Observations and Suggestions 观察与建议

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Post-2020 Poverty Reduction Policy Options
for the People's Republic of China

2020年后中华人民共和国的
减贫政策选择

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

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Abstract

摘要

- The People's Republic of China (PRC) is an upper middle-income country that has made tremendous progress in reducing extreme poverty and developing modern physical and economic infrastructure. Four decades of economic transformation have brought about improved living standards in urban and rural areas. The PRC has lifted over 800 million people out of extreme poverty in 40 years and aims to eradicate it by the end of 2020.

中华人民共和国（中国）是一个中高收入国家，在减少极端贫困和发展现代实体及经济基础设施方面，取得了巨大成就。经过几十年的经济转型，中国城乡居民的生活水平得到显著提高。在过去的40年中，中国已成功使8亿多人口摆脱了极端贫困，并计划在2020年底前全面消除极端贫困。

- International experience shows that even at high levels of gross domestic product per capita, countries continue to have population segments that experience poverty and deprivation. In countries and regions that have successfully reduced poverty, new types of poverty emerge due to low incomes, unemployment, economic vulnerability, and the lack of social protection.

国际经验表明，即使人均国内生产总值（GDP）高的国家也存在贫困人口。在已成功实现减贫的国家和地区，低收入、失业、经济脆弱性和缺乏社会保障等问题都会导致新型贫困的出现。

- A new poverty reduction strategy in the PRC should consider the importance of redefining the poverty line, treating poverty as multidimensional, developing an integrated rural-urban poverty strategy, and including the concept of vulnerability in poverty reduction policies. This note provides policy recommendations to that end.

中国的新减贫战略应当考虑重新定义贫困线，多维度实施减贫，制定一体化城乡减贫战略，并且将脆弱性这一概念纳入减贫政策。本文为实现这些目标提供了政策建议。

- Inclusive economic growth is a key driver of poverty reduction and improved living standards. Policies to sustain inclusive economic growth are critical for the PRC in the post-2020 era. Recommendations include concerted efforts to upgrade human capital, improve access to and quality of health care and social protection, and address rapid population aging.

包容性经济增长是减贫和改善民生的关键驱动力。保持包容性经济增长的政策对中国在2020年后的发展至关重要。这些政策建议包括齐心协力提升人力资本，改善医疗保健和社会保障的可获得性和质量，以及应对人口迅速老龄化。

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has a successful record of reducing extreme income poverty, reflecting the results of long-term rapid economic growth and a sustained commitment to anti-poverty policies. The PRC anticipates eradicating extreme poverty by 2020.
2. After years of accelerated growth, the PRC has become an upper middle-income country (UMIC) and the world's second-largest economy. Its per capita gross domestic product (GDP) reached \$10,070 in 2019. The experiences of other countries show that even at high levels of GDP per capita, countries continue to have segments of the population that experience poverty and deprivation. In countries that have successfully reduced poverty, new types of poverty emerge due to low incomes, unemployment, economic vulnerability, and the lack of insurance or social protection. Anti-poverty efforts must therefore continue.
3. Development transforms economies and societies in many ways. It is manifested in urbanization, population aging, structural transformation from agriculture and manufacturing into services, a shift from lower to higher value-added technologies, and slowing GDP growth. The PRC's poverty strategy will need to adapt to these changes.
4. A new poverty reduction strategy should consider the importance of redefining the poverty line; treating poverty as multidimensional; developing an integrated rural-urban poverty strategy; and including vulnerability in poverty reduction policies, recognizing that inclusive economic growth remains a key driver of poverty reduction and improved living standards. This policy note offers recommendations based on international practices for the formulation of a post-2020 poverty reduction strategy in the PRC.

II. REDEFINING THE POVERTY LINE

5. The PRC has lifted over 800 million people out of extreme poverty in 40 years and aims to eradicate extreme poverty by 2020. The poverty headcount is very sensitive to how the poverty line is set. In 2017, about 30.5 million people lived below the national poverty line of CNY2,300 per person per year (equivalent to about \$0.89 per day) but when measured by the international poverty line for UMICs (\$5.50 in purchasing power parity 2011), the number of poor people increases to about 370 million.¹

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¹ World Bank. 2019. *Poverty and Equity Brief*. Washington, DC.

6. Poverty should be redefined from an absolute to relative standard to reflect changing social norms. Several countries have taken this step, such as Romania in 2006. The PRC should develop a new monetary poverty line that is based on median income (or expenditure).
7. One option is to set the poverty line as a percentage of the median income or expenditure, which is the standard practice in the European Union; Japan; Taipei, China; and Turkey. The percentages applied are most commonly 50%–60% of the median.
8. Another option is to adopt a weakly relative poverty line in which the threshold is equal to the sum of several components, some of which are absolute (e.g., the cost of purchasing basic necessities), and others are relative and set as a percentage of median expenditure (e.g., housing). This approach is used in India where it demonstrated improved accuracy in the measurement of households' income in countries that are geographically large and have substantial income variation.

III. DEVELOPING AN INTEGRATED RURAL-URBAN POVERTY STRATEGY

9. The PRC's poverty reduction efforts have so far focused on rural areas, given that most of the population and extreme poor were rural. However, with the urbanization rate at about 60%, a new approach is needed. Urbanization brings new forms of poverty and disadvantage. In the PRC, migrants are at particular risk as the household registration system or *hukou* limits their access to public services and housing.
10. **Further relax the *hukou* system.** Further relaxing the *hukou* is necessary for migrant workers to access basic public services. However, it is not sufficient to integrate rural migrants in urban societies. Specific programs to facilitate integration need to be in place. Useful lessons can be learned from successful programs such as in India and Canada where government and nongovernment agencies support a package of services including education for children, skills training for adults, job placement, childcare and housing assistance, and social and cultural activities to help newcomers connect with the community.
11. **Develop affordable housing.** Urban poverty has distinct features that require specific support. One of them is the lack of affordable housing, which results in homelessness, inadequate or low-quality housing (including poor access to water and sanitation), insecure housing (rental or informal), and remote housing in peripheral areas. Housing problems are exacerbated by high and rising housing prices in most cities in the PRC. Housing policies should adopt an integrated approach in connecting the provision of low-income housing to social programs and addressing the new housing needs arising from demographic and social change. In this process, it is important to clearly define targets and eligibility criteria to enhance policy effectiveness.

IV. INCLUDING MEASURES TO ADDRESS VULNERABILITY IN POVERTY POLICY

12. Once extreme poverty is no longer the focus of poverty policy, the emphasis will shift from lifting people above the poverty line to keeping people from falling back into poverty. Many households in the PRC, both poor and nonpoor, lack economic security. Vulnerability to poverty is an important issue for the PRC because in the near and medium-term, a significant share of the population will remain clustered not far above the poverty line, and even a minor shock could result in destitution.

13. Governments and international organizations recognize the importance of monitoring the population's vulnerability to poverty, but established systems for regularly monitoring vulnerability are few. These systems generally follow one of three approaches: (i) identifying and monitoring groups that have higher poverty rates or correlates of poverty; (ii) using a higher poverty line, also referred to as a risk-of-poverty line; and (iii) measuring household-asset resilience (threshold asset level required to support consumption above the poverty line). These approaches are straightforward and have relatively modest data requirements.

14. **Adopt a measure of vulnerability to poverty.** A two-step approach is proposed for the PRC. The first step is to adopt a measure of vulnerability to poverty line based on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) social protection system review, which sets vulnerability to poverty at 1.5 times the national poverty line. This will provide critical information on the number of near poor who may be vulnerable given their proximity to the poverty line. The second step is for the PRC to implement an extended poverty line based on vulnerability criteria.² This improves on the OECD approach because it bases the vulnerability line on observed levels of risk faced by households. This method requires robust panel data, which can be provided by the National Bureau of Statistics annual household income and expenditure survey.

15. **Treat poverty and vulnerability as multifaceted.** Vulnerability is multifaceted and requires multipronged interventions. They can include government social insurance and social assistance programs, such as cash transfers, unemployment insurance, health insurance, disability insurance, and support to the elderly poor. Social assistance programs should be complemented by efforts to promote the development of markets and legal and regulatory systems. Markets for property, health, accident, and life insurance can be strengthened and expanded. The Government of the PRC can also adopt measures that support healthy, widely accessible financial and asset markets that make it easier for all households to safely borrow, save, and accumulate assets.

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² H. Dang and P. Langyou. 2017. Welfare Dynamics Measurement: Two Definitions of a Vulnerability Line and Their Empirical Application. *Review of Income and Wealth*. (63) 4. Milano. pp. 633–660.

V. PROMOTING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

16. As countries reach UMIC status, the nature of inclusion evolves. Development brings major structural changes in the economy. Production shifts from the primary to the secondary and further to the tertiary or services sector. Services are characterized by more informal, part-time employment than manufacturing and industry. Moreover, within sectors, technology shifts from lower to higher value-added forms of production. New technologies, such as computers, digital technologies, and robotics, can displace labor. In this context, inclusive development requires special attention to the security of employment—for example, through unemployment insurance and programs that provide opportunities for workers to retool and learn higher-level skills.

17. The rate of economic growth decelerates as economies mature. Slowing growth challenges inclusive development. When growth slows, the trade-offs between policies and interest groups become starker, making policy choices more difficult. A key component of the inclusive growth agenda are policies to sustain economic growth. These should focus on (i) increasing productivity, including through technological change, research and development; (ii) improving human capital; (iii) reducing economic distortions and imbalances; (iv) investing in productive infrastructure, such as transportation, power, information and communication technology; (v) improvements in institutional infrastructure, such as in legal and financial systems; (vi) addressing demographic change; and (vii) ensuring that the benefits of growth are shared evenly. Some specific recommendations are provided here.

18. **Develop human capital.** In UMICs, economic activities require higher levels of knowledge and a skilled workforce. Those who do not have the required knowledge and skills will lack the capability to participate fully in the labor market. An inclusive development agenda therefore requires investment in education and training at various levels from early childhood to tertiary, and including lifelong learning for employment mobility. The following measures can be considered:

- (i) **Invest in early childhood development.** Experiences during the first years of life have long-term effects on the brain and body. The PRC has not yet achieved universal access to early childhood education; uneven access to opportunities can cause a lifetime inequality of capabilities and opportunities. A high priority should therefore be placed on developing programs to support early childhood education, nutrition, and health, especially for disadvantaged groups. These programs could include support for parenting, health and nutrition interventions, improvements in food and water safety, and the early identification and treatment of hearing and vision problems.

- (ii) **Improve educational attainment and quality at secondary and tertiary levels.** Rates of progression to secondary and tertiary education have risen markedly in the PRC. However, some children still do not complete secondary school, and many do not continue to post-secondary education. In high-income countries, those without post-secondary qualifications are most likely to face job loss, long-term unemployment, and precarious, low-paid jobs. A contributing factor to lack of progression is poor-quality schools. Measures are needed to improve the quality and content of teaching, with a focus on low-income groups, and closing the access and quality gaps between rural and urban areas.
- (iii) **Provide opportunities for skills upgrading and facilitating employment mobility.** Sector shifts and technological change cause skills obsolescence and job displacement. Workers with less education or low-quality education are the most vulnerable to the changes, which can cause long-term or irreversible exclusion from employment. Interventions are needed to identify workers at risk of exclusion, provide them with training and new skills, and help them in job placement.

19. **Promote better access to and quality of health care.** Health status affects income, employment, education, and social interactions. Health and life expectancy improve as countries develop, and systems of public health and medical care delivery are put in place. Expectations for medical treatment change, creating demand for more complex and expensive procedures and medicines. Examples include preventive health care through the promotion of healthy diets and physical activity, health and safety regulations for consumers, and workers' protection in the workplace.

20. Against this backdrop, steps should be taken to strengthen and expand health insurance so that all members of the population have access to quality medical care. Investment is also needed in training the health workforce and in health care systems so that a fuller range of services and treatments are widely available. Location affects access to health care since medical services, especially for complex diseases, such as cancer and cardiovascular disease, tend to be concentrated in larger cities. Mechanisms are needed to connect people who live in rural areas and smaller cities to medical centers in other locations.

21. **Address aging.** The transition to middle- or upper-middle income status is often accompanied by demographic change. Rapid population growth early in the development process is followed by declining fertility, creating social and economic challenges associated with an aging population.

22. From the perspective of inclusive development, such demographic shifts create challenges. The elderly need caregiving, housing, and financial support. Traditionally, this support in the PRC has been the responsibility of family and community. Migration and urbanization have caused dislocation and weakened these traditional ties. Moreover, the elderly have fewer children on whom to rely for support. Society-wide, the proportion of younger people is shrinking, creating challenges in financing pension and health insurance systems. Younger residents face an increased burden both in their personal responsibilities to their parents and their required social insurance contributions.

23. The challenges of population aging go beyond pensions. They include the need for an elderly care system, appropriate housing, and health care. All these needs place a growing burden on the fiscal system. Governments must therefore engage in long-term, advance fiscal planning and pursue fiscal reforms on both the revenue and expenditure sides.

24. The population aging challenge also has a bearing on sustaining economic growth due to the declining working-age population and associated labor shortages. Governments can respond by taking steps to increase the use of available labor—for example, adopting family-friendly policies that encourage women's labor force participation and reforming retirement policies to keep people in the workforce longer. Productivity policies for research and development, technological change, and investment in higher value-added sectors are also relevant. Here, countries that are further along in the population aging process, such as Germany and Japan, may provide lessons and examples of effective policies.

25. **Include the excluded.** As countries grow and attain upper-middle and high-income status, certain groups may be excluded and left behind. The factors causing this can be complex, and often the reasons differ from group to group. A necessary first step is a detailed investigation to identify what groups experience exclusion and to understand their specific challenges based on data on income and consumption, employment, education, health, housing, and other socioeconomic indicators.

26. Because of their small size, some excluded groups may not be adequately captured in standard surveys, so special studies may be required. International experience shows that extensive consultation and participation is necessary to design effective solutions. On this basis, multidimensional interventions for excluded groups can be designed and implemented.

一、综述

1. 得益于中华人民共和国（中国）的长期经济增长和政策上的持久扶贫承诺，中国在减少极端贫困方面成绩斐然。到2020年，中国有望全面消除极端贫困。
2. 经过多年的加速增长，中国已成为中高收入国家（UMIC）和世界第二大经济体。2019年，中国的人均国内生产总值（GDP）达10,070美元。他国经验表明，即使人均GDP高的国家也存在贫困人口。在已成功实现减贫的国家，低收入、失业、经济脆弱性和缺乏保险或社会保障等问题都会导致新型贫困的出现。因此，必须持续开展扶贫工作。
3. 发展以多种方式改变着经济和社会。改变有很多表现形式，包括城镇化、人口老龄化，从农业和制造业到服务业的经济结构转型、由低附加值向高附加值技术的转移，GDP增速放缓等等。中国的扶贫战略需要适应这些变化。
4. 新减贫战略应当考虑重新定义贫困线，多维度实施减贫，制定一体化城乡减贫战略，并意识到包容性增长是减贫和改善民生的主要驱动力，进而将脆弱性纳入减贫政策。本文基于国际实践，针对中国制定2020年后减贫战略提出政策建议。

二、重新定义贫困线

5. 过去40年来，中国帮助8亿多人口摆脱了极端贫困，并计划在2020年消除极端贫困。如何划定贫困线会影响到贫困人口统计。现行的国家贫困线为每人每年2,300元人民币（相当于每人每天0.89美元），按这一标准，2017年中国约有3,050万人生活在国家贫困线以下；但如果按中高收入国家的国际贫困线标准（2011年购买力平价为5.5美元），中国贫困人口数量就会上升至约3.7亿。¹
6. 应重新定义贫困，把绝对标准转变为相对标准，以反映不同的社会状态。一些国家已经付诸行动，例如罗马尼亚于2006年完成。中国应基于中位数收入（或支出）设定新的货币贫困线。
7. 一种方案是将贫困线设为中位数收支的百分比，这一百分比通常在中位数的50%~60%之间。该方案是欧盟、日本、中国台北和土耳其的标准做法。
8. 另一种方案是采用相对贫困线。这一阈值相当于各分项之和，一些分项为绝对值（例如购买生活必需品的成本），另一些则是相对值，相当于中位数支出（例如住房支出）的百分比。印度采用的就是这种方案，由此可见，在幅员广阔、收入迥异的国家，此方案更能准确衡量家庭收入。

¹ 世界银行，2019，《贫困与公平概况》（*Poverty and Equity Brief*），华盛顿特区。

三、制定一体化的城乡减贫战略

9. 在中国，农村人口占绝大多数，大部分极端贫困也发生在农村，鉴于这些因素，目前的减贫工作集中在农村地区。然而，随着城镇化比率达到60%左右，中国需要采取新的减贫方法。城镇化造成了新贫困，衍生出新问题。在户籍制度（户口）的束缚下，流动人口难以获得公共服务，也无法享有住房，面临的风险尤其大。

10. **进一步放宽户口限制。**要确保外来务工人员享有基本公共服务，就要进一步放宽户口限制。然而，此举仍不足以帮助农民工融入城市社会，还需要有具体项目来促进融合。中国可以从一些成功的项目中吸取经验，比如在印度和加拿大，政府和非政府机构提供一揽子服务，包括儿童教育、成人技能培训、就业安置、儿童看护及住房援助，以及帮助新成员与社区联系的社会文化活动。

11. **建设可负担得起的住房。**城市贫困有显著特征，需要精准的对策。其中，缺乏可负担得起的住房会导致许多问题，诸如城市务工人员无家可归，住房供应不足、质量低劣（缺少供水和卫生设施）、没有保障（租房或住房简陋）和位置偏远等。大多数中国城市房价高企加剧了住房问题。对此，中国应采取综合性的住房政策，把保障房供应与社会事业相结合，满足人口和社会变迁产生的新住房需求。在此过程中，为提高政策的有效性，明确目标和资质标准至关重要。

四、将缓解脆弱性的举措纳入扶贫政策

12. 一旦扶贫政策的重点不再是极端贫困，其重心就会由脱贫转为防止返贫。很多中国家庭无论贫困与否，都缺乏经济保障。近中期，中国仍有相当一部分人的生活水平仅略高于贫困线，即使微小的冲击也可能导致返贫，因此，贫困脆弱性是中国的重要议题。

13. 虽然各国政府和国际组织已经认识到，有必要监测贫困脆弱性，但成熟的定期监测体系十分匮乏。这些系统通常采用以下三种方法之一：（1）识别高贫困率群体或与贫困高度相关的群体，对其进行监测；（2）将贫困线标准提升为“贫困风险线”；以及（3）衡量家庭资产的弹性（支持贫困线以上消费所需的资产门槛）。这些方法非常简单，并且对数据的要求相对较低。

14. **采取衡量贫困脆弱性的标准。**建议中国采取“两步走”的方式。第一步，采取基于经济合作与发展组织（经合组织）社会保障制度回顾的贫困脆弱性衡量标准，即设定一个是国家贫困线1.5倍的标准。这样，中国可以了解到近贫人口数量这一关键信息，因临近贫困线，近贫人口较为脆弱。第二步，基于脆弱性标准实施一个延伸贫困线。²这种方式是对经合组织方法的改进，它基于观察到的家庭风险水平设定脆弱线。该方法需要强大的平行数据来支持，国家统计局年度居民收支调查情况可提供相关数据。

² H. Dang和P. Langyou, 2017, 福利动态的衡量：脆弱线的两项定义及其实证应用（*Welfare Dynamics Measurement: Two Definitions of a Vulnerability Line and Their Empirical Application*），《收入与财富评论》，第(63)4期，米兰，第633–660页。

15. **从多方面解决贫困和脆弱性问题。**脆弱性是多方面的问题，需要多管齐下的项目来解决。这些项目包括政府社会保险和社会援助项目，如现金转移支付、失业保险、医疗保险、残疾保险及对贫困老年人的支持。在实施社会援助项目的同时，应努力推动市场发展，完善法律和监管制度。强化并扩大财产保险、医疗保险、意外保险和人寿保险市场。中国政府还可以采取措施，支持金融和资产市场健康发展，让更多人进入这一市场，让所有家庭更容易、更安全地进行借贷、储蓄和积累资产。

五、促进经济增长和包容性发展

16. 国家达到中高收入水平后，包容性的内涵也随之变化。发展会带来经济结构的重大调整。生产由第一产业过渡到第二产业，进而过渡到第三产业或服务业。相比制造业和工业，服务业的非正式就业和兼职也更多。此外，在产业内部，技术将从较低附加值的生产模式过渡到较高附加值生产模式。计算机、数字技术和机器人等新技术将逐渐取代人力。在此背景下，包容性发展需要重点关注就业保障，例如投保失业险，或通过一些项目使劳动者有机会自我调整，学习高阶的技能。

17. 随着经济体趋于成熟，经济增速将减缓。增长放缓是包容性增长的一大挑战。当增长放缓时，政策与利益集团之间的权衡将更加突出，政策选择也更加困难。通过制定政策确保经济增长是包容性增长的一项关键内容。这些政策应侧重于（1）通过技术变革和研发，提高生产率；（2）提升人力资本；（3）减少经济中的不平衡和扭曲现象；（4）投资生产性基础设施，如交通运输、电力、信息和通信技术；（5）完善制度基础设施，如法律和金融体系；（6）应对人口结构变化；以及（7）确保人们公平享有增长红利。这里提供一些具体建议。

18. **开发人力资本。**在中高收入国家，经济活动需要更高的知识水平和技术劳动力。缺少必要知识和技能的人很难充分融入劳动力市场。因此，要实现包容性发展议程，就需要投资于教育和培训，内容涵盖儿童早期教育到高等教育的各个阶段，也包括能促进就业流动性的终身学习。建议考虑以下措施：

- (i) **投资儿童早期开发。**人生最初几年的经历会对大脑和身体产生长期影响。中国尚未普及儿童早期教育，教育机会的不平等可能会造成能力和机遇上的不平等，其影响贯穿终身。因此，应把开发儿童早期教育以及营养和健康项目作为重中之重，对于弱势群体尤其如此。这些项目可包括：支持育儿、健康和营养干预，改善食品和水安全，以及尽早识别和治疗视听障碍。
- (ii) **提高中等和高等教育的水平和质量。**在中国，中等和高等教育的升学率已得到显著提高。然而，仍然有部分儿童没有完成中等教育，还有许多无法继续接受中学后教育。在高收入国家，没有接受中学后教育的人最有可能被裁员、长期失业、工作不稳定或收入低。未继续接受教育的一个重要因素是学校教学质量不佳。因此，需要采取措施提高教学质量和内容，并重点关注低收入群体，同时缩小教育机会和质量方面的城乡差距。
- (iii) **为提升技能和促进就业流动性提供机会。**产业转移和技术变革会引发技能退化和企业裁员。受教育程度较低或接受低质量教育的劳动者最容易受到这些变化的冲击，可能导致

他们长期被就业市场所排斥，后果不可逆转。因此，需要通过一些项目来发现哪些劳动者存在被排斥的风险，为其提供培训和新技能，帮助他们就业。

19. **让更多人享有医疗保健服务并改善服务质量。**健康状况会影响人的收入、就业、教育和社会交往。随着国家的发展，人们的健康水平和预期寿命都得到提高，公共卫生和医疗服务体系也已建立。人们对医疗保健的期望不同以往，需要的程序和药物更复杂，也更昂贵。预防保健就是其中一例，其形式包括促进健康饮食，加强体育锻炼，制定保护消费者的健康与安全规定，以及工作场所的劳动保护等。

20. 在此背景下，应采取措施加强和扩大医疗保险，使所有人都能获得高质量的医疗保健服务。在培训医护人员和建设医疗保健系统方面，还需要进行投资，以实现更广泛、更全面的服务和治疗。地理位置会影响医疗保健服务的可获得性，因为医疗服务往往集中在大城市，尤其是针对癌症和心血管疾病等复杂疾病的医疗服务。因此，需要建立相应机制，将农村地区和小城镇的居民与其他地区的医疗中心连接起来。

21. **解决老龄化问题。**由中等收入向中高收入国家转型时，人口结构往往会发生变化。经历了发展早期的人口激增后，生育率开始下降，出现了许多与人口老龄化相关的社会和经济问题。

22. 从包容性发展的角度看，人口结构的变化会带来诸多挑战。老年人需要照料，也需要住房和财务上的支持。在中国，家庭和社区历来是养老主力。然而，人口流动和城镇化导致人们远离家乡，弱化了传统纽带。此外，老年人可依赖的子女也越来越少。在整个社会，年轻人的比例正在下降，给养老金和医疗保险体系带来了融资压力。年轻人面临着赡养父母和缴纳社保的双重负担。

23. 人口老龄化带来的挑战不仅仅是养老金问题，还包括养老体系需求、妥善的住房和医疗保健等。这些需求使得财政负担不断加重。因此，政府必须预先进行长期财政规划，实行收支两方面的财政改革。

24. 由于劳动年龄人口减少，劳动力短缺，人口老龄化也在影响经济的持续增长。对此，政府应采取措施，扩大利用可获得劳动力，例如实行有益于家庭的政策，鼓励妇女加入劳动大军；改革退休政策，延长退休时间等。还可考虑实行提高生产力的政策，如鼓励研发、技术变革和对高附加值行业进行投资。老龄化进程较快的国家（如德国和日本）可提供关于有效政策的经验和实例。

25. **包容被排斥群体。**随着国家发展到中高收入或高收入水平，部分群体可能会被排斥或遗落。这一现象的成因复杂，而且常因群体而异。为此，首先要详细调查，确定哪些群体被排斥，并根据收入与消费、就业、教育、医疗、住房和其他社会经济指标等数据，了解他们所面临的具体挑战。

26. 一些被排斥的群体因为规模较小，标准调查无法完整覆盖，因此可能需要专门研究。国际经验表明，设计有效的解决方案离不开广泛磋商和参与。可以在此基础上设计并实施针对被排斥群体的多维项目。

Post-2020 Poverty Reduction Policy Options for the People's Republic of China

Rapid economic growth and sustained anti-poverty efforts have significantly reduced extreme poverty in the People's Republic of China (PRC) and it anticipates eradicating extreme poverty by 2020. In other countries, experiences show how poverty reduction causes the emergence of new types of poverty. In the PRC, anti-poverty efforts must continue to be implemented and at the same time consider changes and potential consequences. This publication offers recommendations for the formulation of the PRC's post-2020 poverty reduction strategy based on international practices and geared toward sustaining inclusive economic growth in the country.

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2020年后中华人民共和国的减贫政策选择

得益于中华人民共和国（中国）的长期经济增长和政策上的持久扶贫承诺，中国在减少极端贫困方面成绩斐然。到2020年，中国有望全面消除极端贫困。他国经验表明，减贫过程也会引发新的贫困形式出现。中国必须在继续开展扶贫工作的同时，考虑变化的发生以及可能出现的后果。本出版物以国际实践为基础，以保持中国包容性增长为目标，为中国制定2020年后的减贫战略提供了建议。

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