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• 人口与发展系列丛书

梁 鸿 著

中国农村现阶段

社区保障的经济学分析

百家出版社

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人口与发展丛书总序(初稿)

世界人口在人类历史发展的长河一直是缓慢的增长。直到 17世纪的中叶,人口增长才呈现出加速的现象。新的生命曾经是 很随意地被创造出来,又很不经意地失去。死亡水平曾经是如此 之高,出生时的预期寿命只是在25岁左右。人类通过高出生率来 抵销高死亡率的影响,以保持种族的繁衍和发展。世界人口在公 元前 8000 到 6000 年期间大约在 500-1000 万左右, 到公元元年 时已达到 3 亿,并在 1650 年时突破 5 亿,并从此开始进入了人口 快速增长的时期。世界人口在1804年达到10亿,123年以后,在 1927年突破20亿大关。此后,人口增长进一步加速,并分别在 1960年, 1974年, 1987年和1999年增长到30亿, 40亿, 50亿和 60亿。在此期间,每增加一个10亿人口的时间从33年缩短到 14、13和12年。世界人口增长速度在我们即将跨进新的世纪之 际开始下降。但由于过去20多年间世界各国主要是发展中国家 的高生育率,人类历史上最大的生育高峰年龄人群正在出现,这一 人群的生育行为将决定世界人口发展乃至整个人类的可持续发 展。由于庞大的人口基数和人口增长惯性的作用,每年人口增长 的绝对数仍高达 8000 万。按照联合国的最新预测,世界人口将在 2200年以后达到100亿以后才能稳定下来。

20 世纪的卫生革命无论在深度和广度上都远远超过以往任何时代。开始于欧洲的死亡率转变在 20 世纪中叶开始向世界的其他地区扩散,死亡率的迅速下降是二次大战以后最重要的人口事件,人类寿命的延长是 20 世纪的一个伟大成就。发展中国家的

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出生时预期寿命从 1930 年的 35 岁迅速地提高到 1980 年的 55 岁,到 1997年的 65 岁。发达国家的预期寿命则已超过 77 岁。死亡水平的下降它不仅极大地提高了人们的生活质量,也急剧地改变着整个世界人口发展的态势。世界大多数国家在过去的 20 年间都经历了或正在经历死亡率和生育率的转变。但由于这种转变的时间和速度的差别,各国人口动态呈现出巨大的差异。1985—1990 年间,总和生育率从意大利的 1.3 到卢旺达的 8.5,出生预期寿命从塞拉利昂的仅 41 岁到日本的 78.3 岁。在世界 185 个国家和地区中,1985—1990 年间仍有 114 个发展中国家和地区的年度人口增长率超过 2%,生活在这些国家的人口占世界总人口的44%。

虽然古代的中外哲学家和思想家们对人口的数量和生存资料

的关系做过许多论述,约翰·格兰特(John Graunt)发表于 1662 年的伦敦人口生命表标志着对人口问题数量分析的开始。但真正对人口问题的大讨论开始于 18 世纪后期。而马尔萨斯在 1798 年以匿名方式出版的《人口原理》一书引发的有关人口问题的争论在其后的一百多年间不断地重复和发展着。对人口增长和人类生存持乐观或悲观态度的学者孜孜不倦地开展研究并向世人发布他们的研究成果。一些人是如此的悲观,认为我们赖以生存的生态环境系统将在 100 年内崩溃,似乎人类的末日近在眼前。另一些人则坚信人类的智慧和能力完全能够解决人口增长所带来的问题,并将人口增长作为技术进步和财富增长的最基本原因。

学者们的研究和争论将继续下去,而许多人类生存和发展所必须的自然资源正在枯竭、环境状况正在恶化却是不争的事实。当然这并不完全取决于人口的多少,而和如何有效地或浪费地使用这些资源有关。发达国家不可持续的消费模式对世界环境恶化的责任是不可推卸的,而人口则扮演了一个破坏性的角色,它通过时,世界上20%最富有国家的人口消费了当年全球86%的商品和服务,产生了全球53%的温室气体,而最贫穷的20%人口只消费了1.3%的商品和服务,3%的温室气体。目前每一个美国人对环境的影响是发展中国家人口平均的30—50倍。因此对于环境来说,最大的威胁来自两方面:10亿最富裕的人口的过度消费和10亿最贫困的人口为了生存而对环境资源的破坏。与此相关我们在未来面临的挑战也是两方面的,一是继续减慢人口的增长速度,并最终实现人口总量的稳定,二是要合理有效地使用资源以不致损定未来世代发展的能力。

人口问题的本质是发展问题,国际社会有关"发展"的概念本

身在不断地发展。从六十年代的几乎完全与经济增长的概念相同,到现在更多地关注发展的社会和环境方面的要素。流行于五十和六十年代的发展战略强调物质资本的投入和在城市地区加速工业化进程的作用。同时,大多数发展中国家政府都制定了高度集中的发展计划以在各经济部门之间分配资源。由于政府的投入集中在工业部门,社会发展如健康和教育方面的投资只是被当作整个政府支出的剩余而加以考虑。当时对人口问题关注也主要是在影响经济增长的框架下开展讨论的。

七十年代以后,人力资本在经济增长中的作用逐渐引起广泛的重视。对教育、健康和妇女地位等与人的生活质量的直接提高有关的投资能得到更高的经济回报这一事实改变了传统增长经济学中投资收益递减的结论,新增长经济学开始取而代之,获得主导地位。人口素质的提高和人力资源的发展逐渐取代传统的发展观念,人类发展的概念也就应运而生了。

从八十年代开始,整个世界在发展领域经历了一场重大的变革,新的发展概念和模式更多地强调市场的作用。与此同时,政府,特别是中央政府,通过传统的计划途径分配资源调控发展的角色不断被削弱。政府的作用被重新界定在一些专门的领域,诸如为市场经济的正常运作创造良好的法制环境,以及在社会事业和大规模的基础建设方面的投资与管理等。

可持续发展的概念也正是在这样的大背景下逐渐产生的。尽管至今人们对可持续发展有众多不同的理解和解释,在可持续发展的目标和方式途径方面更是众说纷纭,可持续发展仍然成为九十年代初以来被各种国际会议和各国政府所接受的发展观。可持续的概念最初来自环境领域,是人类面对环境状况的不断恶化而

作出的理性的思考。而一旦可持续发展成为一个被广为接受的发展战略,它就大大地超出了原先的内涵和外延,而成为一个复杂的、多角度和不断发展变化的概念。人口与环境的关系自然成为可持续发展诸多互动关系中的重要一环,成为实施可持续发展战略所必须要理解和应对的一个中心问题。

随着社会的发展和人口转变的进程,人口老龄化成为一个无可避免的过程。在一定意义上讲,人口老龄化是社会进步的一个标志。就人口结构而言,我们的世界可以分成两部分:年轻的发展中国家和老年化的发达国家。在世纪之交之时,世界老人的86%居住在亚洲。尽管老年人口的绝对数量在成倍的增加,但是在一半左右的发展中国家并没有明确的有关老年人的社会政策,缺一有关人口老龄化的社会意识。即使认识到人口老龄化的影响,人口老龄化的社会资源紧缺时总是将天平倾向于年轻一代。人口老龄化对社会经济有多方面的广泛的影响。在社会方面,人口老龄化对社会经济有多方面的广泛的影响。在社会方面,人口老龄化系、财富分配和社会生活的其他方面。就经济来讲,人口结龄化对系、财富分配和社会生活的其他方面。就经济来讲,人口老龄化对社会的家庭结构、居住模式、社会主流的行为和态度、代际类量的动态变化对未来劳动力的供应有直接的影响,人口老龄化对社会用以支持老年人口的社会成本和支出大大提高,并进而对宏观经济包括对GDP和国民生活水平的提高发生作用。

丰富的可利用的劳动力的存在应当是一个国家争取社会经济发展的重要资源,但在现实中却常常被视作包袱而不是资源。世界范围内,1998年底全球近30亿劳动力中,有大约1.5亿人处于完全失业的境地,同时有大约9亿人口属于就业不足的状况。加起来,按照国际劳工组织的估计全世界35%的劳动力受到失业的影响。由此,1995年在丹麦哥本哈根召开的世界社会发展首脑会议把解决失业问题作为国际社会的十项承诺之一,将追求充分就

业放在各国政府社会经济政策的优先地位。而当新世纪的曙光已经来临之际,人们日益感受到传统劳动就业机制的局限和新的就业模式的挑战。在知识经济和信息社会时代,产业调整将不断进行,就业类型和工作方式也在不断变化,劳动力市场将变得更加灵活,在人力资源上加大投资是应对变革中的劳动就业问题的最有效的政策措施之一。可持续发展战略的实施为就业机会的创造提供了难得的机遇。

尽管近年来全球社会经济得到迅速发展,但平均的发展指标掩盖了分配不均的现实。穷国和富国之间,一国之内穷人和富人之间的差距正在扩大,严重的经济社会和性别不平等依然存在,并成为影响人们生活质量提高的主要障碍。在过去的30年中,世界最富有和最贫穷国家之间在收入方面的差距已从30:1扩大到78:1。在发展中地区中,80多个国家的目前收入比10年前要低。全球大约有15亿人(世界人口的1/4),生活在世界银行规定的贫困线之下。贫困问题及其消除贫困将是整个人类社会的21实际面临的主要问题之一。符合可持续发展原则持续的经济增长是消除贫困的关键途径之一。贫困的消除将有利于人口增长的减慢,而许多反贫困的措施如投资教育、卫生、饮用水、食物和基础设施都可在同时为人口转变创造有利的社会环境。

变化了的世界需要有同样变化了的社会发展机制与之相适应。市场在资源有效配置方面的作用是不可忽视的,但仅仅依靠市场无法实现社会的团结和和谐。一个必须记住的命题是发展经济的根本目的是为了提高国民的福利,而政府责无旁贷地承担着宏观调控平衡当前和未来、局部和整体利益的责任。在何种程度上控制人口的增长速度和调整人口的结构特征,以及如何使新增人口的素质更有利于社会的可持续发展就成为政府人口和相关社

会政策的主体。政府应能为成功的持续发展创造稳定的人口环境。并以消除实现社会最大福利的障碍为己任。

中国的人口转变是没有先例可循的,中国的人口政策和计划生育项目是在我国政府、学术界和广大实际工作者共同努力探索下经过多年实践逐步发展完善的。西方人口学的理论和方法为我国人口研究的实践提供了一个起点和分析研究的参照系,帮助我们在一个相对较高的起点上开始我国人口科学的复兴和发展。中国人口变动的许多特殊性要求我们必须对许多西方的人口学理论系。中国古代学者哲人历来推崇"先天下之忧而忧,后天下之乎,也使我们能够建立具有中国特色的人口科学的理论论系"的历史责任感。由于人口科学的特点,当代中国的人口等家的历史责任感。由于人口科学的发展始终与中国人口数量控制与人口质量提高紧密联系,从一开始就具有很强的政策研究和实践的特征。中国的人口学家在努力使他们的研究在学术上达到领先性和完美性的同时,努力将他们的成果用以经世济民,服务社会。

复旦大学人口研究所是国内高校中开展人口研究最早的机构之一。改革开放和社会转型为发展应用社会科学研究提供了的绝好机遇,也使我们有非常强烈的紧迫感和使命感。早在九十年代初复旦大学人口研究所已提出了建设以人口研究为核心的边缘学科群的设想,即以人口研究的理论、方法和研究风格为核心,在积极为人口控制和计划生育服务的同时,向其他领域延伸并与其他学科结合,以形成新的研究优势。经过数年实践探索,复旦大学人口研究所已初步走出一条跨学科研究的新路,成为一个以人口经济学为主要特色,研究人口发展及其与经济、社会、环境和可持续发展相互关系等问题为主的科研和教学机构。

在研究方法和研究风格方面,研究所保持了重调查,重分析,重实证的特点。近年来在保持人口分析上的传统优势的同时,注意将人口分析技术与计量经济学和社会分析方法技术的结合,以适应边缘学科群的发展需要,并逐步从单一研究向研究—规划—实践方向过渡。与此相应,在研究队伍建设上,强调人员知识的不断更新,强调研究的团队精神,强调梯队建设和对年轻人的培养。本所招收的人口学(法学类)和人口经济学(经济类)硕士研究生和人口、环境和资源经济学专业方向的博士生也都在就读期间得到良好的训练。

我们所致力的学科渗透和团队研究的特点在很大程度上正是我国社会科学研究较为薄弱之处。常规人口学始终是我们的学科基础,而面向社会主义市场经济主战场则为我们的学科发展注入了新的活力,提供了广阔的发展空间。发展的多样化本身就是一种在社会主义市场经济条件下的重要资源。目前,复旦人口研究所在过去几一时,有较强的适应社会主义市场经济的能力和一个较长的未来中时持续发展的后劲。本丛书正是复旦大学人口研究所在过去几年中所完成的部分科研项目成果的记录和总结。我们希望通过本丛书的出版,能进一步加强复旦大学人口研究所与国内外同行的学术的出版,能进一步加强复旦大学人口研究所与国内外同行的学术交流,为繁荣人口和发展问题的研究,推动我国可持续发展战略的实现作出我们的贡献。丛书的作者们为丛书的出版作出了巨大的努力,但限于水平和时间,难免疏漏和错误之处,敬希读者不吝赐教。

复旦大学人口研究所 彭希哲 2000年3月于日本广岛

Economic Analysis of Community – Based Social – Security in China's Countryside

Abstract

The income inequality is an inevitable result of the market economy. The government must make a reasonable choice among efficiency, fairness and stability, and try to keep them in balance. The current rural security is still vulnerable because of many confinements. It is feasible to establish community security, which will satisfy the peasant demand for social security and enhance the stability in the rural areas. The community security is the most proper substitute for the social security. However, the social security will take the place of the community security in the end.

The community security must be based upon the security demanding to obtain an effective one. The rural residents need a kind of new security rather than the traditional inferior one. They want to secure out of the social risk from the rapid economic development. It is very anxious in fact that some peasants look down on their lands or try to give up their lands. The family security which is based on the lands has failed to resist the risk out of the whole life.

The final target of China's social security is to establish nationwide social security systems. The rural social security will experience four stages: initiative, development, maturity, and perfection. In order to actualize the above target, it is imperative to work out the total framework and the basic structure for China's social security systems. Such systems should pay attention to both the actual utilities and the future development. Such systems should make rational use of the current family security and set up a firm foundation for the establishment of the future nationwide security. The rural security can take 'shallow insurance' or 'integrity of the insurance plan and the community' as a transitional policy.

Chapter 1 Questions and framework

Based on lots of literature review, this paper was focused on such questions as following:

- Is it necessary to strengthen the social security?
- - How to make the rural social security develop more efficiently and successfully?

This paper gave a deep thought to the rural social security. It also put forward a new research idea, research method and contents.

Chapter 2 Market economy and Social security

In the market income allocation system, which took the efficiency as its center, the equity has usually been neglected. To clear the inequality of income allocation, especially to solve the problem of the gap between the rich and the poor, depends on means or measure out of the market. The government is not only responsible for high efficiency, but also makes reasonable decision on the efficiency, equality and stability. The rapid transition of China's cociety and e-

conomy also means the increase of social instability. To some degree, the enlarging gap between the rich and the poor has come to threaten the whole country's security. And it will become a major obstacle to the further reform in China. Attention must be placed on the reform to prevent the enlarging gap between the rich and the poor, to make the residential income more equal and reasonable.

When the market mechanism exerts fully, the government can choose many methods and measures to interfere the deficiency of the market. The government can perform better in promoting the equality of the income allocation and the stability of the social and economic development. To some extent, the social security released the social problems caused by the gap between the rich and the poor by relieving the poor and changing the social benefit and also strengthened the stability of the social and economic development. From the viewpoint of public policies, the multiple targets of the government mean that the government must be cautious to deal with the relationship between the equality and the efficiency to realize the increase and prosperity of the society and economy. That is, the government can not only raise the efficiency by the market, the invisible hand, but can actualize the equality and stability by social security, the visible hand.

Chapter 3 The 'right decision' theory in social security

Every citizen should share social security. Learning from the experience and lessons of the western social security, we should set up a set of objects to adapt to the situation in China. The objects will include social objects, economic objects and rational objects.

The social objects aim at decreasing the inequality in income and social position. The economic objects are focused on accelerating the economic development, enhancing proper competition among corporation, and increasing job opportunity. The rational objects will ensure the social security design to keep the property, release condition and the quantity of the allowance in a suitable proportion with the source of the funds financing.

Chapter 4 Community security: a substitute for the social security

China's social inequality prominently lies between the urbane and the rural. It is unreasonable to exclude the peasants out of the social security. It is difficult to build a nationwide social security limited by many factors. The government hopes to develop rural community security to compensate the lack of social security in the rural areas. Because of the substitute between the social security and community security, the latter will take part role of the former. It will help to satisfy the social security demands of the peasants and realize the stability in the rural areas. On the other hand, all sides of the community provide conditions to set up community security. First, the economic development of the community ensures the financing measurement for the security funds. Second, the practice in some community provides valuable experience. Third, the tradition in the rural community also helps to build such security. However, it must be realized that there is also come limitation in the rural community. The community security is not stable enough and will increase inequality under certain circumstance. So, the community security is just a makeshift, not a permanent measurement

Chapter 5 Demand analysis of building community security

In this chapter, a general decision - making program theory was put forward. The community security has been built on the interaction among all kinds of factors in the community. According to this, three stages of building a community security was identified. That is, demand/supply unbalanced stage, objects selected stage, and decision - making analyzing stage. Demand and supply are the basic factors for building community security. Demand has influence on supply and meanwhile supply affects demand. In general, the balance between demand and supply is broken by the change of the demand. The demand change shows that security demand as a whole exceeds the security supply or it shows that new security demand appears without corresponding supply. Therefore, building community security will depend on demand to great extent. To build a community security must face the unbalance between the demand and supply. Whether to rehabilitate the balance between the demand and the supply will rest on the later process after this. Then will enter the evaluation stage. In this stage, in order to actualize a new balance, the security demand not passed through the object selection must be met by means such as by enforcing family security or commercial insurance. Some unmet demand will accumulate until it will be identified again. Through this evaluation systems and object selection, the objects selected will in integrated together and thus become the objects of the community security. Till then, the type of

community security will be affirmed. Next step is the decision – making stage. A detailed project will be available after the above analysis and it will be implemented in the fields.

Chapter 6 Studies on security demand

Great changes have taken place in the security demand of the peasants. They need more than the basic survival security. With the social and economic development, the risk factors are increasing, meanwhile, the increasing of the income difference weaken the ability of some peasants to deal with the risk.

The risk from lives has exceeded the traditional family security. The peasants are encouraged to have the spirit of taking risk while they are always warned to avoid the risk, which put them into a dilemma, that is, they even don't know what to do. The most typical is the lifestyle of the two kinds of risk. This will undoubtedly increase the risk of the peasants. From the points of risk and security, we don't think it is wise to lead such a lifestyle. However, from the point of raising the life level of the peasants, the point of promoting the evolution of rural community and the point of stimulating the peasants' consumer, it can be seen as an active lifestyle. Continuous and rapid increase of the income and consumer leads to conflicts to the primitive principles of ideas and behaviors. New principles lag behind the rapid changes.

The characteristics of the poor families in the Sunan rural areas are: destitution of the elder illiteracy out of poverty and traditionization of family employment. To a certain degree, the issues of the illiteracy have been 'fairly' accepted. Effective social systems should