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首届经济增长与就业国际论坛

The First International Forum of Economic Growth and Employment

论文集

Selected Papers

2008 · BEIJING · CHINA

杨河清 沈琴琴 / 主编



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前 言

首届“经济增长与就业国际论坛”于2008年11月7日在北京成功举行。该论坛由首都经济贸易大学劳动经济学院发起,并与中国劳动关系学院、乌干达管理学院及约旦大学联合举办。

“经济增长与就业国际论坛”是我们今后将定期举办的一项重要活动,其宗旨是在进一步加强中外经济交流和学术交流的基础上,重点探讨经济增长和就业中的问题,并为政府决策提供服务。本论坛此次会议的主题是:中国经济快速增长的成因与当前就业形势研究。会议全面分析了我国改革开放30年来经济快速增长的成因和解决数亿城镇人口就业的经验,并就如何解决两亿农民进城就业的问题以及如何处理劳工成本上升与经济可持续发展,急需解决好劳动就业矛盾和劳资关系和谐等全国性与国际性的难题进行了广泛交流和深入研究。

出席本论坛本次会议的代表有来自41个国家的230多位中外政府官员、驻华使节以及来自清华大学、北京师范大学、北京交通大学、中国人民大学、科威特大学、约旦大学等30余所高等学府的专家、学者。本次会议受到国际社会的高度关注,乌干达等3个国家驻华特命全权大使,10余个国家的公使、参赞到会。原国家人事部常务副部长、全国博士后管理委员会主任程连昌,全国总工会原副主席杨兴福等领导到会致辞、颁发奖状。该论坛受到了国内外社会的广泛关注,有关政府部门、大专院校、科研机构、企业及相关单位的专家学者和企业积极投稿,筹备期间,共征集到来自各方面的中英文原创论文百余篇。

开幕式上,原国家人事部常务副部长、世界生物科学院院士程连昌,首都经济贸易大学校长文魁教授,中国劳动关系学院副院长沈琴琴教授先后致辞,对此次会议在正值中国改革开放30周年,同时正值由美国次贷危机引起的全球金融危机席卷全球背景下召开的现实意义予以了充分肯定。中外学者围绕“中国经济增长的动因和可持续性”、“中国劳动力市场及劳动力迁移”、“全球经济一体化与劳动就业”、“中国经济结构与人力资源开发、配置”、

“中国产业升级与就业”以及若干与经济增长和就业相关的议题开展了热烈的研讨。

具体来讲,本论坛本次会议的主要议题和观点归纳如下。

一、中国经济发展的成就与目前面临的困难

改革开放 30 年来,中国经济发展取得了举世瞩目的成就,GDP 年均增长 9.8%,年财政收入达到 5 万亿人民币,经济总量世界排名从 1978 年的第 10 位提高到 2008 年的第 3 位,外汇储备 1.98 万亿美元。中国国家发展与改革委员会社会发展研究所所长杨宜勇研究员在“中国经济的动力和可持续性”报告中,从中国经济的动力、中国经济可持续性的前景等方面对此进行专题分析,认为中国经济增长的动力来自于丰富的人力资源、较高的储蓄率和投资率、较好的教育和科技发展、企业家队伍的迅速成长以及计划经济向市场经济转型的成功。而由于中国的工业化和城市化进程还没有结束,再加上 13.2 亿人口形成的巨大的内部市场,将使中国在未来很长时间继续保持较高水平的持续增长。

在看到中国经济发展成就和未来前景的同时,我们不能忽视近期面临的困难。清华大学崔之元教授和首都经济贸易大学张连城教授从不同的角度进行了分析。崔之元教授首先对经济衰退做了有独到见解的定义,认为中国 GDP 增长在 5%~6% 时就是经济衰退,因为中国的劳动力结构与其他国家不同,如果没有较高速度的增长,就会出现严重的失业,进而影响经济持续发展。同时,他还进一步分析了中国政府在应对全球金融危机采取的短期、中期措施,他认为,中国在应对金融危机采取的短期措施是提高出口退税率,中期措施主要是扩大内需和逐步改变固定汇率制度。在指出中国政府在全球经济危机中受到的负面影响之后,崔教授同时也指出中国政府也可借此机会参加全球新布雷顿森林体系的形成进程,借此逐步放宽中国的资本流动控制,减少中国巨额外汇储备带来的压力,从而保证中国货币政策的独立性。约旦大学瓦迪尔·沙莱哈博士在“金融危机和新兴发展中国家”的报告中指出,世界金融危机的根本原因与其说是信贷出了问题不如说是世界经济的引擎出了问题,而大多数新兴发展中国家屈服于世界经济体系、将国有企业出售给外国资本等现状,进一步使金融危机加剧。最后他指出,全球的经济都呈现疲软,只有通过政府干预影响私人需求才能刺激经济。

中国目前经济发展面临的困难不仅来自于国际金融危机,同时还是经济发展周期的一种规律性表现,张连城教授在“中国经济周期与宏观经济走势”报告中指出,生产要素的投入、生产要素的效率、制度安排是经济长期增长趋势的决定因素;在对比分析了中国、俄罗斯、美国三国的经济增长路径和原因之后,他用统计数据和图表,重点对我国从 1949 年至今

不同时期的经济发展状况进行了总结和分析,指出中国经济在经历了一个较长时间的扩张期之后,自 2008 年开始进入了一个 2~3 年的收缩期,是经济周期的规律在发挥作用。但是,由于中国市场经济已经逐步成熟、经济增长路径上移以及中国保有的充足的资金储备,因此,中国经济长期高速增长趋势不会改变,即使在收缩期,GDP 的增长也不会跌到 8% 以下。

中国经济长期高速增长趋势不会改变是与会大多数专家的共识,北京师范大学赖德胜教授在总结过去 30 年发展的经验教训的基础上指出,包括公平、平等、共享式的共享性经济是可持续经济发展的选择;同时,他指出,保持经济高速增长、充分就业、收入分配的公平化是实现我国共享经济的关键,并结合我国当前经济中出现的问题提出了具体的措施建议。

二、劳动力市场变化与就业形势

经济发展状况在劳动力市场的直接反映就是就业形势,而就业形势也能反映出经济发展的整体和阶段性特征。我国自改革开放以来在就业方面取得的巨大成就是经济发展的结果,而 2008 年 9 月份已经完成的 940 万新增就业人数说明,在 2008 年面对世界性金融危机的情况下,通过政府各种刺激经济的政策和措施,我国经济仍然保持着较高速度的增长,保证 2008 年我国新增 1 000 万就业目标的实现。但我们又要清醒地认识到目前就业形势的复杂性。中国人力资源和社会保障部劳动科学研究院科学研究所副所长莫荣研究员在“中国就业形势和政策”报告中,首先对我国自改革开放以来采取的就业政策进行了总结和回顾,并指出“劳动力供过于求和结构性失业的矛盾”还将在我国长期存在,目前还面临着转轨就业、青年就业和农村劳动力转移就业“三碰头”的局势,其形势之复杂、任务之艰巨,是任何国家所没有的。

针对劳动力市场供求状况的变化,首都经济贸易大学纪韶教授从京津冀的实际出发,进行了科学的分析研究,在其“京津冀都市圈农业剩余劳动力数量的最新估算”报告中,在介绍了钱纳里估算法、刘易斯估算法、乔根森估算法的基本原理的基础上,评价和分析了这三种方法在中国的应用,并借助这些方法对我国京津冀地区农业剩余劳动力数量进行了估算,分析了这三个地区的流动人口的空间分布、来源和流向,他指出,目前流动人口主要分布在京津地区,而河北是主要的劳动力来源地,劳动力主要集中在实体经济领域,对这些地区来说,其面临的问题是,流动劳动力如何适应企业进一步提高竞争力和实现产业升级的需要。

在研讨过程中,大多数专家认为我国劳动力市场状况除了劳动力的数量供大于求外,更重要的是劳动力市场供求结构的矛盾,而随着我国产业的升级,这一矛盾还将越来越突出。中国人民大学董克用教授在“中国产业升级与就业”报告中指出,中国面临产业升级的动力

和压力,这种产业升级对就业可能产生的影响是对技术型、科技型以及第三产业中生产服务型人才需求的增加,为此,他认为,在产业升级过程中,促进就业的措施之一便是“人力资本投资先行”,培养更多的适应产业升级的人才。在目前的就业困难中,大学生就业难问题又是不可回避的,首都经济贸易大学杨河清教授在“中国的大学生就业”报告中分析了大学生的供求状况,从长期看是供应不足,近期出现就业困难主要原因一是前几年的大规模扩招,二是结构失衡,三是为防通胀而采取的抽紧银根的货币政策以及国际经济危机影响造成中国经济增速下滑等因素导致的就业需求的下降。对此,中国人民大学姚裕群教授的“大学生就业制度变迁”报告中首先从政府、高校、社会三个角度介绍了我国促进大学生就业的对策。从政府的角度来看,政府应该从保持经济增长、调整大学毕业生的供给数量、健全大学生就业法律法规和市场机制等六个方面着手,促进大学生就业;而高校应该从变革入学计划、实行差别收费、扩充投资渠道、提高教学质量、加强就业服务、完善评估办法六个方面努力;社会则要通过排除大学生就业障碍、加强校企联合、合理选择教育层次、合理利用社会关系网络等方面帮助大学生就业。

三、与经济增长和促进就业密切相关的问题

在分析中国经济发展和就业状况的基础上,与会专家还从重视人力资本投资和发展中小企业等角度进行了探讨。

1. 加强人力资本投资。中国劳动关系学院沈琴琴教授在“人力资本对城乡经济增长的贡献分析”报告中,通过对模型和数据的分析指出,改革开放 30 年来,人力资本投资对经济增长的贡献率不断提高,为保证中国经济的持续发展,人力资本投资的作用不容忽视。

中国就业促进会、中国人力资源和社会保障部职业技能鉴定中心学术委员会主任陈宇研究员则从技能人才开发的角度进一步分析人力资本投资的重点,他在“中国技能人才的开发”报告中就当前的国际国内形势谈了自己的一些感想,然后结合我国技能人才的基本现状进行了分析。他同时还指出,就业问题的根本是产业问题,认为未来的产业发展方向应该是:实体经济和虚拟经济相结合,多元化、个性化、柔性化相结合,人力资本密集、智力密集、创意密集等相结合的新型劳动组合的产业。

2. 发展中小企业。中国国务院参事、北京交通大学袁伦渠教授在“中国的中小企业与就业”报告中对我国中小企业对就业有很好的促进效应进行了分析,指出中国的就业政策应该向中小企业倾斜,同时就《中华人民共和国劳动合同法》的实施对中小企业的影响进行了分析。

科威特大学的那加尔教授在“发展私营企业是社会经济持续发展的主要因素:科威特案例”报告中,分“为什么在科威特要发展私人企业、发展私人企业的科威特政府战略以及科威特发展私人企业的 SWOT 分析”三部分,就“发展私人企业是社会经济持续发展的主要因素:科威特案例”主题进行了详尽的论述。

中国湖南省耒阳市殷宸茗副市长在“从蔡伦故里看地方经济发展”的报告中,在介绍耒阳市经济与社会发展状况的基础上,结合当地经济及地域特色介绍和提出了该市在促进就业方面的经验、措施和建议。

综上所述,本论坛本次会议就各项议题进行了广泛交流和深入研究,取得了圆满成功,不仅针对经济增长和就业问题进行了大量的专题分析,而且提出了下届论坛举办的思路以及需要进一步深入研究的内容等。

为记录本论坛的优秀成果,我们将本论坛本次会议所有演讲文稿通过评审,选编了部分与主题相符、水平较高、有一定建树的论文汇编成本文集,以供大家学习和交流。本文集共收编论文 69 篇,约 40 余万字,内容涉及国际金融危机、中国经济走势、产业升级与调整、中国就业形势、中国企业劳动关系、人才培养、大学生就业、农民工就业等方面,基本上代表了我国经济与就业领域最新研究成果,总体上反映了中国经济及就业发展趋势和规律,对经济健康快速发展和就业促进具有较强的指导意义。

本论坛首次会议的举办得到了国内外有关机构和北京华夏赫尔国际教育研究中心等单位的积极协助和大力支持,首都经济贸易大学、中国劳动关系学院、乌干达管理学院及约旦大学的老师们和首都经济贸易大学劳动经济学院的博士研究生王飞鹏、王丹、刘丽、潘虎、王阳、凌云、何勤、李楠、张明、肖鹏燕,硕士研究生孟续铎、李晓曼等对本论坛的举办和本论文集的出版做了大量的工作,首都经济贸易大学出版社对本论文集的出版给予了大力的支持和帮助,对此,一并表示诚挚的谢意;同时,对所有应征投稿的各界朋友们表示衷心的感谢。

2009 年正值我们伟大祖国 60 周岁之际,谨以此论文集向国庆献礼,祝愿祖国繁荣昌盛、国泰民安!

由于版面有限,也为给读者提供更多的优秀论文,并为保持作者观点的原创性,我们没有将中英文论文进行互译,因而给读者带来阅读上的不便,同时,由于文稿数量多,编辑工作量大、时间紧,且编者水平有限,本论文集如有不当之处,敬请作者和读者批评指正。

杨河清

二零零九年一月八日于中国·北京

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Amount Imbalance and Structural Imbalance—Analysis in the Reasons of Employment Difficulty of Graduates in China

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1. Arising of Problems of Graduate Employment in China

In accordance with the three phase theory of higher education, the transition from elite to mass to universal access (the gross enrollment rates^② are below 5% , 15 % and above 50% respectively), described by American scholar Martin Trow, China's higher education has transformed from an education for the elite to one for the mass since the expanded enrollment in higher educational institutions starting from 1999. In fact, college admission expansion has generated both negative and positive effects, among which the most negative influence is the change from high employment rate to employment difficulty of graduates. The average employment rate of graduates (employment contract signed before 1st September every year) has declined to 70% in recent years in China; meanwhile, the average starting salary for graduates has also decreased dramatically under the pressure in employment market driven by the amount of supply exceeding that of demand. In this context, the employment quality has been affected directly.

The employment problems in China can be categorized into general problems and particular problems, representing the structural issues existing in both the national and international labor markets as a whole, and specific issues in employment market of graduates in China, including structural problems rooted in China's unusual situation as well as the amount imbalance of supply and demand caused by specific policies.

It is undoubted that the supply-demand imbalance triggered by rapid enrollment expansion gives rise to employment difficulty of graduates. Under the surface of increased admission, however, there hides another more influential factor—structural imbalance, which deteriorates the employment situation and forms a root cause of employment problems. It is the policy of the government to boost university's enrollment, therefore the problem of amount imbalance could be solved relatively quick through policy adjustment. In contrast, structural imbalance is a result of combined influence of natural, technical and political factors. It exists universally and could be

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② Gross enrollment rate is the ratio of student number against total population at the same ages.

improved to some extent through policy adjustment. However, it would be difficult to eliminate the effect of natural and technical factors through policy measures. In some sense, the top priority of policy measures should be given to the improvement of market environment in order to nurture a mature market to exert self-adjustment function. Because structural imbalance is normal, employment problems arose from it will be enduring. Employment difficulty induced by structural imbalance has been in existence for long even before the policy of enrollment increase was taken effect, and it will remain in existence in the future even though the employment problems caused by supply-demand imbalance have been solved.

2. Is There A Supply Surplus of Graduates in China

It is necessary to distinguish the supply-demand relationship in short term and long or medium term when answering this question.

In short term, it is believed that the amount of supply exceeds the demand considering the employment difficulty many graduates are experiencing. Nevertheless, the surplus is rather a superficial one if estimating the demand for social development in China. There are three reasons behind this judgment. First, in general, the whole society has not been well prepared to take suddenly increased graduates in short period. For instance, unrealistic notion of employment due to social influence and family expectation may prevent graduates from seeking positions they should be able to undertake. Second, the employment structure is extremely imbalanced, including regional imbalance (destinations of graduates are centralized in eastern developed areas and large cities), major and capability imbalance (the mismatch between the majors and capabilities of graduates and the market needs), gender imbalance (female graduates experience more difficulties in employment), and position imbalance (organizations with poor economic performance and hard physical conditions have many unfilled vacancies that are open to graduates, meanwhile some graduates remain unemployed). If the imbalance in employment structure could be improved, the employment problems would be moderated accordingly. Third, graduates account for a very small ratio of the total employment population in China, lagging far behind developed countries. As demonstrated in 1% national census in 2005, 5.18% of the total labor population (age 15 ~ 64) has received higher education, in comparison, the average figures in the US and Canada were 46.5% and 46.9% respectively from 1995 to 1997. ^①

In long or medium term, as conceived in the 17th CPC National Congress, China's GDP is expected to be quadrupled by the year 2020 against 2000 and average income of citizen will increase to 4 500 US dollars, which is the upper middle level in developing countries. The population who has received higher education accounts for around 10% of nation's total in developing countries with the same income level, but the ratio in China is only 5.1%. Referring to this figure, it is estimated that the total amount of population with higher education background should be 126 million by 2020 in China (based on 9% GDP growth rate), with an increase of 60 million from now on. It means an annual net growth of 6 million talents is required for the next

① Special situations in different countries should also be taken into consideration, not only the percentage.

decade in order to achieve this target.

In conclusion, the supply should not exceed the demand considering the real need for social development in China in the near future, even though a large number of graduates have experienced employment problems currently due to relatively low level of readiness for the society to absorb suddenly increased amount of graduates for a couple of reasons. If the size of enrollment maintained at current level and the entire employment environment made no tremendous change, the situation would get improved in next few years. In a long or medium run, current amount of university students are far away from sufficient, and about 60 million more talents are required by 2020. In this regard, generating around 6 million graduates every year in the following ten years will satisfy the need of social economic development, and will not cause employment difficulty.

Insufficient in a long or medium run but abundant in short term constitutes the time-dependent imbalance in supply-demand relationship of graduates.

3. Employment Difficulty Triggered by Structural Imbalance

A number of reasons give rise to the employment difficulty of graduates. In addition to the rapid expansion in enrollment, insufficient preparation of the market, students and their families, there exists another significant reason, the structural imbalance in employment. The phenomenon of employment difficulty will be moderated in few years; however, the structural problem will last for a long period.

The structural imbalance manifests itself in four aspects shown as below.

(1) “U-V” structure problem. As one of the major aspects of employment problems in China, “U (unemployment) -V (vacancies)” structure problem refers to the phenomenon that some applicants are unemployed while some vacancies are unfilled in employment market. This problem is associated with education delivery and major settings.

(2) Gender structure problem. Employment difficulty is especially serious for female graduates. There is no evidence that employability of female undergraduates is weak than that of male. The majority of female students are majored in literature, history and economic management, which are entitled to managerial posts in organizations. At present, most of such managerial positions in organizations are filled by women, therefore, organizations tend to recruit men for these vacancies. Take Capital University of Economics and Business as an example, it is relatively easy for male graduates with a Human Resource Management major to find a job than for female graduates.

The phenomenon of more girls registered in economic management or similar majors may relate to examination system and matriculating policy, but not to the growth in enrollment. Thus, it is necessary to take measures from senior high school or university entrance examination. If memory-typed questions were reduced in examinations, if matriculating decision were not merely based on the scores, the gender structure would be adjusted to some extent.

(3) Regional structure problem. Regional structure problem refers to the phenomenon that the majority of graduates seek employment in large cities and eastern coastal areas, and very few would like to work in middle or small cities or western areas. It concerns about individual career

development and has a close connection with labor market segmentation in nature.

As suggested by American scholar M. Piore and B. Doeringer in 1970s in their theory of labor market segmentation, labor market has been segmented into primary and secondary markets, differentiated mainly by education background requirements for applicants and correlation between education background and income. In primary labor market, university education is a must, jobs are stable, with good working conditions and welfare, good development opportunities, correlation between education and income is also positive. Whereas in secondary labor market, a high school education is good enough, jobs are unstable with low wages, no apparently positive correlation between education and income.

In secondary segment, employees normally have low job satisfaction, weak sense of belongings, frequent changes of jobs, but it is almost impossible for them to get employed in primary market. Whereas in primary division, although it is relatively easy for unemployed individual to get jobs in secondary labor market, they would rather remain unemployed in this segment, considering the benefit gap between two markets and the difficulty of returning to primary jobs once than get employed in secondary market. In addition, human capital possessed by graduates will not add value automatically, which means if they chose secondary jobs, their human capital might leave unused and devalue gradually, putting them at a disadvantage when they seek employment later.

According to this theory, the increase in unemployment of graduates is a result of the constant decrease in employment opportunities in primary labor market and the unwillingness of seeking employment in secondary segment. At present, there has been a complicated segmentation of labor market in China for historical reasons, apart from city-rural segmentation, SOE-non-SOE segmentation, segmentation has also presented regional difference between well developed areas and less developed areas, which has exerted influence to employment expectations and destinations of graduates.

Working in big cities will provide graduates with more promotional opportunities as well as high salary. It is reasonable for them to make such choice in this regard. Therefore, there are considerable difficulties in modifying regional imbalance and the fundamental solution rests with achieving balanced development of regional economy. Additionally, effective supporting policies are necessary to deal with a series of practical problems graduates may encounter when they begin to work in rural areas, small cities or western regions. As one essential reason of employment difficulty of graduates at present, regional structure problem will persist for a long period of time in employment market.

(4) Supply-demand structure imbalance. In labor market, the demand for labor and talent represents itself a request not only for quantity, but also for labor levels and professional structure. Three distinct problems have been witnessed in the process of graduate employment recently. The first one relates to different situations for graduates with different majors or disciplines. It is relatively easy for some graduates to get employed, whereas others have a struggle finding jobs. The second one is that employment market for graduates and junior college student

have been occupied by postgraduates. The final problem concerns graduates themselves, as their competences are not high enough and their scopes of knowledge are relatively narrow. To some extent, these problems reflect the mismatch between the supply structure of education system and demand structure of labor market.

The problem of what industry and which occupation in graduate's employment choice will be a long lasting or even everlasting one, determined by the time lag between talent cultivating scheme of universities and changes in labor market. It was to be moderated only if higher education would be highly integrated with the employment market.

Currently, the problem of supply structure of higher education in China manifests itself in the following aspects.

(1) Development in vocational and technical education falls behind. Higher education structure is determined to a great extent by national economic structure, especially by industry structure. With the upgrading and diversification of industry structure, higher education system in all developing countries has experienced a two-side expansion from merely undergraduate level to postgraduate and academy levels, in which vocational and technical education provides a solid foundation for higher education system. Because social economic development has an increased demand for talent with practical skills, which could be generated from vocational and technical education as it maintains a close tie with social economy, the expansion of higher education is mainly achieved by significant development in the short term higher education, i. e. vocational and technical education.

For instance, twentieth century has witnessed a dramatic development in junior college and community college in America, which not only prepares students for higher education but also provides technical workers for different industries. Approximately, there are 2 000 colleges of this kind in America. In 1950s, the first senior technical college was originated in Britain. From 1960s to 1970s, Japan initiated short-term university for women, senior technological academy for the second industry as well as specialized training school for the third industry. In contrast, vocational and technical education in China is problematic. In the first place, it accounts for a low portion in the entire higher education system. For instance, percentages of student registered in vocational education against general higher education in Beijing were 12.3%, 12.9%, 14.8%, 15.5%, 15.7% and 17.5% respectively from 1998 to 2003, showing a 5% increase within 5 years. The proportion of the number of postgraduate, undergraduates to vocational and technical college students was 25:100:17 in 1998 and 34:100:28 in 2003, reflecting a typical shape of spindle. ① In terms of supply-demand relationship, the level structure of postgraduate, undergraduate and college student is severely imbalanced, as illustrated in Figure 1.

(2) Major set-up in universities lags behind the demand of social economic development. By

① Yiyi Sun. Analysis in the Actuality of Vocational Education in Beijing. Beijing: Modern Education Newspaper, October 9th, 2004.

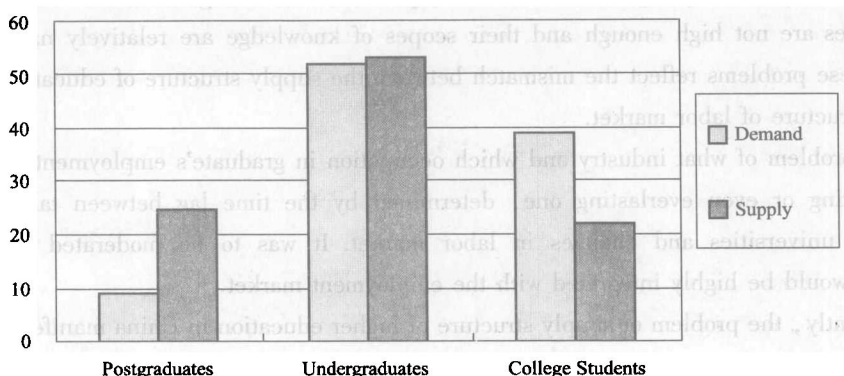


Figure 1 Supply-demand Structure at Different Levels in Beijing in 2007

Source: Project Report, *Research in Employment Market for Graduates in Beijing*

the end of 2007, there were 1908 universities in China.^①In general, knowledge structure of graduates does not satisfy social needs; neither does major set-up in universities follow the rapid changes in market. There exists a high correlation between employment and regional economic development cycle, as well as the adjustment in industrial structure, which will cause the changes in occupation, position and post. Statistics shows that the speed of changes in market demand for professional and managerial talent is 2 to 4 times faster than that of major adjustment in universities, which is normally a 4-year cycle. In reality, a hot occupation in huge demand four years ago could become an unsalable one in four years. Therefore, the time-lag between supply adjustment and demand change is one of the major reasons of employment difficulty.

Take Beijing municipality as an example, according to the data from Employment Information Network for Graduates in Beijing, majors in heavy demand from 2001 to 2004 concentrated in engineering and management, whereas the top three majors with the most graduates were engineering, literature and management at the same period, without any change within four years. It is obvious that education has fallen behind the market change; thus, employment market forecast should be enhanced.

Other relevant problems include the incomplete and non-standard legal system in the process of transferring from planned economy to market economy, irrational growth in enrollment in some universities, blindfold major set-up and overlap. As a result, it would be very difficult for graduates to meet the market demand under these unfavorable conditions.

(3) Quality of higher education declines. The decline in education quality is another important reason of graduates' employment difficulty. The expansion of higher education increases the diversity of graduates, they may share the same education experience, but their capabilities show a world of difference. The enrollment expansion has provided opportunity for more people to receive higher education, however, the overall level of students are declined and the signal

^① Ministry of Education of PRC. Statistic Report on the Development of National Education Affairs. Beijing April, 2008.