the new period.

Actually, smooth implementation of a reform plan is not merely determined by whether or not the plan is perfect in theory. It usually depends mainly upon to what extent it can be accepted by the majority of the public. Despite the fact that the majority-supported plan may not be the perfect and most eco-

conomic one, it is obvious that the interest conformity will provide a foundation on which all the reform plans will be operable.

This book is mainly devoted to an analysis of the interest relations between different social classes and different strata in contemporary China. In order to mirror the sociological study of social classes nowadays in China, a number of celebrated scholars from universities, research institutes and government departments are involved in the work while the research fellows from the Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences form its main bodies.

Consisted of one general report and 12 reports, the book was written on the assumption that conflicts of interests as well as their settlements will determine how the reform will develop. What made the book special is that all the reports were based on empirical study or survey. Since the study of interest conflicts and their solutions is a starting work in China, it is not required for authors of the reports to share one standard or view in common and, accordingly, arguments based on their own data and views are welcomed. Therefore, each paper in the book represents its author's point of view. As the chief editor, I am fully responsible for the book as a whole.

The surveys through questionnaire based on which these reports were written include: the sampling survey on the Chinese working class jointly conducted by the Secretariat of the

Party's Central Committee and All-China Federation of Trade Unions in 1982, the sampling surveys on the condition of Chinese workers conducted by the Institute of Workers' Movement under the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in 1986, 1991 and 1992, the annual survey of 300 sampling villages conducted by the Agriculture Ministry, the annual sampling survey on urban and rural households conducted by the State Statistics Bureau, the national sampling survey on senior natural scientists conducted by six institutes including that of Sociology, CASS, organized by State Planning Commission in 1993, the national sampling survey on private enterprises jointly conducted by the Institute of Sociology, CASS, and All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the national sampling survey on private enterprises conducted from November 1991 to February 1992 by State Commission of System Reform and State Bureau of Industry and Commerce, and the national sampling survey on the income disparity of urban and rural residents conducted by the Social Survey Center, People's University of China in 1994.

Conducting the surveys and analyzing the data were complicated tasks at the expenditure of tremendous financial and man power. Advanced technology were applied in designing the questionnaire and processing data. Eventually, we invested a great amount of money and man power again in studying these materials. We should, in any case, express our gratitude to those institutes mentioned above for their high-quality work as

well as the kindness for granting us to use these materials which, no doubt, reduced the cost for producing the book to a great extent.

This book is embodied painstaking works and precious studies of all the authors. Without their sincere cooperation and efficient work the publication of this book within one year is impossible. As the chief-editor of the book I should express my deep thanks to them and assume responsibility for any fault.

The General Report listed the major factors which result in great change in social stratification and interest differentiation since the Reform and Open-Door Policy was adopted in 1978:

— In policy making the government has abandoned the previous principles to base everything on class struggle, to attribute all the interest conflicts happening during the process of social development to “class antagonism”, and stratify social classes according to different ideological stands. It, instead, has called for re-adjusting the interest pattern according to the principle of material interest, putting forward that “some people should be encouraged to become rich through labor first.”

— The moderate process of reform throughout the 1980s was guided by the policy of decentralization of power and redistribution of interests. As a result, a multi-polar interest pattern has taken form which consists of various of comparatively independent interest groups and different power holders.

— The situation of co-existence of various ownerships in

the economic development rather than the domination by state- and collective ownerships has given rise to some new social classes and interest groups.

— The modification of China's industrial structure has provided an opportunity for over 100 million agricultural farmers to become industrial workers. As a result, the old management system of urban residents based on permanent resident certificates and units are being seriously challenged and watered down. The emergence of the clear-cut professional and vocational division has brought about different interest groups within the previous social classes. And the commonly-accepted value in the past that social status was equal to income and prestige has been shattered.

Based on a great amount of materials and data, the General Report analyzes ten key issues about social stratification and interest differentiation, which have been controversially discussed among Chinese social scientists. These issues are:

1) Whether or not has the poor-rich polarization appeared in Chinese society? By employing Gini Coefficient analysis and the Five-level Method, the report argues that the Chinese society has not suffered from serious income disparity at present time yet. The situation seems threatening just because the Reform was launched at the background of extreme equalitarianism. Nevertheless, the current trend of income disparity is becoming out of rein because, in reality, broadening of the dis-

parity in property owning is at a much faster speed than that of income disparity. Even worse, a considerable amount of capital or income were acquired through illegal channels or corruption. Consequently, the widening disparity has been expanded to be a monster in people's mind, threatening public's tolerance.

2) Concerning the relations between income disparity and economic growth, the author points out that while the Chinese economy has been keeping a high-speed growth during the past 16 years, the income disparity has been going against the inverse "U" shaped hypothesis as S. Kuznets stated. It, instead, has followed a course of "U" shape. This indicates that during a short period there is no certain connection between high-speed economic growth and broadening of income disparity. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that an interrelation between the two factors exists during a comparatively long period despite that the interrelation may not be shown as a cause-and-effect relations. It is expected that during an increasingly long period in the coming years China will be experiencing a transition from a low-income to a medium-low-income country. Therefore, an enlarging income disparity during this period will be in accordance with the law of economic development. What should be in mind is, nevertheless, that the income disparity in China is characterized by the disparity between urban and rural residents and those between different regions, and the momentum of these disparities' broadening cannot be held during a