

曹亚◎著

# 要素配置失衡背景下的 劳动力乡城就业转移 应对研究

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## 摘 要

20 世纪 70 年代末以来,随着家庭联产承包责任制的实行,农村社会经济运行模式发生了深刻变化,在一定程度上调动了农民农业生产积极性,促进了农业生产发展,与此同时,农业剩余劳动力就业问题日趋突出,亟待解决。由此,关于农村劳动力就业转移的政策也经历了从控制到允许再到鼓励的演变,在此背景下,农村劳动力大规模进入城市非农部门务工并成为这部分劳动力的主要就业选择,乡城两部门生产方式随之发生调整,农民工逐渐成为城镇非农就业的主体。但农民工群体始终未被纳入城市登记失业人口的统计范畴,无法享受就业扶助和社会保障,加之该劳动群体的人力资本承载度相对较低,这导致农民工在劳动力市场上地位脆弱,对宏观经济波动的敏感度极大。随着劳动力市场的剧烈演变,农村劳动力流迁就业呈现出新特征、新问题,尽管已有研究在认识现有就业问题提供了很多有益见解,但由于研究视角的差异以及问题的复杂性,导致争议较多且部分研究结论与现实相矛盾。在借鉴已有研究并联系农村劳动力流迁就业现状进行反复思考的基础上,本书认为,劳动力流迁就业与资本、土地二要素部门间的配置调整相伴,农村劳动力就业流迁问题实质上是要素资源在乡城间结构性重组中引致的。鉴于此,作者指出,要从根本上把握农村劳动力流迁就业进程中出现的问题及其演进趋势,提出切合实际的应对措施,需要将农村劳动力流迁就业与要素部门间配置联系起来展开分析。

对 1990—2010 年间中国农村劳动力流迁就业各阶段演变进程的回顾分析发现,在我国社会经济持续快速发展过程中,乡村要素部门间配置失衡与农村劳动力就业流迁相伴,这增加了农村劳动力流迁就业问题的解决难度。主要表现如下:其一,对高素质劳动力的较高社会需求与农户教育、培训投入增长缓慢相悖,劳动生产率与劳动收入不对称,且人力资本差异所形成的收入差距大多被务工与生活成本所抵消,这使得农户教育投入增长缓慢、农民工参加培训意愿较低。在产业结构调整升级及劳动力人力资本承载较低的背景下,劳动力教育培训投入现状将为劳动市场波动出现埋下隐患。其二,城乡之间,农村内部,区域、部门与行业间要素收入差距持续扩大,且农户

收入存在分层“锁定”或固化趋势。在此情况下，居民间收入差距扩大且功能性收入增长缓慢会对农村经济的良性发展产生消极影响继而波及农户经济决策。其三，农村劳动力转移就业经历了“两潮两荒”，即“民工潮”、“民工荒”、“返乡潮”与“用工荒”。在此过程中出现一个悖论：一方面，农村劳动力求职难、创业成功几率低、收入增长缓慢，部分就业应对政策具有较强的暂时、固化特征，不能从根本上解决问题；另一方面，企业劳动力需求难以得到满足，且劳动供求易受经济波动影响。在此过程中，劳动价格对劳动力市场供求变动的敏感度较低，劳动价格低估与扭曲严重。其四，乡村劳动力、资本逆向输出与农地低效利用并存。农地现有经营模式下，劳动力、资本逆向输出，而资本单向输出引致农业生产中人均资本下降，非同质条件下低人力资本存量的留乡务农劳动力与现代农业技术水平不匹配，土地低效利用出现并持续。以上问题表明，农村劳动力就业转移与要素估价偏误、配置失衡相伴，并趋于复杂化，如不能有效解决，可能会导致农村劳动力陷入就业不稳定怪圈，使得农户收入增长诉求无法得到满足甚至部分农户返回贫困境地。

此外，作者还对武汉、恩施等地进行了抽样调查，对样本数据进行的分析表明，宏观经济环境调整会对劳动要素原有格局造成较大冲击，问题形成的主要原因有：1. 农村劳动力就业路径单一与就业信息不充分，导致务工者抗风险能力低；2. 农村劳动力人力资本承载度较低，无法有效适应经济结构调整与波动下的宏观经济环境；3. 要素市场化配置不健全，要素价格对市场供求变动的敏感度低；4. 非农部门劳动力承载度有限，而乡村二元经济结构下的非农部门尚未有效开发；5. 劳动力需求方调整转移滞后，劳动供求双方难以有效结合。

为进一步验证前述研究结论，本文引入统计年鉴数据，分别以土地、资本二要素乡城配置调整与农村劳动力流迁就业间的互动为切入点展开实证分析。首先，以农地经营模式调整为研究视角展开的实证分析表明，虽然三要素都与农业部门产出具有显著相关性，但在影响程度和方向上存在差异，同质要素部门间配置的边际产出差异趋于缩小，这在一定程度上验证了书中假定，即农地流转经营规范与契约化有助于要素的优化配置。当然，劳动力要素两部门边际产出逐年上升，但产出差距呈发散趋势，其中，人力资本承载度在产出差距扩大过程中发挥了较大影响。引入劳均资本、单位劳动产出与劳均耕地量，对农地经营模式调整与要素配置间的互动机制展开分析则发现，现有农地经营模式对劳动力与资本构成斥力，阻碍劳动力与资本的有效

结合,而这反过来削弱了要素优化配置的可能。在此过程中,价格机制与农地经营规范状况发挥着显著作用。其次,从城乡资本配置与劳动力流迁就业间的互动角度进行的研究则表明,尽管城乡收入差距、就业机会不均等等引致农村劳动力大量流向城市、非农部门,且劳动力两部门配置的实现也促进了经济的高速增长,一定程度上解决了乡村劳动力过剩问题,实现了农民收入增长,但由于城市容纳能力有限及要素估价偏误的存在,使得城市化进程中的要素投入产出效益并不尽如人意,甚至降低了城市发展对经济增长的正向促进作用。当人口迁移超过了城市化发展的极限且迁移者无法获取内外助力时,劳动就业进入或退出机制欠缺将导致迁移者陷入更加严峻的生活、就业困境。我们需要思考乡村人口迁移与城市化进程中的要素配置规律,规避对某种发展倾向的过度倾斜,以促进农村劳动力以及相伴要素在部门间的优化配置。此外,乡村资本配置远没有充分发挥吸纳农村劳动力的积极作用,乡村二元经济结构的存在为农村劳动力本地就业的实现留下较大的空间。

基于以上研究,本书指出,促进农村劳动力顺利实现流迁就业与相伴要素的优化配置有助于农户收入增长、农村稳定以及农业部门持续均衡发展。故此,将人力资本差异作为估价依据并剔除非市场干扰因素,构建要素配置预警机制以及前瞻性政策的预先推出,寻找政府、劳动力供求双方间的最佳利益联结点,构建要素市场化配置与劳动力就业安置联动体系,是解决问题的关键。对农民工流迁就业源起、演变趋势的分析也表明,就业流向单一会强化对某一转移区域的依赖性,在乡村经济内部吸纳力不足的条件下,流迁就业劳动力难以应对经济波动下的就业振荡。在制度环境变革尚未完成的情况下,“二重”社会格局将继续影响民工去留决策,以小城镇为代表的县域经济发展对民工返乡就业安置的作用凸显。此外,本书还指出,现有研究同当前产业及投资向中西部地区转移的宏观经济环境及国家资金下投反哺农村政策存在一定差距。当前宏观经济环境发生较大变化,如经济政策从过度依赖外部市场转向内外并重、产业结构调整转移与中西部承接趋势显现以及政策由偏重大中城市转向农村倾斜并促进城乡并行发展等,应利用这一有利变化,结合农村劳动力转移就业演变规律,适时调整与引导农民工流迁就业方向,以乡村城镇化为契机,实现就业与社会经济发展的有机结合。

基于以上研究,本书提出如下应对建议:其一,以农地经营模式的变化为切入点,将农村劳动力流迁就业、小城镇建设与解决乡村“空心化”问题结合起来,在有效配置乡村资源的同时构建劳动力梯级就业体系。其二,以要素价格重构为切入点,构建要素市场化估价与优化配置路径。其三,基

于农村劳动力阶段性流迁就业演进趋势的分析，构建劳动力稳定就业机制。包括：加强实用性培训，帮助农民工在危机淘汰效应所形成的新务工市场中稳定就业并有效推行就业保障机制；将支农补贴、就业安置专项资金及农民储蓄三者以入股形式建立社区银行以增加信贷供给并提供理财指导的可行性分析；将政府部门与高校、企业等社会资源结合起来，建立创业咨询机构，为农民工返乡创业提供智力支持、风险规避常识教育等操作路径等。

**关键词：**要素配置失衡；农村劳动力；流迁就业；应对

## Abstract

Since late 1970s and early 1980s in the 20th century, socio-economic reforms stimulated the enthusiasm of farmers greatly and promoted the development of agricultural production along with the implementation of Household Contract Responsibility System by adjusting the rural social economy. While the problems of rural surplus labor force need to be solved, employment policy on transfer of rural labor such is adjusted. Then large-scale rural labor transferred into cities, non-agricultural work in the city became main trend. Then the mode of production in the two departments adjusted accordingly and the migrant workers have become the subject of urban non-agricultural employment. However, compared to urban residents, migrant workers are not included in the scope of the registered unemployment rate in city and can not enjoy employment assistance and social protection. Because the labor groups carrying low human capital relatively, transfer employment of rural labor in the labor market is vulnerable, extremely sensitive to macroeconomic fluctuations. With the dramatic evolution of the labor market, migration employment of rural labor presents new features and new problems. Thus domestic and foreign scholars start much analysis deeply, which is important to understand the problem of rural surplus labor in China. But there are more controversial and some contradictory between the theory and practice areas because of different perspectives for studying and the problem of transfer employment of rural labor tends to complicate. After ruminating by linking the existing theoretical perspectives in migration of rural labor force and employment status. The author believes that analyzing the migrated employment and the elements of the configuration can help us to grasp thoroughly the problems and the evolution of trend in the migration process of rural surplus labor, proposing measures meeting a realistic problem because the labor movement itself is structural reorganization of factor between urban and rural areas.

To review the evolution process of each stage of migration employment of rural



labor from 1990 to 2010, we can find that the allocation imbalance of village factors combined with migration employment of rural labor, which resist the realization of employment of rural labor during the process of our society's sustained and rapid economic development. Mainly as follows: First, there is contradiction among the need of labors who should carry a high human capital and the slow growth of investment of the community's education, training. Labor productivity is asymmetry with labor income, and most of the income gap which is formed by the income differences of human capital is offsetted by the cost of living, which lead to the declination of farmers' education investment continuously, less willing of migrant workers to participate in relevant training. In the context of industrial restructuring, the lower human capital of labor education and training will exacerbate the volatility of the labor market. Second, existing research believes that the income gap between urban and rural areas lead to the transfer employment of rural labor and ultimately realize the convergence of the marginal product of agricultural labor with the community's average output. However, survey data and some studies have shown that income gap among urban and rural, rural house, regional, sector and industry is growing continually, and the trend of stratified "lock" or curing of household income appeared. In this case, the residents' income gap grows and the function income slows which will have a negative impact on development of rural economy and then spread to economic decision-making of farmers. Third, transfer employment of rural labor experienced "two-wave and two shortages", namely: "farmers' frenzied hunt for work in cities", "labor shortage", "Rushing Home" and "labor shortage." A paradox emerges in that process. On the one hand, to employ for the rural labor force is difficult, and the probability of success to start an enterprise is low, income's growth is slow, part employment policy has short-term, curing characteristics, they can not fundamentally solve the problem. On the other hand, it is difficult to meet business demand for labor, and labor' demand and supply are vulnerable to economic fluctuations. In this process, it is sensitivity for the price of labor to the supply and demand in the labor market and the price of labor is distorted seriously and underestimated. Fourth, the two-factor of capital and labor flow reversely from arable land, which in turn leads to inefficient use of land. Under the existing business model of agricultural land, labor, capital reverse output, while

capital-way output cause that the per capita agricultural production decreased, rural labor force whose human capital is low left in agriculture under non-homogeneous conditions does not match with the level of modern agricultural technology, the use of land is inefficient. These questions indicate that the transfer of rural labor force accompanied with incorrect valuation on elements, configuration imbalance and tends to complicated. If the problem can not solved effectively, it will lead employment of rural labor into a instability cycle, the need of income growth of household can not be met, even part of farmers Re-enter poverty dilemma.

The research objectives of this book is to make a balanced allocation of elements and the smooth realization of migration employment of rural labor, with some empirical analysis and study deeply the mobility interaction among the factor market distortions, configuration imbalances, economic volatility and employment of labor based on the comprehensive review on theory of the element configuration and migration employment of rural labor. In addition, the book has used some statistical data by investigating in some sample area (including: the suburbs of Wuhan, Huangshi and Enshi in Hubei province, Anqing and Bozhou in Anhui province). Empirical analysis shows that the main reasons which have resulted allocation imbalance of factor and repetition transfer employment of rural labor accompanied are as follows: (1) employment path of rural labor force is single and the information is not sufficient, which make the ability of resisting risks of migrant workers low; (2) human capital which rural labor load is low, which cause migrant workers can not adapt to economic restructuring and the fluctuations of the macroeconomic environment effectively; (3) the market of elements allocation is not perfect, factor price is not sensitive to changes of labor market; (4) The accommodated degree of non-agricultural sector on work force is limited, while the non-agricultural sector of the rural dual economic structure has not developed effectively; (5) the transfer adjustment of the side of labor demand is straggled, it is difficult for labor supply to integrate with the demand effectively.

The book study the allocation of factors by building empirical models, the study shows that the marginal output of the non-homogeneous labor element of the two departments increased year by year and the price has affected allocation state of factors. The research pointed out that it is contributed to the growth of

household income, rural stability and harmony, and the sustainable development of agricultural sector through promoting rural labor's successful employment and safeguarding its stability. We should eliminate non-market confounding factors, build early warning system and address pre-launch policy, look for the best connection point among the government, labor suppliers and demands-side. Through analysis on the origin and evolution trend of migrant workers' repeated employment, we can found that returning home temporarily is the normal response for farmers to cope with external shocks. Migrant workers make their villages and the land which connected to their villages as a "firewall". After the easing of the macroeconomic environment, rural labor will migrant to the cities, especially developed areas again. That shows that the simplified employment will weaken the ability to deal with external shocks for migrant workers and strengthen the dependence on some transfer regions. while the ability of absorbing the rural labor force is insufficient in agricultural sector and the internal of rural economy, which cause migrant workers can not to cope with economic fluctuations. Under the institution that the changes of system environment have not been completed, the "double" social pattern will continue to affect workers' employment decisions. Thus county' economic development which makes small towns as behalf will highlight the role of home placement for migrant workers.

Based on the above, the article propose the following recommendations: First, to build stable mechanism of employment for rural labor combined with the current status of job placement of migrant workers whose returned their homeland based on the analysis of the evolution trend of migrant workers' employment. these measures include: to help migrant workers employ in the new employment market which formed out of the crisis through strengthening the practical training and building mechanism of employment security; to establish community banks in the form of shareholders which include agriculture subsidies, special funds for job placement and farmers' savings, increasing the supply of credit and providing financial guidance; to provide intellectual support and education on the risk aversion for migrant workers whom return home to build business to make full use of the social resources which include government departments and universities, enterprises among others. Second, to build diversified employment system based on the current employment situation combined with the county economic

## Abstract

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development status where the small towns are on behalf of them. Including: to digest labor in the internal of rural “dual” economy; to improve success probability of build business by providing project design and intellectual and capital support programs from government in order to avoid risk; and construct cascade path of labor’s employment based on the analysis of employment path and the current status of migration.

Key words: imbalance of factor allocation; rural labor; migrated employment;  
Response

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# 第一章 导言

## 第一节 研究背景及意义

20 世纪 70 年代末、80 年代初以来,随着家庭联产承包责任制的实行,社会经济改革以农村社会经济运行模式的调整为突破口,在极大刺激农民农业生产积极性、促进农业生产发展的同时,农业剩余劳动力问题成为农村亟待解决的问题。此后,针对农村劳动力转移就业的政策也经历了从控制到允许再到鼓励的调整演变,随着农村劳动力大规模进入城市非农产业务工主流趋势的稳定,城乡两部门的生产方式也作出相应调整,转移就业农村劳动力已经成为城镇非农就业的主体(见表 1-1)。然而,相对于城市居民,农民工群体不被列入登记失业率的统计范畴,无法享受到就业扶助和社会保护,加之这个劳动群体的人力资本承载度相对较低,由此,转移就业农村劳动力在劳动力市场上处于脆弱地位,受宏观经济波动的影响极大。

表 1-1 城镇就业总人数及农民工总量、占比变动 单位:万人%

年份	城镇就业总人数	农民工		农民工占城镇就业比例
		数量	年增长率	
2000	23151	7850	-	33.9
2001	23940	8400	7.0	35.1
2002	24780	10470	24.6	42.3
2003	25639	11390	8.8	44.4
2004	26476	11820	3.8	44.6
2005	27331	12580	6.4	46.0
2006	28310	13210	5.0	46.7
2007	29350	13650	3.3	46.5
2008	30210	14040	2.9	46.5
2009	31120	14533	3.5	46.7

资料来源:国家统计局,《中国农村住户调查年鉴》(历年),中国统计出版社。

随着劳动力市场的剧烈演变,农村劳动力流迁就业呈现出新特征、新问题,如劳动力市场多重分割的存在、就业岗位缩小与结构性空缺并存、生活成本的持续上升等,在产业结构调整转移及中西部地区尤其是小城镇经济有了较大改观背景下,伴随着农村劳动力乡城转移就业这一主流趋势,返乡可能将持续出现。对此,国内外学者展开了较为深入的分析,这有助于了解中国农村剩余劳动力转移问题,但由于问题趋于复杂以及研究视角的不同,出现了较多争议且出现了部分理论与现实相悖之处。在将现有理论观点与农村劳动力流迁就业现状联系起来反复思考的基础上,作者认为,要透彻把握农村剩余劳动力流迁就业进程中出现的问题及其演进趋势,提出切合实际的应对举措,需要将农村劳动力流迁就业与要素部门间的配置连接起来展开分析,因为与劳动力流动就业本身相伴随的其实是一种要素资源在乡城间的结构性重组问题。为此,需在分析经济波动对农村劳动力流迁就业影响的同时,深入探究劳动力就业反复背后的深层原因,以保障农村劳动力就业稳定,从而促进农村、农业以及农民问题的顺利解决。

## 一、研究背景

我国当前整体经济中生产率低下的农业部门与生产率较高的城市工业部门并存,而农产品价格弹性较高、对农民的转移支付及对农村公共产品的投入等对农民收入增长的贡献度较小,于是较大的城乡劳动收益差距成为农村劳动力转移就业的主因,而就业转移又是减少农村富余劳动力、增加农民收入及缩小城乡差距的有效途径。随着未来几年劳动资源总量的持续增长,劳动力市场的竞争程度将持续加剧。作为农村劳动力人力资本投资的一种形式,农村劳动力的转移就业对我国经济增长具有重要影响。2004—2008年,连续五个中央“一号文件”都以“三农”问题的根本解决为目标,而“三农”问题的根本解决和社会主义新农村建设又以农村剩余劳动力的有序顺畅转移为核心内容。

在2007—2009年国际金融危机发生期间,农民工异地就业环境恶化,大量农民工无奈选择返乡,而随着金融危机有向中西部地区实体经济蔓延趋势的显现,相关行业的就业需求随之减少,在对城镇新增就业产生不利影响的同时,进一步挤压了中西部地区农民工就业能力。金融危机的发生严重冲击了农村剩余劳动力的顺利转移、农业生产率提高及城市化的进程,而乡镇企业、第三产业的发展远不足以有效缓解城乡劳动力就业问题。鉴于此,国家推出了系列投资政策,与农村、农民联系极为紧密。同时,采取相关金融



措施促进经济增长这一政策中，将对包括“三农”、中小企业等加大支持力度列为重点，这为农民工的有效就业提供了一个平台。2009 年中央一号文件进一步提出，应妥当安置农民工，扩大农村劳动力就业，这要求我们必须重视当前农民工就业安置问题。

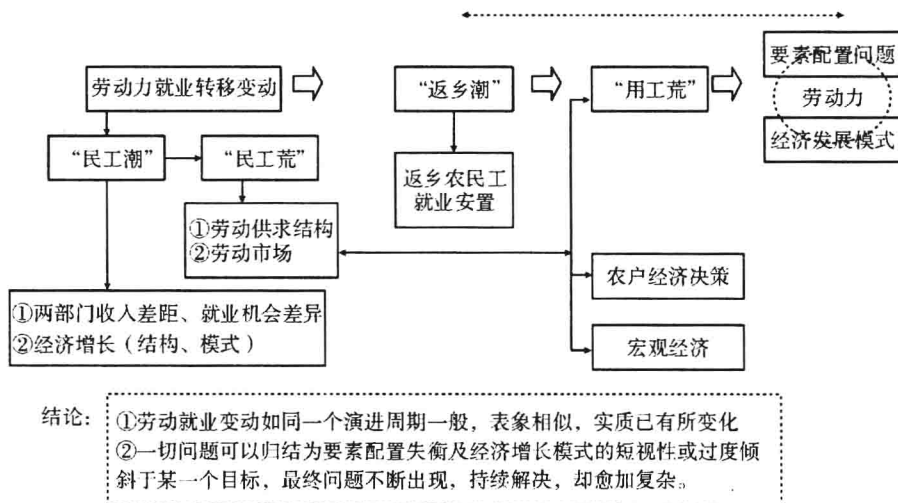


图 1-1 问题演进及内在关联因素

农民工在乡城间往返循环的直接原因是宏观经济的波动，但其深层原因尚需要从农村劳动力区域/部门间流迁就业的演变进程中探寻。对我国农村劳动力转移演变各阶段的回顾分析可以发现，农村劳动力流迁就业过程中存在的问题主要集中于四个方面，即：对较高人力资本劳动力的社会需求与农村劳动力教育、培训投入增长缓慢相伴出现；收入差异引致农村劳动力转移就业与务工收入增长缓慢、农户收入分化并存；劳动力供求缺口持续存在并有扩大趋势情况下，农民工职业可获得性及就业稳定性差出现等。这些问题的存在表明，要素配置失衡与农村劳动力转移就业相伴，在此过程中，要素估价偏误尤其是劳动力价格低估与扭曲严重，如不能有效解决，可能会导致农村劳动力陷入就业不稳定怪圈、农户收入增长诉求无法得到满足甚至使部分农户陷入返贫窘境。为此，需从农村劳动力流迁就业以及与其相伴的生产要素部门间配置的阶段性演变规律着手，寻求问题产生的根本原因，从而提出应对措施（见图 1-1）。