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## 摘 要

城乡居民收入差距的居高不下已经成为我国建设社会主义和谐社会的重要障碍。党的十七大报告明确指出:“合理的收入分配制度是社会公平的重要体现。”而城乡居民收入差距对全国总体收入分配差距的影响巨大,坎布尔和张晓波利用广义熵指数分解了全国总体收入分配差距,认为,城乡居民收入差距对全国总体收入差距的贡献虽然由 1978 年的 78.57% 降低到 2000 年的 56.05%,但是,城乡居民收入差距对全国总体收入分配差距的贡献仍然在 50% 以上。因此,研究改革开放以后城乡居民收入差距的演进,特别是 20 世纪 90 年代中后期以后城乡居民收入差距迅速扩大的原因,是建设社会主义和谐社会的需要。

城乡居民收入差距是经济结构转变过程中农业部门和非农部门劳动生产率差距在分配领域的反应,而部门间比较劳动生产率实际是部门间产出结构与就业结构的比。因此,本书从农业部门产出与非农部门就业两条线索研究影响城乡居民收入差距演进的各种因素。全书主要内容与结论如下:

第 2 章实证描述中国改革开放以后城乡居民收入差距的演进轨迹,在此基础上,对现有研究中国城乡居民收入差距的文献进行了梳理和分析,指出其缺陷和不足之处,提出本书的基本研究思路。

第 3 章提出全书基本分析框架。城乡居民收入差距是经济结构转变过程中城市非农部门和农村农业部门劳动生产率差距的反映。基于这一基本认识,首先从理论上构建模型,证明城乡居民收入差距与农业比较劳动生产率之间的反方向变化关系。其次,根据这一基本思路和二元经济结构转换理论,证明经济结构转变过程中城乡居民收入差距演进的一般规律:城乡居民收入差距呈倒 U 型曲线演进。最后,运用中国改革开放以后城乡居民收入差距和农业比较劳动生产率的数据,建立二者之间的误差修正模型,从实证角度证明城乡居民收入差距是城乡不同部门劳动生产率差距的反应这一基本结论,证明全文基本分析框架的合理性。

第 4 章重点从农业产出角度研究影响城乡居民收入差距的因素。农民家庭经营性收入是农民收入的两大重要来源之一,而其大小取决于农业产出水平高低。因此,从影响农业产出的因素分析入手研究城乡居民收入差距是必要

的,也是合理的。根据生产函数理论,农业产出是农业全要素生产率和农业投入的加权平均和,而投入对产出的影响比较直观,因此,本书主要从农业全要素生产率变化角度研究农业产出变化,及其对城乡居民收入差距的影响。首先,利用曼奎斯特生产率指数测算改革开放以后中国农业全要素生产率的变化,发现1978—2005年,中国农业全要素生产率年均增长3.3%,而同期农业产出年均增长率为6.44%,农业产出年均增长的51.24%是中国农业全要素生产率增长贡献的。但是,中国农业全要素生产率增长波动明显,1995—2000年,农业全要素生产率年均增长仅0.2%,而这一阶段也是中国城乡居民收入差距迅速扩大时期。因此,农业全要素生产率的变化是解释中国城乡居民收入差距的重要因素。

第5章研究影响农业全要素生产率变化的两个因素:农业技术创新和专业化经营。技术创新是全要素生产率提高的基本因素,结合诱致性农业技术创新理论和舒尔茨的农业技术采用理论,构建农业技术选择模型,证明农户经营规模是制约农业技术创新,进而限制农业全要素生产率增长的关键因素之一。分工与专业化是效率的源泉,因此,探讨中国农业专业化程度低的内在根源对分析农业全要素生产率增长具有重要意义。构建农户专业化程度的理性选择模型,证明农户专业化程度的高低是权衡专业化带来的生产成本节约和交易费用增加的结果。通过分析影响农业全要素生产率增长的因素,提出加速土地流转、农业适度规模经营和建立规模报酬递增农业的政策建议。

第6章、第7章从农民非农就业角度研究中国城乡居民收入差距的演进。工资性收入是农民收入的两大组成部分之一。由于农民非农就业首先是从乡村工业开始的,因此,第6章分析中国乡村工业对农民非农就业,进而对城乡居民收入差距的影响。构建乡村工业内生模型,证明乡村工业是渐进改革过程中市场体系建设不完善和不均衡放开环境下中国农民的诱致性制度创新。由此得到两个理论假说:第一,随着市场体系建设的逐步完善和市场的均衡放开,没有区位优势乡村工业将逐步萎缩。由此预测,中国乡村工业未来的三条出路——其一是完全迁入城市,获取城市区位优势;其二是乡村工业聚集地的城市化,创造区位优势;其三是乡村工业总部迁入城市,生产基地留在乡村,充分获取城市和乡村的双重优势。第二,乡镇集体企业是农民分担政治风险和社会意识带来的成本的一项诱致性制度安排,因此,中国乡镇集体企业的私有化是其必然结果。随着20世纪90年代中期社会主义市场经济体制的初步建立和不断完善,中国乡村工业必将走上一条城市化和私有化道路,乡村工业脱离与原有乡村的各种联系,不利于中国农业产出的增长和农民的非农就业,从而导致中国城乡居民收入差距拉大。因此,中国乡村工业的城市化和私有化是解释20世纪90年代中后期以来中国农民收入增长乏力、城乡居民收入差距拉大的

重要原因。同时,本研究证明,通过乡村工业化道路缩小城乡居民收入差距、实现城乡一体化是不可能完成的任务。第7章探讨劳动力近乎“无限供给”的二元经济为什么开始了资本有机构成不断提高的工业化,并研究资本有机构成不断提高对经济结构转变、非农就业以及对城乡居民收入差距的影响。在二元经济模型中引入劳动力异质性假设,证明农村高素质农民的流出和农业生产率的降低、导致食物短缺,使农产品价格、工人工资上涨。而企业资本有机构成提高是企业技术选择的结果,这是因为,工资上涨导致资本-劳动力价格比降低,使企业选择更加资本密集的技术,从而导致资本有机构成的提高。同时,国有企业“模糊产权”的存在,导致国有企业技术资本密集程度更高。而国有企业资本密集度和劳动生产率的提高,与20世纪90年代中后期以来买方市场的形成导致的激烈竞争一起使整个企业技术选择陷入“囚犯困境”的博弈格局,带动了整个经济的资本有机构成提高,非农就业吸纳能力降低,不利于经济结构的转变和农民非农就业的增加,从而导致城乡居民收入差距扩大。

第8章是全书的结论和政策建议。在上述研究基础上,本书对城乡居民收入差距的未来演进的基本观点是:城乡居民收入差距在未来很长的一段时间内仍将继续存在,并有继续扩大的趋势。在此,提出了三点缩小城乡居民收入差距的政策建议:第一,传统农业改造和现代农业建设的政策优先序,重点是农民以土地换保障政策和培育现代农民,以建设现代农业;第二,经济结构转变由非均衡走向均衡,重点是如何发挥资本市场在配置稀缺资本上的应有作用;第三,劳动力的“去商品化”和“商品化”,重点是改革体制内和体制外双重就业保障体系,实现全社会就业保障体制的一体化。

城乡居民收入差距是一个老问题,文献浩如烟海,因此,如何写出新意是最大难题。本研究基于对现有文献的分析认为,现有文献,特别是20世纪90年代中后期以后的文献,更多的是对影响城乡居民收入差距的因素的实证检验,缺乏一个系统的理论分析框架解释改革开放以后城乡居民收入差距的演进,本研究试图提供这一分析框架。城乡居民收入差距是一个结构问题,反映的是经济结构转变过程中不同部门非均衡发展的结果。基于这一基本认识,本研究以经济结构转变为背景,构建了一个部门比较劳动生产率与城乡居民收入差距的分析框架,并在这一分析框架下,系统地从影响城乡居民收入差距的两种力量视角研究中国城乡居民收入差距的演进。

除了在总体思路上有一系统的理论分析框架外,本研究的创新和特色之处在于:第一,从乡村工业的兴起、发展与改制来解释城乡居民收入差距,并构建理论模型解释中国乡村工业兴起、发展与改制的全过程,并证明通过乡村工业化缩小城乡居民收入差距、实现城乡一体化是不可行的道路;第二,揭示劳动力“无限供给”的二元经济下资本有机构成不断提高的工业化的内在机理,对资本

有机构成提高对城乡居民收入差距的影响途径进行分析;第三,从农业技术采用角度证明农户规模与农业技术创新的关系,从交易费用角度揭示农业专业化程度过低的原因,进而解决如何提高农业全要素生产率、缩小城乡居民收入差距的政策优先序问题。

本研究还存在一些不足之处。首先,从全文分析框架而言,从城乡比较劳动生产率研究城乡居民收入差距的演进,线索相对单调,忽视了很多其他影响因素。其次,由于没有进行城乡居民收入的实地抽样调查,使用的是国家统计局公布的全国数据,提出的政策建议在实际中是否适用,值得思考。

**关键词:** 城乡居民收入差距;农业比较劳动生产率;结构转变;农业全要素生产率;非农就业



## Abstract

The high income disparity between urban and rural residents has hindered from building a socialist harmonious society in China. In the report of the 17th Party congress, Hu Jintao clearly pointed out that reasonable income distribution system is an important manifestation of social justice. And the income disparity between urban and rural residents has an important effect on the overall income distribution disparity. Using the general entropy index decomposing the national overall income disparity, Kanbur and Zhang Xiaobo think that the influence degree of the income disparity between urban and rural residents to the national overall has decreased from 78.57% in 1978 to 56.05% in 2000, but its contribution has still reached more than 50%. Therefore, it is very important for the construction of a socialist harmonious society that the study on the reason of the income disparity between urban and rural residents since reform and opening, particularly after mid-1990s.

The income disparity between urban and rural residents is the reaction in the labor productivity disparity between the agricultural and non-agricultural sector in the process of transforming the economic structure, and the comparative labor productivity among inter industry is actually the ratio between output and employment. Therefore, according to the output of agricultural sector and the employment of non-agricultural sector, the paper analyzed a variety of factors affecting the income disparity between urban and rural residents. Its main contents and conclusions are as follows:

Chapter 2 has described the track of evolution on the income disparity between urban and rural residents since China's reform and opening, on the basis of which we have combed and analyzed the existing related studies, pointed out their shortcomings and weaknesses, and proposed the basic idea of the paper.

Chapter 3 proposes basic analytical framework of this paper. The income disparity between urban and rural residents is response to labor productivity disparity between urban non-agriculture and rural agricultural sector in the process of economic structural transformation. Based on this basic understanding, first we construct the model theoretically and prove the income disparity between urban and rural residents



is in the opposite direction to agricultural labor productivity. Second, according to this idea and the dual economy theory, in the process of economic structure transformation the general rule of evolution of the income disparity between urban and rural residents is proved: the evolutionary track of income disparity between urban and rural residents was similar to an inverted U-shaped curve. Finally, based on the data from the urban-rural income disparity and comparative labor productivity of agriculture, the error correction model is constructed to prove the conclusion that the income disparity between urban and rural residents is response to labor productivity disparity from empirical view, and to prove the rationality of the basic analytical framework of the paper.

Chapter 4 makes research on the influencing factors of the income disparity between urban-rural residents from the perspective of agricultural output. Farmers' operating income, which is mainly decided by agricultural output level, is one of two major sources of farmers' income. Therefore, it's necessary and reasonable to make research on the income disparity between urban and rural residents from the analysis of the influencing factors of agricultural output. According to the theory of production function, agricultural output is the weighted average of total factor productivity in agriculture and agricultural inputs. The impact of input to output is visual. Therefore, this study is made from the perspective of agricultural TFP change on agricultural output, which, therefore, has an influence on the income disparity between urban and rural residents. First, making use of Malmquist Index to calculate the change of agricultural TFP since China's reform and opening, we find that in 1978—2005, China's agricultural TFP has grown at an average annual growth rate of 3.3%, compared with an average annual growth rate of agricultural output 6.44%. Therefore, the average annual growth rate of 51.24% of agricultural output is contributed by the growth rate of China's agricultural TFP. However, the growth rate of China's agricultural TFP has significant fluctuation. In 1995—2000, the average annual growth rate of China's TFP was only 0.2%, which was also the period of rapid expansion of the income disparity between urban and rural residents. Therefore, the change of agricultural TFP is a major factor in explaining the income disparity between urban and rural residents.

Chapter 5 makes research on two influencing factors of agricultural TFP: agricultural technology innovation and specialization. Technology innovation is a fundamental factor which enhances TFP. In combination with Induced Institutional Change Theory and Agricultural Technological Using Theory, we construct an agricultural

technology choice model and prove that the scale of farmer operation is one of the key factors which restrict agricultural technology innovation and further restrict the growth of agricultural TFP. Division of labor and specialization is the source of efficiency; therefore, it's of great significance to study the underlying causes of the low level of China's agricultural specialization for analyzing the growth of agricultural TFP. Constructing a rational choice model of farmer specialization degree, we prove that the degree of farmer specialization is the result of weighing between production cost savings and transaction cost increasing. Through the analysis of the influencing factors on agricultural TFP, we propose to accelerate the transfer of land, create an appropriate scale of operation in agriculture and build agriculture of increasing returns to scale.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 study the evolution of the income disparity between urban and rural residents from the non-agricultural employment farmer, for wage income is one of two point of major sources of farmer income.

Because farmer began with non-agricultural employment from rural industry, Chapter 6 analyzes the impact of rural industry made on non-agricultural employment of farmer, further on the income disparity between the urban and rural residents. Through the construction of a rural industry endogenous model, we have proved that rural industry is an induced-institutionally innovation of China's farmers in the process of gradual reform, which is labeled as imperfect construction of market system and unbalanced open environment. Thus we make two theoretical hypotheses. First, with the gradual improvement of market system and the liberalization of market equilibrium, rural industry will shrink gradually. From this, we can predict that China's future rural industry has three ways: one is to completely move into city and obtain location advantage of city; another is to urbanize where rural industry centralize and create location advantage; the other is to move the headquarters of rural industry to city, stay their production base in country, and obtain the dual advantages of city and country.

Second, the collective township-village enterprise is an induced institutional arrangement which farmers share political risk and the cost from social awareness. Therefore, the privatization of Chinese collective township-village enterprises is their inevitable result.

With the initial establishment and gradual improvement of socialist market economic system in mid-1990s, China's rural industry would certainly embark on a path of privatization and urbanization. This results in losing contact with their country and

is not conducive to the growth of agricultural output and farmers' non-agricultural employment, which causes the widening income disparity between urban and rural residents. Therefore, the privatization and urbanization of China's rural industry is a major reason in explaining why Chinese peasants have weak income growth and the widened income disparity between urban and rural residents after mid-1990s. At the same time, this paper has proved that it is impossible task to achieve urban-rural integration by path of rural industrialization.

Chapter 7 discusses why dual economy, labeled as labor force of almost "infinite supply", begins to industrialize with organic composition of capital continually improved, and studies the impact of organic composition of capital continual improvement on the transformation of economic structure and non-agricultural employment, further on the income disparity between rural and urban residents.

In introduction of hypothesis of labor heterogeneity to the dual economy model, we have proved that the outflow of high-quality peasants and the reduction of agricultural productivity result in food shortage which causes the rising price of agricultural products and the rising wage of workers. And the corporate organic composition of capital improvement is the result of enterprise technology choice, because higher wages lead to the lower ratio of capital to labor, and the enterprises prefer to choose more capital-intensive technology, which causes the improvement of organic composition of capital.

Meanwhile, the existence of "ambiguous property rights" of state-owned enterprises causes a higher degree of capital-intensive technology. The improvement in the degree of capital-intensive and labor productivity, together with fierce competition resulted from buyer market after mid-1990s, made the entire enterprise technology choices trapper in the "prisoners' dilemma" pattern of game. This led to the improvement in organic composition of capital and the reduction of absorption ability of non-agricultural employment. This is not conducive to the transformation of economic structure and the increase of peasants' non-employment, resulting in the widening income disparity between urban and rural residents.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion and policy recommendations. On the basis of above research, the basic point on the future evolution of the income disparity between urban and rural residents is; the income disparity between urban and rural residents will continue to exist in a future period of time, and shows a continually-expanding trend.

On this basis, we put forward three policy recommendations to narrow the in-

come disparity between urban and rural residents: First, to give the priority order of policy in transformation of traditional agriculture and construction of modern agriculture. The key is to exchange land for modern security policy, cultivate modern peasants and build modern agriculture.

Second, in the process of economic structure change from the non-equilibrium to the equilibrium, the key is how the capital market plays a due role in the allocation of scarce capital. Third is “de-commercialization” and “commercialization” of labor. The key is to reform the double employment protection system within and outside system, and to achieve the whole society integration of employment protection system.

The income disparity between urban and rural residents is an old problem. There is a lot of research literature. Therefore, how to propose a new idea is the biggest problem. On the basis of the analysis of existing literature, we think for the existing research, especially after mid-1990s, more devoted to the empirical test of the influencing factors on the income disparity between urban and rural residents. There is a lack of systemic theoretical framework to explain the evolution of income disparity between urban and rural residents since the reform and opening. This paper tries to do this.

The income disparity between urban and rural residents is a structural problem, which reflects the result of non-equilibrium development of different sectors in the process of the transformation of economic structure. On the basis of above understanding, this paper constructs an analytical framework of sector labor productivity to the urban-rural residents income disparity, under which we make research on the evolution of the income disparity between urban and rural residents from the perspective of two influencing forces.

Apart from the systemic theoretical analytical framework, innovation and specialty of this paper are: first, we explain the income disparity between urban and rural residents from the perspective of the rise, the development, and the restructuring of rural industry. A model is constructed to explain the whole process of the rise, the development, and the restructuring of China's rural industry. We have proved that it is not feasible to achieve urban-rural integration and narrow the income disparity by path of rural industrialization.

Second, we reveal the internal mechanism of the continual improvement in organic composition of capital under the dual economy, labeled as labor force of “infinite supply”, and analyze how the improvement in organic composition of capital af-

fects the income disparity between urban and rural residents.

Third, we prove the relation of farmer scale with agricultural technology innovation from the perspective of the use of agricultural technology. We reveal the reason for the lower level of agricultural specialization from the perspective of transaction cost and resolve the policy priority order of how to improve agricultural TFP, narrow the income disparity between urban and rural residents.

In view of limited knowledge and inadequate diligence, there are still some deficiencies. First, it is too monotonous to study the evolution of the income disparity between urban and rural residents from the perspective of comparative labor productivity, ignoring the impact of many other factors. Second, because we don't conduct the field sampling survey on the income disparity and the data is collected from the national data released by the National Bureau of Statistics, whether or not the recommendations is feasible in practice is worth pondering.

**Key word:** Income disparity between urban and rural residents; Comparative labor productivity of agriculture; Structural transformation; Agricultural total factor productivity; Non-agricultural employment.

## 序

改革开放以后,中国实现了奇迹般的经济增长,成功跨越了贫困陷阱,成为中等收入国家。然而,与高速经济增长相伴随的是收入分配的不平衡。以基尼系数来衡量,中国从1978年的0.3左右迅速扩大到2013年的0.473。从功能性收入分配角度看,中国收入分配状况的恶化表现在劳动在国民收入中占比的持续下滑,当然,这也是收入分配恶化之原因。从个人收入分配角度看,东中西部之间的区域差异、城乡差异、城市内部与乡村内部差异的扩大是中国收入差距扩大的重要诱因。

新中国成立60多年以来,城乡居民收入差距一直是中国收入分配不平等的最重要来源。改革开放前,城乡居民收入差距源于落后的农业国实施工业化的必然结果,计划经济体制是实现资源从农村向城市流动的基本手段。改革开放以来,城乡居民收入差距经过改革初期的短暂缩小后持续扩大,目前,城市居民家庭人均可支配收入和农村居民家庭人均纯收入之比仍然在3以上,中国成为当今世界城乡居民收入差距较大的国家之一。如果考虑城市居民获得的各种政府显性和隐性补贴,城乡居民收入差距将更大。改革开放以来继续维持的城市偏向政策和市场经济下城市的集聚效应,是城乡居民收入差距持续扩大的重要机制。

中国城乡居民收入差距问题是国内外学术界关注的重点,文献汗牛充栋,研究主要从城市偏向的城乡政策、扭曲的劳动力市场、城乡二元结构、经济开放、金融发展和人力资本等角度展开。但是,中国城乡居民收入差距是经济发展过程中结构转变的产物,应该置于二元经济结构转变框架中进行研究,这样才抓住了问题的本质。城乡居民收入差距的根本原因是城市现代工业和农村传统农业不同的生产方式决定的城乡比较劳动生产率的差异,经济开放、劳动力市场、金融发展与人力资本等因素是通过影响城乡比较劳动生产率而发挥作用。正如马克思所言:“分配的结构完全决定于生产的结构,分配本身就是生产的产物,不仅就对象说是如此,而且就形式说也是如此。就对象说,能分配的只是生产的成果,就形式说,参与生产的一定形式决定分配的特定形式,决定参与

分配的形式。”<sup>①</sup>如今理论界对分配问题研究的最大误区恰恰是忽视了分配是生产方式的结果,脱离生产方式讨论分配问题。恰如布雷弗曼所说,“尤其是,对生产方式的批判已让位于对作为一种分配方式的资本主义的批判”<sup>②</sup>。遵循生产方式决定分配方式的理论进路,本书以城乡比较劳动生产率差异为主线,重点从农业部门产出水平和非农就业两个角度研究中国城乡居民收入差距的演进。

如果说城乡居民收入差距是城乡不同生产方式带来的劳动生产率差异的结果,那么,随着城乡生产方式的趋同,或者说农业现代化进程的推进,城乡居民收入差距趋于不断缩小,以至最终消失。因此,城乡居民收入差距的演进似乎也与库兹涅茨倒U型曲线规律一致。以至于有人认为,城乡居民收入差距过大问题,甚至分配恶化问题,并不重要,因为,随着经济发展它们最终会进入倒U型曲线的下行通道。这种认为城乡居民收入差距会自动消失的观点不利于解决城乡差距问题,阻碍了政府这只“看得见的手”构建城乡一体的和谐社会的努力。正如皮克提所言,在思考收入和财富分配问题时,我们要警惕任何的经济决定论<sup>③</sup>。美国、日本和西欧发达国家城乡居民收入差距之所以缩小,除受城乡比较劳动生产率发生变化的影响外,还因为这些国家农场主形成了强大的院外集团,游说政府,形成了保护本国农业的政策体系。因此,缩小中国城乡居民收入差距,除了要继续提高农业比较劳动生产率之外,中国农民还需要积极争取在政府政策制定中的话语权,推动中国农业保护政策体系的形成。

改革开放以后,国际和国内资本推动了市场在中国的迅速扩张:一方面带来了中国经济奇迹般的增长;另一方面,由于资本追逐剩余价值的本性,必然导致巨大的收入分配差距。为了解决剩余价值的实现问题,我们采取了出口导向型发展战略。但是,国内外经济形势和国际地缘政治的转变,导致市场扩张过程中的这种二元体系遭遇国内和国外的双重抵抗。为了回应这一挑战,新世纪以来,中国共产党领导的政府主动转变发展方式,通过覆盖城乡的社会保障网的构建,推动以内需为主的国家价值链和国内大循环经济的形成,走共同富裕的发展道路。由此,我们对中国城乡居民收入差距的缩小,城乡一体化的最终实现充满信心。

本书是在我的博士论文基础上修改而成的,由于论文完成于2008年,文中

①中共中央马克思恩格斯列宁斯大林著作编译局. 马克思恩格斯选集(第二卷)[M]. 北京:人民出版社,1972:98.

②布雷弗曼. 劳动与垄断资本:二十世纪中劳动的退化[M]. 北京:商务印书馆,1979:13.

③PIKETTY T. Capital in the Twenty-First Century[M]. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; 20.



数据截止于 2007 年。但是,2008 年之后中国城乡居民收入差距的演进轨迹并没有发生根本性变化,博士论文的分析框架仍然能够解释 2008 年之后的变迁,因此,本次修改就没有更新数据。同时,也是对博士阶段研究工作的一个总结。当然,由于作者才疏学浅,研究中还存在大量不足之处,敬请方家批评指正。

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