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# 走出怪圈

中国西部农村返贫现象研究

龚晓宽 班程农 主编



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### 主 编 简 介



龚晓宽 男，1950年12月生于贵州省贵阳市。1979年考入贵州省社会科学院，1984年考入四川大学经济系攻读研究生，1987年7月获经济学硕士学位。历任《贵州社会科学》杂志编委、《开发》杂志编委副主任、贵州省社会科学院城市经济研究所所长等职，现任贵州省社会科学院副院长、副研究员。

主要研究方向为中国西部经济、旅游经济管理。先后担任国家社科基金课题《中国西部地区农村深化改革研究》、《中国西部地区农村“返贫”现象及脱贫机制创新研究》、《中国东西差距及社会稳定问题研究》课题负责人。并组织了十余项有关西部省区发展的研究项目。旅游经济侧重研究宏观及微观管理问题。总计独立完成著作二部、主编专著五部、发表论文100多篇。主要著作有《中国西部地区深化农村改革研究》、《贵州农村改革研究》、《旅游经济管理》、《旅游企业管理学教程》等。1992年被评为贵州省四化建设标兵，获“五·一”劳动奖章，专著及论文获奖多次。

### 主 编 简 介



班程农 男，1953年7月生于贵州长顺，布依族，研究生学历。担任过中共长顺县摆所区委常委、独山县委副书记、黔南州常委、共青团贵州省委宣传部副部长、统战部部长、常务副书记，贵州省青联秘书长、副主席、主席、中华全国青联委员，政协贵州省四、五、六届委员会委员，贵州省扶贫办副主任兼世界银行西南扶贫项目贵州办公室副主任。现任贵州省农办副主任兼省农业综合开发办副主任。发表各类文章80余万字，多篇论文获奖。合作编著出版《写给走向生活的朋友》、《世界残疾名人传略》，参与编写出版的《贵州省情》获贵州省政府科技进步二等奖。

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# A Study on the "Return to Poverty " Phenomenon in Western China's Rural Areas (Abstract)

The poverty—stricken areas in China are mostly in its 11 western provinces and autonomous regions, including Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan, Tibet, Guangxi, Ningxia, Shanxi, Gansu, Qing—hai, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia. Of the 18 connected poverty—stricken mountain areas, 12 are in or extends across the western region. Although the central government and local governments at all levels have taken a series of measures to help those poverty—stricken areas to get rid of poverty and become prosperous, not a few areas and households have become poor again after being out of poverty. If the "return to poverty" problem is not to be highly estimated and correctly solved it may delay the realization of the "National 87 Poverty—Relief program" or even affect the pace of China's modernization.

## Main Forms and Characteristic

The "return to poverty" phenomenon exists in almost every one of the 11 western provinces and autonomous regions. In Yunnan, about 30% of the population that has get rid of

poverty becomes poor again every year. For example, in 1993, 2.01 million persons solved the problem of food and clothing, but at the same time 0.65 million people returned to poverty (32.4%). In Guizhou, 15—20% of the people who have solved the problem of food and clothing return to poverty every year. In 1994—95, 2 million in the province solved the problem of food and clothing, but 0.3—0.4 million of which became poor again. The phenomenon also exists in Guangxi, Sichan, Xinjiang, Shanxi, Qinghai, Gansu and Tibet. The main characteristics of the phenomenon are as follows:

Mass "Return" (to poverty) and Scattered "Return" Crisscross. Connected areas—several townships or counties or even prefectures as a whole return to poverty while some scattered households in "out of poverty" areas are becoming poor again.

Absolute "Return" and Relative "Return" Crisscross. Absolute "return" indicates that people "return" indicates that the living standards of the people who have been out of poverty declines and they have inadequate food and and clothing.

Explicit "Return" and Implicit "Return" Crisscross. Explicit "return" indicates that the peasants' income in cash and in kind is obviously lower than that in "out of poverty" period, or even under the poverty line. Implicit "return" means that although the income in cash and in kind remains as before or even rises, the actual income declines as the expenditure grows faster than the income. In western rural areas, the explicit "return" can be seen clearly from the statistics; the implicit "return" is often ignored because it usually mingles with inflation. The interweaving explicit and implicit "returns" make the



poverty—relief work more difficulty.

One "return" and Repeated "Returns" Crisscross. In the poorest areas in Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichan, especially in karst areas where the drought and waterlogging prevention capacity is limited, the "return to poverty" phenomena repeatedly take place.

The above four characteristics are observation results from the point of view of regional distribution, level of poverty, form of expression, and the occurring frequency of the "return".

## Causes

The "return to poverty" in the western rural areas resulted from the following factors:

Weak Ecological Environment and Serious Natural Disasters. They are an important factor causing the "return". Take the karst regions in Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi for example. On an average more than 15 percent of the people who have been out of poverty become poor again (the highest 30%). Such a high percentage has been caused by the weak ecological environment and frequently serious natural disasters. In northwestern provinces and autonomous regions where snow disasters, droughts and sand storms are frequent people usually have adequate food and clothing in bumper harvest years but return to poverty when disasters come.

Poor Infrastructures and Economic Development Environ-

ment. Poor water and electricity supply system, poor road system and telecommunication system have greatly restricted the poverty control actions of the poorest people in the remote mountain areas.

**Serious Population Pressure.** In a small—scale peasant economy of super—thin and low and plane reclamation and cultivation, population rises demand food supply rises, which in turn demand more population as Labour input, stimulating population growth and thus resulting in a vicious circle of "poverty—more population—more serious poverty" which Lays a foundation for the circle of "poverty alleviation — out of poverty—return to poverty" to exist.

**Poor population Quality and Fortune Awareness.** In the western rural areas the "return of poverty" phenomenon has a strong correlation with the low quality of the population and the poor fortune awareness. Poor population quality, poverty together with ignorance, and the outmoded force of habit and ingrained feudal awareness have made the "blood — transfusion", or charity — type poverty alleviation efforts ineffective to keep "out of poverty", a lot of rural households that have been out of poverty rapidly becoming poor again. The result is that "every year there is relief but all the same the poverty exists".

**Inadequate Capital Input and Poor Economic Expansion Capacity.** Input shortages are a common problem in the western areas where the "return to poverty" phenomenon is serious. In the poorest mountain area in Guizhou's Mashan, capital input is infinitely small. During 1986 — 93, the development

capital input in Mashan from the public financial institutions at all levels and the departments responsible for economic work was only 37.8043 million yuan ,or 18.71 yuan per capita per year. With such a small capital input,how could this area avoid destitution and the "return to poverty".

Unadaptability to Market Competition. In the western rural areas especially in those poverty—stricken areas,peasants tend to act blindly in a controlled economy. It is difficulty for them to adapt themselves to the transition from the planned economy the market economy. In recent years," green bean war", "silkworm cocoon war", "black fungus war", "tea war" and "tobacco war" arose in every western province and autonomous region. The results of those wars were all the same: sharp price decline. Sharp price ups and downs made it difficulty for the peasants with little adaptability to market competition to get out of poverty but easy to return to it.

Irrational Behaviour of Governments. There are two forms of irrational governmental behaviour. One is that they set the "out of poverty" indicators on the high side to pursue "achievements". The other is that they overestimate the level of "out of poverty",thus shifting the direction of investment.

Weak Pillar Industries and Low Industrial Structures. Weak pillar industries can not play a real "pillar" role and may result in a sharp up and down economy. In addition,low industrial structure is a structural factor for the "return to poverty".

## Effects

The "return to poverty" phenomenon has serious effects on China's macro-economy:

It broadens the economic development gap between the West and the East in the country.

It broadens the development gap between the rural and urban areas.

It exasperates the social and ecological deterioration.

It arouses instabilities in the rural areas. The serious "return to poverty" phenomenon has resulted in a sharp decline in the living standard of a considerable portion of the rural households, the problem of absolute and relative poverty more conspicuous.

## Thinkings upon the Innovation of the Anti-Poverty Mechanisms

Some breakthroughs and innovations in the guiding ideology and strategy for poverty control are needed to cultivate a new "out of poverty" mechanism and speed up the poverty alleviation steps.

Firstly, the Guiding Ideology of the Poverty Alleviation Work Should be Perfected and the "Out of Poverty" Indicator System be Amplified. The present "out of poverty" indicator which is based purely on the poverty line has obvious shortcomings. It overemphasizes quantitative changes but neglects

the qualitative changes. It attaches importance to consumption process but ignores production process. It puts undue stress on the percentage of "out of poverty" population but neglects that of the "return to poverty". So it should be replaced by a more comprehensive and scientific indicator system in which the main indicators in consumption, production, cultural and social aspects should be included. In addition, indicators representing the stability of the "out of poverty" process should also be included in the system.

Secondly, Deepening the Rural Reform and Building up the "out of poverty" Security System. In deepening the rural reform, the western areas should put stress on the strengthening of the collective operation, bring the superiorities of the contract responsibility system into full play, so as to make the collective economy powerful enough to promote the poverty—relief work and prevent the rural households from returning to poverty.

Tirdly, Strengthening the Infrastructure Construction and Amplifying the Anti—Poverty System. The anti—poverty achievements can be easily consolidated and the natural disaster—induced "return of poverty" be controlled if the infrastructure construction is good.

Forthly, Optimizing the Behaviour of Governments and Cultivating the Guiding Anti—Poverty Mechanisms. On a second thinking of the poverty—relief work in the western regions we see that the high percentage of the "return" is somewhat related to the irrational behaviour of the governments in those areas. For example, the practice of emphasizing material

things or "hardwares" and underestimating human factors or "softwares" has resulted in a bewildering circle of "more relief. more poverty; more poverty, more relief". Hence it is very important to optimize the behaviour of the governments and cultivate the guiding anti-poverty mechanisms.

The "return to poverty" control strategies also include the cultivation of the rational labour-migration mechanisms, the implementation of the capital "big push" strategy, the improvement of the quality of the labour force, as well as measures for controlling the population growth.

## 序

反贫困问题是一个世界性课题。为此，各国的专家学者围绕扶贫、济贫、脱贫等问题进行了大量的研究工作，论著浩繁，建树颇多。然而，我国西部地区以龚晓宽、班程农为首的一批中青年经济学家却慧眼独具，选择脱贫后又返贫这一十分特殊又相当重要的角度，对我国西部地区农村贫困问题进行研究，立意角度深刻而新颖，这就更显得难能可贵了。

我认为，这本凝聚着这批中青年学者心血的论著，有如下特色：

首先，研究方法是科学的。此项研究坚持了辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的分析方法，在深入西部各省区进行广泛调查研究的基础上对返贫现象进行了全面、系统的分析，既重视定性与定量的结合，又重视历史与现实的结合，所依据的事实、资料、数据准确而完整，因而整个研究成果显得逻辑结构严谨。此报告对中国西部11个省（区）的“返贫”现象进行研究，涉及的面很广、问题很多、难度很大，但采用一个总报告十一个分报告的方式加以表述，而且总报告从四个方面：返贫现象的主要表现及特征分析；返贫现象的原因研究；返贫现象的影响研究；脱贫机制创新研究进行论述，显得重点突出，抓住了问题的根本。

其次，研究结论是可信的。此项研究在概括分析西部11个省（区）几乎都存在相当严重返

贫现象的基础上，提炼出返贫现象的主要特征为四个交织，即连片性返贫与插花性返贫相交织；绝对返贫与相对返贫相交织；显性返贫与隐性返贫相交织；一次性返贫与多次返贫相交织。这样，就从区域分布、贫困程度、表现形式和出现频率四个角度显示了返贫现象的基本规律。与此同时，对返贫现象产生原因进行了综合性的透视，从生态、经济、社会等多个角度，研究了返贫现象产生的内在原因和外部环境。进而从宏观的角度，研究了返贫现象的深层次危害。最后提出了抑制返贫现象，创新脱贫机制的战略对策。

第三，研究的对策是可行的。关于抑制返贫、创新脱贫机制，整个研究报告，包括分报告提出的战略对策具有可操作性。比如关于完善扶贫指导思想、健全脱贫指标体系的构想；关于加强基础设施建设、健全脱贫保障体系的构想；关于优化政府行为，培育脱贫的引导机制的构想等等都具有现实可操作性。整个报告内容丰富，结论充分，资料翔实，层次清晰，对许多问题的分析有创见、有深度、有新意。对中央有关部门及西部地区各省区的扶贫开发工作具有重要参考价值。

总之，这是一本具有较高学术价值的著作，对我国实施扶贫攻坚计划具有十分重要的参考价值，值得一读。

张铭羽

1996年9月28日



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