共同富裕视域下乡村振兴的目标演进与推进战略

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摘　要：乡村振兴既是发展目标，也是发展手段和发展路径，在全面推进乡村振兴中逐步实现城乡共富和乡村共富，是中国特色社会主义进入新时代的重要战略选择。在共同富裕视域下全面推进乡村振兴，关键是要瞄准2050年全面实现“农业强、农村美、农民富”的长期目标，加快推进实现“农业高质高效、乡村宜居宜业、农民富裕富足”的中期目标，为最终实现全体人民共同富裕奠定坚实的基础。在战略路径选择上，要从内生增长和成果共享两个方面着力，既要激发乡村内生活力，释放乡村增长潜力，推动乡村振兴和整体富裕，又要完善共享机制，促进先富带动后富，提升基本公共服务均等化水平，实现农民生活共富，走内生型乡村振兴与共享发展之路。在具体推进策略上，要科学把握乡村差异性，建立差别化的支持策略，合理确定政策供给的优先序，实施分区推进与分类推进并举，探索创新多元化的乡村共富机制，全面推进乡村振兴，助力实现乡村共同富裕。

关键词：共同富裕　乡村振兴　共享式增长　推进战略

JEL 分类号：E61, O18, R10

消除贫困、改善民生、逐步实现共同富裕，是社会主义的本质要求。实现共同富裕既是一个远景目标，也是一个有意识的战略选择和长期发展过程。改革开放以来，“让一部分人先富起来”的目标在较短的历史时期内迅速完成，但“先富带后富，实现共同富裕”的目标不会自动实现(刘国光，2011)。在现代化建设新征程中，需要加大改革和政策支持力度，通过有意识的战略选择和公共政策引导，弥补市场缺陷，消除市场力量和资源配置所带来的排斥性影响，全面促进发展成果的共享。新中国成立以来，中国共产党带领人民持续向贫困宣战，正是遵循了以共同富裕为远景目标的渐进式战略思路。到2020年底，中国脱贫攻坚战如期取得全面胜利，实现现行标准下农村贫困人口全部脱贫，这是全面建成小康社会、实现第一个百年奋斗目标的标志性成果，奠定了共同富裕的基础，也标志着中国整体进入到全面小康社会、迈向实现共同富裕的转型阶段(魏后凯，2020)。从现阶段国情看，城乡发展不平衡、农业农村发展不充分，依然是实现共同富裕的关键挑战，其根本之策在于全面推进乡村振兴。乡村振兴既是发展目标，也是发展手段和发展路径，在全面推进乡村振兴中逐步实现城乡共富和乡村共富，是中国特色社会主义进入新时代的重要战略选择。

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一、乡村振兴是实现共同富裕的根本之策

进入高质量发展阶段，中国持续发展具备多方面优势和条件，但同时存在发展不平衡不充分的突出问题，主要表现为城乡发展不平衡和农业农村发展不充分。从理论和实践角度看，全面推进乡村振兴是解决发展不平衡不充分问题、推动实现共同富裕的根本之策。

（一）乡村振兴是实现共同富裕的理论应然

共同富裕既是一种全面富裕和全民共富的状态，也是一个共建共富、逐步共富的长期过程。它是从历史发展规律得出的科学结论，是科学社会主义创始人关于社会主义社会的基本规定和发展目标(程恩富、刘伟，2012)。从发展理论来看，推动经济收敛和发展协调不能单纯靠自由市场的作用，还需要公共政策的干预。与此同时，把农业改造为一个高质高效的经济增长源泉，把乡村建设成为一个美丽宜居的幸福家园，全面促进城乡高质量协调发展，不仅符合现代化的基本规律，也是基于中国基本国情农情、加快实现现代化的必然选择。因此，全面推进乡村振兴既是实现共同富裕的战略选择，也是实现共同富裕的手段和过程。乡村振兴是共同富裕的本质要求和底线任务，从某种程度上讲，共同富裕的实现过程也就是乡村全面振兴的过程。可以认为，没有农民农村的共同富裕就不可能有全体人民的共同富裕，而促进农民农村共同富裕的根本途径在于全面推进乡村振兴。

共同富裕是消除贫富分化基础上的普遍富裕，其讨论离不开经济增长和收入差距等基本理论问题。在经济增长理论中，以索洛模型为代表的新古典增长理论意味着存在人均收入的稳定状态水平，经济也会向此处收敛。该理论以收益递减假设为基础推断出，不论初始人均资本存量如何，在相同的储蓄率、折旧率和人口增长率条件下，经济会收敛到相近水平(瑞，2002)。但在社会现实中，自由市场却并不能自动平抑财富差距。法国经济学家托马斯·皮凯蒂(2014)用大量跨国长期的数据证明，贫富分化的根本原因恰恰是资本收益率长期高于经济增长率。其重要的启示是，经济发展并未遵循新古典增长理论以及相关的倒U型假设，并不会达到一定程度后就自发产生有利于公平分配的拐点，共享式增长有赖于科学有效的公共政策调整。在当前的高收入经济体中，贫富分化较小的国家在很大程度上依赖于公共政策的持续调整，而另一些贫富分化严重的国家，则由于既得利益阶层对资本收益率的强力维护，公共政策难以撼动贫富分化的格局。

从中国的社会主义建设实践来看，中国是从起初贫穷落后的农业大国发展起来的国家，共同富裕的提法最早出现于农业改造领域，也就是1953年底在《中国共产党中央委员会关于发展农业生产合作社的决议》中为推动农业社会主义改造和发展农业而提出的。对共同富裕的全面阐述，主要源于邓小平(1993)所提出的“社会主义的本质，是解放生产力，发展生产力，消灭剥削，消除两极分化，最终达到共同富裕。”改革开放以来，中国围绕共同富裕的争论，并不在于要不要实现共同富裕，而是应“怎样”和“从何时开始”着手实现共同富裕(程恩富、刘伟，2012)。从城乡差距和农村内部差距的问题导向出发，在推进城镇化的同时，推动农村改革与发展是促进共同富裕的关键路径。从农村这一端来看，农村改革是中国整体经济改革的时间起点和逻辑起点，可被视为城乡关系的分阶段调整(蔡昉，2008)。在改革之初，农村家庭联产承包责任制改革同时提高了农民的经济能力和权利，因而也以此为起点推动了效率与公平的持续改进(周文、孙懿，2011)。进入21世纪以

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来，农村税费改革、新农村建设等一系列减负惠农政策，进一步推动农村经济和社会发展环境改善。中共十八大以来，中国政府持续深化农村改革、改善农村生产生活环境、推动乡村建设、集中力量消除贫困，特别是到2020年底，中国完成了消除现行标准下农村绝对贫困的艰巨任务，区域性整体贫困得到解决，为促进共同富裕奠定了坚实基础。在2020年底的中央农村工作会议上，习近平总书记作出“民族要复兴，乡村必振兴”的重大论断，要求举全党全社会之力推动乡村振兴。2021年8月17日，习近平总书记在中央财经委员会第十次会议上的讲话中明确提出“现在，已经到了扎实推动共同富裕的历史阶段”，并强调“促进共同富裕，最艰巨最繁重的任务仍然在农村”(习近平，2021)。这不仅表明，持续推动农村改革与发展的实践符合社会主义的本质要求，也表明农民农村富裕是实现共同富裕的关键。

在当代中国，共同富裕是发展性、共享性和可持续性的有机统一，通过矫正和补偿由制度性因素导致的不平等，让全体人民有机会、有能力均等地参与高质量经济社会发展，并共享经济社会发展的成果(郁建兴、任杰，2021)。从共同富裕的理论内涵出发，在全面推进乡村振兴中促进农民农村共同富裕的现实逻辑十分清晰， 就是在当前城乡差距和乡村内部差距依然较大的现实情境下，通过新一轮的公共政策引导，不断提高农村居民的民生保障和福祉水平，优化城乡资源和机会分配格局，持续推动农村改革和发展，增强农民的市场适应能力并切实保障其各项权益，加强和创新社会治理，从而促进乡村与整体经济兼具发展性、共享性和可持续性，也即形成共享式增长格局，最终达到共同富裕。

(二)全面推进乡村振兴是实现共同富裕的实践必然

当前阶段，中国依然是内部收入差距较大的中等收入经济体，农村居民收入整体水平不高，城乡差距、农村内部差距较大，这些问题是迈向共同富裕的突出挑战。也正是在这个情境下，共同富裕重在富裕农民，城乡共富关键在乡村振兴。从国际经验看，城乡收入差距大多经历了从早期扩大到后期缩小的转变。目前，许多发达国家城乡居民收入水平已经大体接近，有的农村居民收入已经超过城镇居民。例如，日本自20世纪70年代中期以来城乡居民人均可支配收入之比已经降至1.00以下；进入21世纪以来，美国农场家庭平均收入一直超过全国家庭收入的平均水平，荷兰、丹麦、法国等欧洲发达国家农民平均收入也高于全国平均水平(曾国安、胡晶晶，2008)。但现阶段，中国依然是世界上城乡收入差距最大的国家之一，按人均可支配收入计算，中国的城乡收入比在2002～2009年一直高于3.00，从2010年开始虽然已经持续下降，但是2021年仍然高达2.50(见图1)。此外，相较于发达地区，欠发达地区的城乡收入差距更大，2020年浙江省的城乡居民人均可支配收入比为1.96，而甘肃省和贵州省分别高达3.27和3.10。欠发达地区整体收入水平较低与城乡收入差距大的叠加，意味着推动欠发达地区农民农村共同富裕任务仍十分艰巨。

从特征来看，收入、财产与公共服务达到高水平并实现高度共享是共同富裕的基本特征，全体人民达到整体富裕水平是共同富裕的基本条件，而高收入是以高水平的劳动生产率为支撑(李实、朱梦冰，2022)，这就意味着提高农民整体收入、提高乡村产业的劳动生产率，是实现共同富裕的实践必然。通过采用综合指标体系对中国农业农村现代化的实现程度进行评价，结果表明，按照现有的推进速度，到2035年中国总体上可以基本实现农业农村现代化目标值，但各个指标实现程度差异很大，尤其是农业劳动生产率、农村基本公共服

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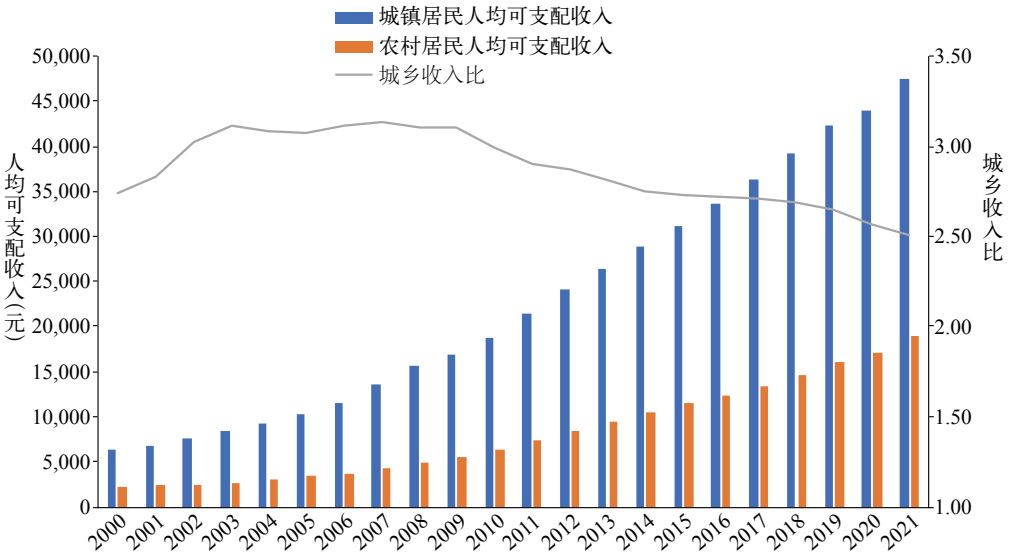


图1:2000~2021年城乡居民人均可支配收入及比值变动

说明:2013~2021年人均可支配收入来源于住户收支与生活状况调查,2000~2012年数据是根据历史数据按住户收支与生活状况调查可比口径推算获得。可支配收入绝对数按当年价计算,指数按可比价计算。
资料来源:根据《中国统计年鉴2021》和《中华人民共和国2021年国民经济和社会发展统计公报》中数据绘制。

务、农村居民收入等领域的指标实现程度较低,成为农业农村现代化的突出短板和薄弱环节(总报告课题组,2018)。例如,从劳均农业增加值来看,中国农业劳动生产率还很低。2019年,中国劳均农业增加值为5609美元(以2015年美元不变价计算),是中等偏上收入国家水平的92.8%,是高收入国家水平的13.9%。[1]从基本公共服务来看,农村义务教育质量、公共卫生服务能力、社会保障水平等明显滞后,还远不能适应社会发展需求与农业农村现代化的需要。从农村居民收入看,2021年中国人均GDP达到12551美元,已经接近高收入经济体的门槛,而农村居民人均可支配收入仅为城镇居民的39.90%。因此,要实现共同富裕,就必须加快农业农村现代化步伐,遵循现代化基本规律,在城镇化进程中全面推进乡村振兴,进一步减少农业从业人口,提升农业劳动生产率,改善农村居民生产生活环境,多途径增加农民收入,大幅缩小城乡居民收入和生活水平差距,尽快补齐农民农村富裕的短板。

二、共同富裕视域下乡村振兴的目标演进

共同富裕是多维度的共富,乡村振兴是全方位的振兴,二者在目标上具有一致性。生活富裕是乡村振兴的落脚点和根本所在,在迈向共同富裕的新征程中绝不能忘记农民,更不能淡漠农村,农民农村共同富裕是全体人民共同富裕的重要组成部分。实施乡村振兴战略,其最终目标是到2050年"乡村全面振兴,农业强、农村美、农民富全面实现"。2021年中央一号文件又提出了"农业高质高效、乡村宜居宜业、农民富裕富足"的要求,可以看成是2035年的中期目标。在共同富裕视域下全面推进乡村振兴,关键是要瞄准2050年全面实现"农

[1] 资料来源:世界银行数据库,https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.EMPL.KD?name_desc=false。

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业强、农村美、农民富”的长期目标，加快推进实现“农业高质高效、乡村宜居宜业、农民富裕富足”的中期目标，为最终实现全体人民共同富裕奠定坚实的基础。

乡村振兴是一项长期的战略任务，需要分阶段扎实推进，而不能把长期目标短期化。从中期来看，可以把“农业高质高效、乡村宜居宜业、农民富裕富足”作为体现“农业强、农村美、农民富”（以下简称“强美富”）的阶段目标，由此奠定2035年全体人民共同富裕迈出坚实步伐的实现基础。从长期看，乡村全面振兴与社会主义现代化强国建成的目标时间对应，应将全面实现“强美富”有机融入到2050年基本实现全体人民共同富裕的目标中。下文着重围绕“强美富”三个层面，探讨乡村振兴目标的演进逻辑，并分别选择若干典型代表性指标，基于现有的公开统计数据，对乡村振兴的中长期目标进行预测和展望。

（一）从农业高质高效到“农业强”

推进农业高质高效，是实现农业与二三产业效益趋同也即城乡产业共赢的必然要求。农业高质高效不仅要求考虑产出效益，还要兼顾生产方式的集约和可持续。在此基础上实现“农业强”，是通过农业高质量发展步入共同富裕的必然选择，除了体现农业高质高效的系列特征，还应该涉及社会主义现代化强国的具体目标形态，如农业强国的建成等。“农业强”和农业强国尽管表述不同，但其含义大体一致。本文着重采用农业劳动生产率、农业科技进步贡献率、农业灌溉用水有效利用系数、农作物耕种收综合机械化率、化肥农药利用率五项指标，从投入产出角度来衡量和预测“农业强”的目标实现进程。

按照潜在经济增速测算[2]，2035年中国第一产业增加值在10万亿元左右（2019年价格），国内生产总值中第一产业占比在5%以下。基于当前人口和经济变化趋势，预计到2035年，中国农业劳动力占就业人员比重将下降至10%左右[3]，农业劳动生产率将接近1.5万美元/人（2019年价格），考虑价格指数，这相当于高收入国家20世纪90年代初期的水平。如果按当年价格，高收入国家在20世纪90年代初期的人均GDP已经迈入2万美元，大致相当于在2020年基础上中国人均GDP翻一番，因此将该时期高收入国家作为中国2035年基本实现农业农村现代化的参照具有合理性。

按“十三五”期间增速，预计到2035年，中国农业科技进步贡献率将达70%以上，一般认为农业现代化国家该贡献率大于80%；农业灌溉用水有效利用系数达0.65以上，欧美发达国家灌溉水有效利用系数处于0.7~0.8的世界先进水平；水稻、小麦、玉米三大粮食作物化肥利用率和农药利用率在55%左右，美国粮食作物氮肥利用率大体在50%，欧美发达国家小麦、玉米等粮食作物的农药利用率在50%~60%[4]。这表明，中国农业科技进步贡献率、农业灌溉用水有效利用系数、化肥农药利用率三项指标均有可能在2035年左右接近欧美发达国家水平；同时，预计2035年中国农作物耕种收综合机械化率达85%以上，这将与部分发达国家水平相当。

[2] 结合白重恩和张琼（2017）以及中国社会科学院宏观经济研究中心课题组（2020）等，2020~2025年潜在经济增长率为5%~6%，2026~2035年潜在经济增长率为4%~5%，2036~2050年潜在经济增长率下降至3%~4%，预计农业增加值占比2035年下降至5%以下。考虑到当前世界范围内疫情的持续，全球经济呈现衰退态势。采用保守估计2021~2025年中国潜在经济增长率为5%，2026~2035年潜在经济增长率为4%。

[3] 考虑到中国兼业化农户占大多数，若按实际务农时间来计量出工情况，农业劳动力数量还会降低。

[4] 参见《化肥农药减量增效促绿色发展》，《经济日报》2017年12月22日第3版。

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综上，按现有发展速度稳步推进，到2035年中国农业现代化水平将显著提升，为最终建成农业强国打下坚实基础。按此趋势对2035年以后的上述五项指标进行趋势外推，可得出在5~10年间各项指标可达到部分高收入国家20世纪90年代初期的水平。因此，中国最有可能在2040年后实现“农业强”，乐观估计不晚于2045年。这与中国建成农业强国的实现进程是一致的（魏后凯、崔凯，2022）。

（二）从乡村宜居宜业到“农村美”

推进乡村宜居宜业，是实现乡村与城镇乐业安居条件基本相当（即城乡空间共美）的充分条件。乡村宜居宜业的内涵较为广泛，涵盖基础设施、生态环境、公共服务、乡村治理等维度。“农村美”作为乡村宜居宜业的最终指向，意味着美丽乡村等目标的全面实现，在生态环境、社会服务等维度上达到共同富裕要求，营造人人共享的城乡和谐发展空间。为衡量和预测“农村美”的目标实现进程，结合指标的典型性和代表性，本文选择《乡村振兴战略规划（2018~2022年）》中若干基础保障类指标，同时加入公共服务相关指标进行分析。

如果将2022年规划目标值作为基期值，结合2016~2020年间的增长情况，畜禽粪污综合利用率、农村卫生厕所普及率、生活垃圾处理的村比率、农村自来水普及率等基础保障类指标，到2035年可接近或达到100%的水平。届时实现乡村宜居宜业将主要表现为生产生活类基础设施的全面改善，农村生态环境得到根本好转，基本建成生态宜居的美丽乡村。

乡村宜居宜业要求乡村不仅为农民生活提供生态宜居空间，也为农村产业转型升级提供发展载体。目前中国农村产业基础薄弱，集体经济强村比重较低，2016年比重为5.3%，而2022年规划目标为9%；多数村集体无经营性收入或经营性收入极低，2019年全国仍有57.7%的集体经济组织是没有收益或者收益低于5万元的“空壳村”，其中西部地区这一比例高达72.6%，与乡村宜业的要求不符。因此，乡村宜居宜业的实现，需要经历从宜居到宜居宜业的过程。

从时序上看，农业产业发展带来的经济效益是农民富裕富足的基础。也只有农业产业发展达到相应水平，城乡基本实现共同富裕，才有可能呈现出“农村美”的局面，预计“农民富”和“农村美”的实现要晚于“农业强”，大约在2045~2050年。

（三）从农民富裕富足到“农民富”

促进农民富裕富足，需要注重农村居民生活在物质和精神两方面的改善，进一步在共同富裕进程中实现“农民富”则具有更宽广、更深刻的内涵。“农民富”不仅是实现农村居民与城镇居民收入均衡化（即城乡共富）的根本表现，更是从农民主体层面实现全体人民共同富裕的落脚点。它是在农民生活富裕基础上的城乡共富、乡村共富和农民共富。为研判“农民富”的目标实现进程，本文采用农村居民人均可支配收入和城乡居民收入比两项指标来衡量富裕的绝对和相对水平；富足类指标采用农村居民恩格尔系数和农村居民人均文教娱乐消费支出比重两项指标，着重反映农民生活状况和精神需求。

从富足类指标的城乡比较看，2020年城镇和农村居民恩格尔系数分别为29.2%和32.7%，城镇和农村居民人均文教娱乐消费支出比重分别为9.6%和9.5%，城乡差距并不大，城乡消费结构逐渐趋同。但从绝对差距

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来看，2020年城乡居民人均食品烟酒消费支出和文教娱乐消费支出差距分别为3401元和1283元。消费水平取决于收入水平，目前中国城乡居民消费水平差距已远低于收入差距，农民富裕富足的关键在于增加农民收入。

2016~2021年，中国农村居民人均可支配收入年均实际增长6.61%，比城镇居民年均实际增速高1.48个百分点，自2010年以来农村居民收入实际增速已连续12年高于城镇居民。以前文潜在经济增速为参考，按照不同的年均增长率分别测算，2035年农村居民人均可支配收入大概率可实现较2020年翻一番，最高接近4万元（2020年价格水平）。这表明，2035年实现经济总量或人均收入翻一番的目标[5]，对于农村居民而言是完全具备可能性的，届时将奠定“农民富”的坚实基础。

然而，城乡收入差距问题仍将长期存在。根据潜在经济增速区间，假设城镇居民人均可支配收入按较低的增长率预期，农村居民人均可支配收入按较高的增长率预期，到2035年城乡居民人均收入绝对差距仍至少在3万元以上[6]。更重要的是，目前中国城乡居民收入比处于高位，随着居民收入基数的增大，城乡居民人均可支配收入绝对差距仍将会继续拉大。2021年城乡居民收入比为2.50，即使按照城镇居民人均可支配收入3%的较低年均增长率，也意味着农村居民收入年均增长率至少要达到城镇居民的2倍以上才有可能在30年内弥合绝对收入差距。围绕全体人民共同富裕的总体目标，中长期需要践行共享式增长理念来推进城乡居民收入均衡化，在促进“农民富裕富足”的过程中，最终实现“农民富”。

（四）乡村振兴的中长期目标展望

围绕“农业高质高效”“乡村宜居宜业”“农民富裕富足”三个层面，结合目标预测和演进分析，设定2035年主要指标目标值（见表1）。各指标基本代表了乡村振兴三个维度的典型特征，并在总体上体现增益和共享等方面的共同富裕内涵。

农业高质高效层面，到2035年，国家粮食安全保障能力进一步巩固，谷物基本自给，口粮绝对安全。经济社会高质量发展对重要农产品的需求得到不断满足，粮食、蔬菜、水果、畜禽、水产等主要农产品供给实现总量平衡、结构平衡和质量提升，中国在国际农产品市场中的参与度显著提升。农业劳动生产率全面超越中等偏上收入国家，农业机械化、良种化水平稳步提升。农业化肥、农药等化学投入品使用总量和强度大幅度下降，物质投入和废弃物利用水平明显改善，农业绿色化特征凸显。农业科技创新能力显著增强，农业产业结构得到根本性改善，农业社会化服务分工更加合理，农产品加工、休闲农业、乡村旅游、农村电商等乡村产业融合形态更加普及。

乡村宜居宜业方面，到2035年，农村人居环境全面改善，全部行政村实现自来水普及，以及对生活垃圾的分类和有效处理，绝大多数行政村实现生活污水的有效处理，生态宜居的美丽乡村基本建成。农村水电路网等基础设施的质量全面改善，形成行政村全覆盖的长效管护机制。农民居住条件和乡村风貌普遍改善，乡镇、

[5] 习近平，“关于《中共中央关于制定国民经济和社会发展第十四个五年规划和二〇三五年远景目标的建议》的说明”，中国政府网，2020年11月3日。

[6] 农村居民人均可支配收入仍按照上文给出的不同增长率进行测算，结论一致。

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表1:乡村振兴主要指标目标值

一级指标	二级指标(单位)	2020年基期值	2035年目标值
农业高质高效	农业劳动生产率(美元/人)	5564[a]	⩾15000
	农业科技进步贡献率(%)	60	⩾70.0
	农田灌溉用水有效利用系数	0.56[a]	0.65
	三大粮食作物化肥利用率和农药利用率(%)	40	55
	农作物耕种收综合机械化率(%)	71	85
乡村宜居宜业	畜禽粪污综合利用率(%)	75[a]	95
	农村卫生厕所普及率(%)	68	100
	对生活垃圾进行处理的村占比(%)	>90	100
	农村自来水普及率(%)	83	100
	集体经济强村比重(%)	5.3[b]	20
农民富裕富足	农村居民人均可支配收入(万元)	1.7	4
	农村居民恩格尔系数(%)	32.7	⩽20
	城乡居民收入比	2.56	⩽1.8
	城乡居民消费支出比	1.97	⩽1.5

注:因部分基期值2020年份数据缺失,标注a的为2019年数据,标注b的为2016年数据。

村级绿化覆盖率明显提高。教育、养老、医疗卫生等基本公共服务实现城乡均等化,优秀乡村文化得到全面发扬,村规民约的引导和约束作用进一步彰显,乡村社会风险防控和灾害应急保障体系全面建立。党组织领导的自治、法治、德治相结合的乡村治理体系更加完善,基层党组织的领导力、组织力和凝聚力提升至新高度,乡村治理能力现代化基本实现。

就农民富裕富足而言,到2035年,农村民生大幅改善,农民持续稳定增收的长效机制基本形成,农民就业质量显著提高,农民财产性收入占比明显增加。农村居民收入年均增速持续保持高于城镇居民,2035年农村居民人均可支配收入较2020年翻一番以上,城乡居民收入比下降到1.8以下。农民素质全面提高,精神文化生活全面丰富,文化娱乐消费明显增加,形成绿色生产生活方式。建立城乡统一的公共服务体系和社会保障制度,城乡区域发展差距和居民生活水平差距显著缩小,为更加全面的富裕富足奠定良好基础。

预计到2035年乡村振兴将取得决定性进展,全体人民共同富裕迈出坚实步伐。展望2050年,乡村全面振兴成为全体人民共同富裕基本实现的根本保障。“强美富”各项目标最终实现,农业强国全面建成,部分重要农产品的产出效率全球领先。农村居民就业质量全面改善,城乡居民收入和生活水平大体相当。城乡基本公共服务由均等化走向均质化,城乡发展不平衡、农村发展不充分问题得到根本解决。农业农村绿色生产生活行为全面普及,资源利用方式更加集约化。良好的生态环境与人文环境成为乡村宜居宜业的重要表征,农村居民精神文化生活得到极大丰富,农村居民对美好生活的向往不断得到满足,社会主义现代化新乡村全面建成,呈现出城乡共荣、共同富裕的格局。

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三、走内生型乡村振兴与共享发展之路

全面推进乡村振兴的过程也是促进乡村共同富裕的过程，在乡村振兴中促进共享、以乡村振兴促进乡村共富，是共同富裕视域下乡村振兴的内在要求。为此，需要从内生增长和成果共享两个方面着力，积极探索内生型乡村振兴与共享发展之路。一方面要激发乡村内生活力，释放乡村增长潜力，推动乡村振兴和整体富裕；另一方面要完善共享机制，促进先富带动后富，并不断提高基本公共服务均等化水平，实现农民生活共富。

（一）创新内生增长的机制

内生增长是乡村振兴的根本动能，因时因地制宜地创新有利于内生增长的政策环境和市场空间十分关键。由于农村地区往往缺乏人口聚集度和规模经济效应，加之近年来农村劳动力持续大规模流向城镇，乡村内部需求减少且分散，推动乡村振兴不是要将乡村复刻成规模更小的城镇，而是要有效利用城镇经济发展和技术进步的溢出效应，充分激活乡村多样性资源，推动乡村与城镇优势互补，构建城乡互动、产村融合的乡村内生增长格局。

第一，资源配置效率是增长的根本来源，要将优化资源配置作为乡村振兴的战略核心。人口、土地、资金、技术是增长的基本要素，能否有效实现乡村资源向发展资本的转化，取决于这些要素的配置效果。农村不缺乏资源，但受城乡二元壁垒的影响，城乡要素流动仍然不顺畅，资源优化配置还有很大的潜力和空间。因此，促进内生增长的关键是要通过深化农村改革，加快要素优化配置，进一步释放乡村增长潜力。在人口方面，要畅通城乡人口双向流动渠道，在促进农业转移人口市民化的同时，进一步完善人才下乡创业和居留政策，逐步放开宅基地使用权等。在土地方面，要深化农村土地制度改革，建立城乡统一的土地市场，完善全国统一的建设用地使用权转让、出租、抵押二级市场，通过土地要素优化配置促进城乡市场联系和繁荣发展。在人口和土地要素流动的基础上，强化乡村发展资金保障，推动科技成果下乡，促进人、地、钱、技的优化配置，从而释放新一轮农村改革红利。

第二，人力资本积累是增长的基本支撑，要将人力资本提升作为乡村振兴的第一要务。伴随中国经济转型和产业升级换代的不断加速，以低技能劳动为支撑的低成本优势难以持续，乡村振兴的过程也不应当是低质产能转移或扩张的过程。因此，加快提升乡村人力资本积累和知识技能提升尤为重要，这是促进乡村加快适应数字经济、服务经济、低碳经济等一系列经济趋势变化的关键，也是提升乡村人口创新创业能力的基础。一方面要加快解决当前乡村教育不足的问题，通过城乡教育联合体、职业教育普及化和高质量发展，加快提高乡村学生接受中等教育的比率和质量，特别是加快提升脱贫地区乡村学生的受教育水平。另一方面要完善针对现有乡村劳动人口的知识与技能培训体系，尤其是加快培育乡村人口的数字素养，全面提升乡村地区利用数字化相关机会的能力，增强乡村发展的潜力和韧性。

第三，资源集聚效应是增长的必要条件，要以集聚的思维统领乡村振兴战略的全过程。规模效应是增长的一般规律，尽管乡村经济相较于城市而言具有分散性，但从乡村发展布局而言，依然有必要推动资源聚集和服务配套集约。一方面要引导村庄之间的资源进一步整合，通过村集体之间的资源整合和利益分配机制构

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建，在市场机制作用下形成相对更有效率的规模经济，并参与城乡产业分工中更高附加值的生产和贸易活动，从而提升村集体收益，促进农村居民就地就近就业创业。另一方面要引导现代生产要素向规模化的市场主体聚集，促进新型农业经营主体和服务主体的发展，提升其竞争力、带动力，并构建规模市场主体与小散农户的利益联结机制，将分散的、规模小的主体衔接纳入产业链和价值链，通过辐射和带动全面提升产业效益。

（二）完善成果共享的机制

全面推进乡村振兴，不仅需要实现乡村整体振兴和繁荣，还需要采取多方面措施促进发展成果共享，逐步实现乡村共同富裕。乡村振兴客观上要求资源进一步集聚，这是先富带动后富的前提条件，但与此同时，经济发展并不会自发产生有利于公平分配的拐点，有必要在乡村振兴过程中前瞻性地考虑公共政策调节，完善共享式增长和基本公共服务均等化机制，以确保乡村振兴的过程既能够共同致富，也能实现富裕成果的共享。

第一，乡村多样性是实现共享式增长需要考虑的基础条件，构建多样性价值转化通道将有利于乡村获得更多共享增长成果的机会。一方面，中国正在向低碳经济转型，这是中国生态文明建设的重要内容，而乡村因其自然资源禀赋和资源型产业的分布，在向低碳经济转型中具有至关重要的作用，促进乡村绿色低碳发展需要建立公平的生态价值转化机制，以确保经济较为落后但生态较好地区能够共享增长成果。尤其要加快完善“绿水青山就是金山银山”的合作机制和转化通道，推动发达地区与欠发达地区在生态环境领域的合作，促进资源、业务、人才、技术等方面交流互助，共同提升环境治理能力，加快建立完善生态产品价值实现机制，使生态资源丰富的欠发达地区和乡村地区能够通过生态价值转化共享增长成果。另一方面，要立足农耕文化、乡村生态、田园风情等乡村独特资源特色，加强政策供给和资金配套，通过产城（镇、村）融合、产业链延伸、功能拓展、技术渗透等产业融合方式，促进城乡市场连接和融合发展，拓展城市居民到乡村投资和消费的场景，并通过乡村多样性价值转化，拓展乡村共享增长成果的空间。

第二，先富带后富是一个由点到面的溢出过程，要为共同致富的溢出效应创造有利的政策环境和市场条件。特别是在相对分散的农村集体产权条件下，要形成与农村集体产权相容的共富机制。结合中国农村集体产权的特征，可以从促进集体间联合发展的目标出发，出台配套政策，支持村集体之间乃至更高能级的区域层面的联合与共富。一方面，要充分契合党建引领的制度特征，支持党建层面推动区域联盟式的大党委机制，以协调整合若干村庄或乡镇的资源优势，在治理机制上支撑强村带弱村、先富带后富机制的构建。另一方面，要实施强村带弱村、先富带后富的共建共享工程，在产业发展、集体经济增收、基本公共服务等需要规模经济支撑的领域实行村集体之间的抱团发展，促进强村与弱村之间的资源共享、优势互补和共同发展，并通过加强经营主体与农户利益联结机制，拓宽各类资本不足、收入较低农户的增收渠道。

第三，高质量基本公共服务是乡村居民共富的重要支撑，要将提升基本公共服务的质量和可及性作为促进乡村居民生活共富的战略抓手。一方面，要加快消除城乡基本公共服务的待遇差别，增强乡村对所有人的包容性。在目前地区差异较大的现实条件下，可率先推进县域内城乡基本公共服务标准统一、制度并轨。重点提高基本保险的待遇水平，全面提高参保人员的医疗保障待遇，提升城乡居民基本养老保险的统筹层次和待

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遇水平。将兜底保障作为城乡基本公共服务统筹的基础任务和底线任务，推动救助标准的城乡统一，加快缩小救助领域的地区差距、城乡差距。另一方面，中国尚处于城镇化的中后期，乡村基本公共服务整体质量偏低，而伴随着城镇化的推进，乡村人口将会持续减少，特别是偏远地区人口会更加分散和稀疏，这就要求在需要规模经济支撑的医疗、卫生、养老等基本公共服务的供给方面考虑集约性，通过网络协作、合作生产、跨层级协同等多元形式进行整合，以便加快适应人口布局变动的趋势，提升高质量公共服务的可及性，从而提高乡村地区的吸引力。

四、实行分区分类的差别化推进策略

乡村振兴涉及范围广，不同区域资源禀赋条件差异大。全面实施乡村振兴战略，需要实行差别化的推进策略和支持政策体系，以乡村振兴促进共同富裕，并将乡村共富有机融入乡村全面振兴。为此，要突出乡村特色，科学把握乡村差异性，合理确定实施乡村振兴战略中政策供给的优先序，探索创新多元化的乡村共富机制，做到因地制宜、分类指导、因村施策，分区分类全面推进乡村振兴，助力实现乡村共同富裕。

（一）坚持分区推进

在国家层面，要立足乡村产业振兴、人才振兴、文化振兴、生态振兴和组织振兴，从乡村发展、乡村建设、乡村治理全过程进行整体谋划，按照东部、中部、西部和东北四大经济区域，结合不同区域的现实条件和农业农村现代化的实现程度，规划设计分区推进方案。同时，要实行以点带面，扎实做好农业现代化示范区以及乡村振兴示范县、示范乡镇、示范村等分级创建工作，充分发挥试点示范的引领作用。

东部地区要通过全面推进乡村振兴，引领全国并率先基本实现农业农村现代化。为此，可以选择在江苏、山东、浙江等发达省份设立乡村振兴先行区，采取整县推进或跨省协作推进的方式，鼓励乡村振兴先行区和直辖市郊区加快创新驱动农业发展，推动农业向高附加值的融合业态转型。打通城乡劳动力要素双向流通渠道，先行先试城乡基本公共服务均等化的解决方案。探索农村居民对公共事务治理的共同参与机制，尽快实现乡村治理能力现代化。

中部地区、东北地区既具备特色的农业资源，在乡村建设方面也存在不容忽视的短板，要善于因势利导，发挥比较优势，激活农业农村发展潜力。在农业生产条件和基础较好的地区，要加快传统农业的绿色转型，重视耕地保护和提高水土资源利用率，增强中高端农产品供给能力。试点推进农业智能装备应用和转型升级，加快农业社会化服务在坡地、丘陵和山区细碎化农田中的覆盖。继续发挥农村改革试验区的带动作用，增加试点项目。重点提高山区、半山区、远郊区的村庄污水和垃圾处理能力，加强面源污染问题防治。

西部地区全面推进乡村振兴的基础相对薄弱，在国家已经确定乡村振兴重点帮扶县的基础上，加强与老少边穷地区、易地搬迁安置区等特殊类型地区的政策衔接，优先安排农村医疗服务、特困群体救助服务等关键基本公共服务的投入，加快推动这些地区形成县乡村统筹的医疗卫生服务网络，重点提升山区、少数民族地区和边境地区医疗卫生服务向常住人口覆盖的质量。同步加大对外出务工和就地城镇化人员的技术培训和就业保障等服务支持力度，稳定提高农民工资性收入水平。在东西协作等重要区域合作框架中，进一步拓

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宽东西合作领域，除了产业转移、干部和人才交流等机制，还应加强生态环境治理和生态补偿等领域的合作。要以生产环境和生活环境优化为导向，加强农村人居环境整治，发挥农村的生活功能和生态价值。加快提升居民基本养老保险制度、最低生活保障制度等各类社会救助服务的统筹层次，提速推进城乡标准统一、制度并轨，为城乡共富、乡村共富筑牢公平底线。

（二）实行分类推进

中国农村地域辽阔，村庄类型多样。2020年，中国共有行政村49.3万个，自然村236.3万个。随着城镇化的不断推进，中国的村庄数量将会逐步减少。要顺应村庄发展规律和演变趋势，按照《乡村振兴战略规划（2018—2022年）》中分类推进乡村振兴的要求，针对集聚提升类、城郊融合类、特色保护类、搬迁撤并类等不同村庄类型，提出分类推进策略，并按常住人口调整优化基础设施和公共服务，做到有的放矢、有序安排，避免“一刀切”。

一是集聚提升类村庄。该类村庄指现有规模较大的中心村和其他仍将存续的一般村庄，具有较大的发展提升空间，是乡村振兴的重点。这类村庄是乡村振兴的核心载体，要坚持因地制宜，在原有规模基础上有序推进改造提升。鼓励发挥自身比较优势，强化主导产业支撑，支持农业、工贸、休闲服务等专业化村庄发展。针对规模较大的中心村和一般村庄，要强化所在县城的示范带动力和吸引力，打造创业创新集群，拓展农民收入渠道。有条件的村庄，可以探索智慧农业、数字乡村等试点建设，开发田园风光、乡土文化、民俗技艺等独特资源，优化村庄生产、生活和生态功能。

二是城郊融合类村庄。该类村庄指城市近郊区以及县城城关镇所在地的村庄，具备成为城市后花园的优势，也具有向城市转型的条件。这类村庄已经成为城市的一部分，城市的公共服务和基础设施等也在向这类村庄延伸。要以城市群、都市圈、大中城市为主，打造若干城郊融合类村庄的示范样本，提高工农产业融合水平，加快城乡要素双向流动，尽快实现基本公共服务均等化。同时，注重保留乡村原有的风貌形态，构建现代乡村治理新体系，提升村庄承接城市功能外溢、服务城市发展、满足城市消费需求的能力。

三是特色保护类村庄。该类村庄指历史文化名村、传统村落、少数民族特色村寨、特色景观旅游名村等自然、历史、文化特色资源丰富的村庄，是彰显和传承中华优秀传统文化的重要载体。该类村庄有明显的资源优势，生态适宜、特色鲜明。要在加强保护的基础上，尊重原住居民生活形态和传统习惯，适度开发与合理利用村庄特色资源，积极发展乡村旅游和特色产业，统筹好保护、利用与发展的关系。各地要从实际出发，因地制宜打造一批特色保护类村庄，形成特色产业发展、资源保护利用与村庄建设的良性互促机制。

四是搬迁撤并类村庄，该类村庄指位于生存条件恶劣、生态环境脆弱、自然灾害频发等地区的村庄，因重大项目建设需要搬迁的村庄，以及人口流失特别严重的村庄。通过探索异地搬迁、生态搬迁、集聚搬迁等村庄搬迁撤并的有效形式，在符合农民意愿前提下，将村庄搬迁撤并与县域城镇化相结合，探索城乡土地统筹利用的有效实现形式。位于边远山区、资源枯竭区、生态脆弱区等地的村庄，可以探索在适宜地区进行人口和就业集中安置的模式，做好迁出区复垦和生态修复工作。对于空心村的整治，要因地制宜、因村施策，加强规划引导，并与就地就近城镇化有机结合起来。村庄布局调整是一个长期的过程，切不可操之过急、搞“一刀切”，

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应充分尊重农民意愿，遵循乡村发展规律，采取科学的方法，统筹安排调整后村庄基础设施和配套公共服务，切实改善居民生产生活条件，持续增进居民福祉。

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Goal Evolution and Promotion Strategies of Rural Revitalization in the View of Common Prosperity

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Abstract: *Rural revitalization is not only an important development goal for the Chinese government, but also a path to development. It is a crucial strategic choice of socialism with Chinese characteristics in a new epoch that to achieve both urban-rural and intra-rural prosperity in the course of promoting rural revitalization. In the context of common prosperity, the key to achieving rural revitalization is to strive for the year 2050 long-term objectives of "robust agriculture, beautiful countryside and well-off farmers", while also accelerating efforts to meet the mid-term targets of "improving the quality and efficiency of agriculture, making rural areas suitable to live and work, and ensuring farmers are affluent and well-off". In terms of a strategic path, it is vital to combine endogenous growth with a sharing mechanism, with the former aiming to stimulate the internal vitality of rural areas and unleash their growth potential, and the latter to ensure that wealth is shared among all people and access to basic public services is made equal. To implement the strategy, it is suggested to take a regionally differentiated approach and a classification differentiated approach by scientifically grasping rural differences and identifying policy priorities, and explore innovative and diversified mechanisms of rural common prosperity.*

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Eradicating poverty, improving people's livelihoods, and gradually achieving common prosperity are the essential requirements of socialism. Achieving common prosperity is not only a long-term objective, but a conscious strategic choice and a continuous development process. Since the reform and opening up policy was implemented in the late 1970s, China has successfully achieved the goal of "let some people get rich first" in a relatively short time span. However, this does not necessarily guarantee common prosperity for all people (Liu, 2011). In the new journey of modernization, to ensure that the fruit of development is shared among the people, it is vital to enhance reform and policy support to resolve market failure and mitigate the exclusionary consequences brought about by market forces and resource allocation, thus allowing all citizens to share the fruits of development. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has led the people to fight a continuous war on poverty, adhering to the incremental strategic thinking towards the objective of common prosperity. In the end of 2020, China gained a full victory in the battle against absolute poverty, lifting its entire rural population out of poverty. This landmark achievement paves the way for meeting the first centenary goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all aspects, and also signals

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that China has entered a transitional phase on the road to achieving common prosperity (Wei, 2020). At present, however, the key challenges to common prosperity may be the developmental disparity between rural and urban areas, and the inadequate development of agriculture and rural areas. Therefore, promoting rural revitalization is the fundamental solution to achieving common prosperity. In addition, gradually achieving shared prosperity among urban and rural areas in the process of rural revitalization is a significant strategic choice of socialism with Chinese characteristics as it enters a new epoch.

1. Rural Revitalization as the Cornerstone of Common Prosperity

When entering a high-quality development phase, China still possesses multifaceted advantages for sustainable development, and also faces conflicts resulting from urban-rural development imbalances, and inadequate development of agriculture and rural areas. From both a theoretical and practical perspective, the fundamental strategy to tackle these issues is to comprehensively promote rural revitalization.

1.1 The Effects of Rural Revitalization on Common Prosperity: Theoretical Basis

The term "common prosperity" refers to a state in which all people are well-off in all aspects. It is not only an empirical conclusion drawn from historical development, but also the tenet and objective of a socialist society as outlined by the founders of so-called "scientific socialism" (Cheng and Liu, 2012). Development theories believe that the free market alone falls short of delivering economic convergence and coordinated development, and as a result, the intervention of public policies is critical. Meanwhile, in order to accelerate the pace towards modernization, it is essential to transform agriculture into a source of high-quality economic growth, and build the rural areas into a beautiful and livable homeland while firmly promoting coordinated development in urban and rural areas. In this sense, promoting rural revitalization is both a strategic choice and a means to achieve common prosperity. To some extent, the two goals are synergistic to each other as common prosperity is untenable without the prosperity of farmers and rural areas, which also lies at the root of rural revitalization.

Common prosperity refers to the concept of universal prosperity which eradicates disparity between the rich and the poor. In theories of economic growth, the neoclassical theories of economic growth, represented by the Solow model, assume that there is a certain level of per capita income towards which the economy will converge. Based on the assumption of diminishing returns, this theoretical strand postulates that regardless of the initial capital stock per capita, the economy will converge overtime due to same changes in the population growth rate, and the savings and depreciation rates (Ray, 2002). However, many of the assumptions of neoclassical models do not hold true in reality. French economist Thomas Piketty (2014) argues that the root cause of wealth inequality lies precisely in the fact that the rate of return on capital is higher than that of economic growth in the long run. In this view, economic development does not follow the neoclassical growth theories and the associated inverted U-shape hypothesis, nor does it spontaneously generate an inflection point that leads to the uniform distribution of wealth for any given set of endowments. Rather, a shared economic growth can only be attained by scientific and effective public policy guidance moderating market intervention. This argument has been by and large verified in today's high-income countries. In countries which have given full play to the leverage of public policies, there is a relatively small wealth gap, and on the contrary, in countries where public policy failed to shake the polarized structure due to strong resistance from those who benefitted from it, wealth inequality prevails.

The concept of common prosperity in China was put forward in the context of agricultural reconstruction, in the 1953 "*Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Development of Agricultural Production Cooperatives*", which aimed to advance the socialist transformation of

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agriculture and agricultural development. The concept was further elaborated by Deng (1993): "The essence of socialism is to liberate and develop productive forces, eliminate exploitation, eradicate polarization, and finally achieve common prosperity." Following reform and opening-up, the debate surrounding the topic of common prosperity has focused on "how" and "when" to realize common prosperity (Cheng and Liu, 2012). Starting from the problem orientation of urban-rural gap and rural internal gap, it is critical to promote rural reform and development in tandem with urbanization advancement in order to achieve common prosperity. Rural reform marked the beginning of China's overall economic reform (Cai, 2008). At the beginning of this reform, the implementation of rural household contract responsibility systems simultaneously increased farmers' economic status and boosted their empowerment, and since then, continued efforts have been made to improve efficiency and equality (Zhou and Sun, 2011). Entering the 21st century, a range of conducive policies focusing on rural taxation reform and construction of new rural areas have further improved rural economic and social development. Notably, since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Chinese government has intensified actions aimed at deepening rural reform, improving production and living conditions, and promoting rural construction. As a result, in the end of 2020, China has accomplished the arduous task of eliminating absolute poverty in rural areas, laying a solid foundation for realizing common prosperity. During the 2020 Central Rural Work Conference, General Secretary Xi Jinping made a resounding statement that "*rural revitalization is the cornerstone of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation,*" and called for dedicated action across the Party and Chinese society to promote rural revitalization. In another speech held during the 10th meeting of the Central Committee for Financial and Economic Affairs on August 17, 2021, General Secretary Xi Jinping stressed that "*we have arrived at the historical stage to push common prosperity forward concretely*," and that "*the most challenging and arduous task remains in the countryside*" (Xi, 2021). His speech reaffirmed that promoting rural reform and development is the cornerstone of socialism, and that ensuring the prosperity of farmers and rural areas is the linchpin of common prosperity.

For contemporary China, common prosperity encompasses three core elements: Development, sharing, and sustainability. It pays particular attention to alleviating and compensating for social inequalities that may have resulted from institutional drawbacks and to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to participate in and share the fruit of development (Yu and Ren, 2021). Considering the yawning gap between urban and rural as well as among rural areas, from a theoretical point of view, it is therefore essential to leverage public policy instruments to continuously improve rural livelihoods and well-being, and optimize the distribution of resources and opportunities. In addition, more efforts need to be taken to increase farmers' skills to adapt to new market demands and ensure their rights and interests, as well as to further advance an innovative social governance system.

1.2 The Effects of Rural Revitalization on Common Prosperity: Practical Pathway

In the current stage, China is a middle-income country with a bit large income gap, especially between urban and rural areas and among rural areas. As stated above, these issues constitute the most prominent challenges to achieving common prosperity. Broadly speaking, the urban-rural income gap in major developed countries experienced a stretch in the beginning of development before narrowing in later stages. At present, many developed countries have completely closed the urban-rural income gap, with the income level of some rural residents exceeding that of their urban companions. Singling out the case of Japan, the ratio of per capita disposable income of urban-to-rural residents has been below 1.0 since the mid-1970s. Similarly, according to Zeng and Hu (2008), since the beginning of the 21st century, the income level of rural households in the United States, as well as in European countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark and France, has even exceeded the average national income level. In comparison, today the urban-rural income gap in China is still relatively large. The ratio of per capita disposable

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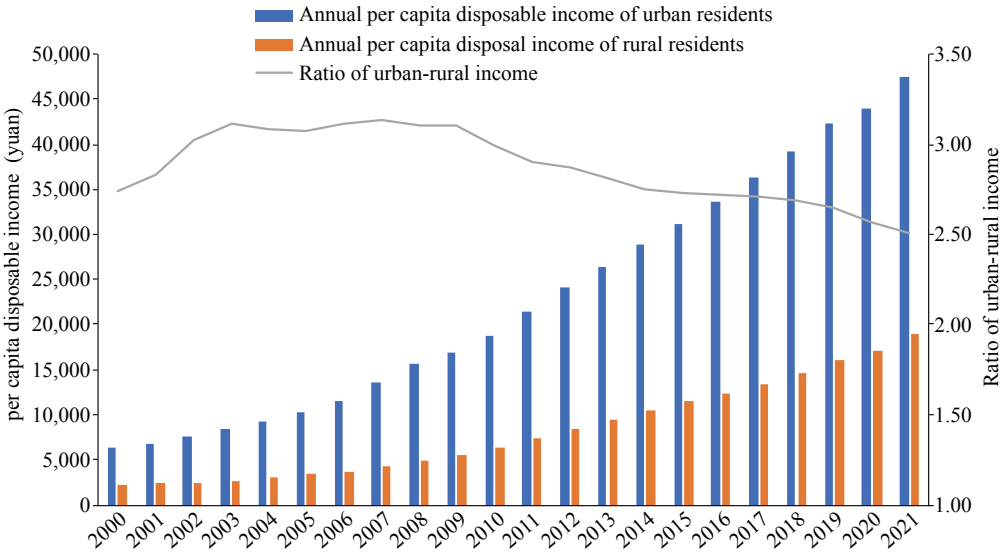


Figure 1: Changes in the Annual Per Capita Disposable Income of Rural and Urban Residents and the Ratio from 2000 to 2021

Note: Data on per capita disposable income from 2013 to 2021 are derived from actual surveys on household income and expenditure and living conditions, whereas those from 2000 to 2012 are extrapolated based on historical statistics. The absolute number of disposable income is calculated at the current price, and the ratio is calculated at comparable prices.
Source: *China Statistical Yearbook 2021* and the *2021 Statistical Bulletin of the People's Republic of China on National Economic and Social Development*.

income of urban-to-rural residents between 2002 and 2009 was higher than 3.00, and despite having experienced a continuous decline since 2010, the ratio remained as high as 2.50 in 2021 (see Figure 1). In addition, compared to developed areas, the urban-rural income gap in less-developed regions is even larger. For example, Gansu and Guizhou provinces in the hinterland registered an urban-to-rural income ratio as high as 3.27 and 3.10, respectively in 2020, which were much higher than that of Zhejiang province (1.96). The relatively lower level of overall income, compounded by the yawning urban-rural gap indicates that the task of promoting common prosperity in those under-developed regions is more arduous.

Common prosperity is characterized by a high level of income sustained by efficient productivity, a robust public services system, and the sharing of wealth among all people (Li and Zhu, 2022). In this sense, increasing the overall income of farmers and the productivity of rural industries may be practical path to achieving common prosperity. With the current development pace, China is expected to basically meet the target of agricultural and rural modernization by 2035, while the level of achievement will likely be low in the fields of agricultural labor productivity, the provision of basic public services and rural income (Report Research Group, 2018). To illustrate this point, in 2019, China's agricultural value-added per labor force was US$5,609 (calculated with the USD value in 2015), which was 92.8% of the level of the upper-middle-income countries, but merely 13.9% of that of high-income countries.[1] In the area of basic public services, the quality of compulsory education, healthcare and social security in the Chinese rural regions cannot adapt to the development of society and the modernization of agriculture and rural areas. As for rural income, in 2021, the per capital disposable income of rural residents was 39.9% that of urban residents, although China had almost reached the threshold of a high-income

[1] Data Source: World Bank Database https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.EMPL.KD?name_desc=false.

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economy with a per capita GDP of US$12,551. Therefore, in order to achieve common prosperity and promote rural revitalization, it is critical to accelerate the pace of agricultural and rural modernization by further reducing the number of workers employed in the agricultural sector, improving labor productivity, and diversifying farmers' sources of income.

2. The Goal Evolution of Rural Revitalization in Common Prosperity

Material prosperity is not only the foundation of rural revitalization, but also a coherent element that underpins the concept of common prosperity. The ultimate objective of rural revitalization by 2050 is "*robust agriculture, beautiful countryside, and well-off farmers.*" The mid-term goal by 2035 as outlined in the "*No. 1 Central Document for 2021"* is "to improve the efficiency and quality of the agricultural sector, make rural areas suitable to live and work, and ensure that farmers are affluent and well-off." Achieving rural revitalization is an incremental process that begins with undertaking efforts to realize the midterm goal while keeping the 2050 long-range objective in sight. In the long run, the timeline of achieving rural revitalization coincides with the national goal of building a powerful modern socialist country by 2050, and it is suggested to consider the former as an integral part of the latter. In what follows we will outline the process by which goals for rural revitalization may evolve with time, focusing on agricultural development, the living and working environment of rural areas and the prosperity of farmers. In addition, we will elaborate on some representative indicators and analyze the prospect of realizing the mid- and long-term goals based on readily available statistics.

2.1. Goal Evolution in Agricultural Development

Improving the efficiency and quality of the agricultural sector is the inexorable requirement of creating a win-win situation for both urban and rural industries as it is the way to attain similar economic gains as from the secondary and tertiary industries. It not only needs to increase output efficiency and production intensity but also take the sustainability and intensification of production mode into account. Only by incrementally improving efficiency and quality, can the long-term goal of *robust agriculture* be achieved, which further contributes to the building of an agricultural powerhouse and socialist modernization. Below we assess and forecast the process of developing robust agriculture by analyzing such five indicators as agricultural productivity, contribution rate of science and technology progress, effective utilization factor of farmland irrigation, mechanization rate in crop cultivation and harvesting, utilization rate of fertilizers and pesticides in three major crops.

With the current economic growth rate,[2] by 2035 the value-added of China's primary industry will be about 10 trillion yuan (based on the 2019 price level), accounting for less than 5% of total GDP. Based on the current demographic and development trends, it is expected that by the same year the agricultural sector will employ less than 10% of total labor force[3] and that labor productivity will be close to US$15,000 per worker (based on the 2019 price level), which is on a par with the level of high-income countries in the early 1990s. The latter's per capita GDP reached US$20,000 (based on price level at the time), roughly double the level of China in 2020. Hence, we suggest that the per capita GDP level of high-income countries in the 1990s can be used as a benchmark for China to measure the agricultural and rural modernization by 2035.

[2] Based on estimates of Bai and Zhang (2017) and the research group of the Macroeconomic Research Centre of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2020), it is predicted that the potential economic growth rate from 2020 to 2025 will be 5%-6%, from 2026 to 2035 will be 4%-5%, and from 2036 to 2050 will be 3%-4%. The contribution of the value-added of the agricultural sector will drop below 5% in 2035. However, in view of the slowdown in the global economy triggered by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, we take a conservative estimate for China's potential economic growth, that is, 5% for the years from 2021 to 2025, and 4% from 2026 to 2035.

[3] Considering that part-time farmers are in the majority, the number of agricultural laborers might be ever smaller if measured by actual farming time.

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Based on the performance during the 13th Five-Year Plan period, it is predicted that by 2035, the contribution rate of science and technology to agricultural development will be above 70%, edging close to the level of a modern agricultural nation (80%), and the effective utilization factor of farmland irrigation is expected to be above 0.65, almost equivalent to that of the developed countries in Europe and the US. Additionally, the utilization rate of fertilizers and pesticides in three major grain crops (rice, wheat and corn) is expected to be about 55%, comparable with that of developed countries (50%-60%).[4] Finally, the mechanization rate in crop cultivation and harvesting is expected to reach over 85%, which is on a par with the level of major developed countries.

All in all, with a steady rate of advancement, China's agricultural modernization may experience remarkable improvements by 2035, thereby laying a solid foundation for eventually building China into an agricultural powerhouse. Extrapolating from the above five indicators, we speculate that in the 5-10 years after 2035, the above indicators will reach the level of some high-income countries in the early 1990s, potentially catapulting China into the rank of nations with robust agriculture by 2045.

2.2 Goal Evolution in Rural Development

Making rural areas suitable to live and work in is a key milestone on the path toward a beautiful countryside, and it encompasses elements of infrastructure, ecological environment, public services and rural governance. To assess and forecast the progress in achieving the ultimate goal of building a beautiful countryside, this paper uses the basic indicators of social security outlined in the "*Strategic Plan for Rural Revitalization 2018-2022*" as well as indicators for public services.

Taking the target indicator of 2022 as the base, by the acceleration rate between 2016 and 2020, indicators of basic social security such as the integrated usage rate of livestock and poultry manure, coverage of sanitary toilets in rural areas, proportion of villages that handle domestic waste and popularity rate of tap water systems are on track to approach or reach 100% by 2035. Once these targets are met, to further improve rural living and working environment the focus should be on comprehensively advancing the quality of rural infrastructure and rural ecological environments, thereby paving the way for constructing an ecological and livable beautiful countryside.

In addition, making rural areas suitable to live and work in is the premise of rural industrial transformation and upgrade. At present, China's rural industrial base is rather weak, and the percentage of villages with strong collective economy was merely 5.3% in 2016, although the number is expected to rise to 9% in 2022. Most village collectives have meager or even zero operational income. In 2019, some 57.7% of collective economic entities had an income lower that 50,000 yuan, and the rate in the western region was 72.6%. Thus, the current overall rural economic landscape in China is a far cry from becoming a rural area suitable to live and work in. To address this issue, urgent actions are needed to strengthen rural industrial development.

The economic benefits brought about by rural industries may constitute the basis for farmers to become affluent and well-off. Furthermore, only when agricultural industries have reached a relatively robust level, can both the urban and rural population be more likely to common prosperity, and the pattern of a beautiful countryside may begin to take shape. We predict that the goals of making a beautiful countryside and well-off farmers will only be achieved sometime between 2045 and 2050, after first achieving the goal of robust agriculture.

2.3 Goal Evolution in the Prosperity of Farmers

To help farmers become affluent and well-off, the focus has been on improving both the material and intellectual lives of farmers, but making farmers well-off entails a broader and much more profound

[4] See: "Promoting Green Development by Reducing the Usage of Fertilizers and Pesticides While Increasing Efficiency." *Economic Daily*, December 22, 2017.

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approaches. It needs an equal income between urban and rural population, and spells out a vision of common prosperity from the perspective of farmers. To study the process of realizing the goal of well-off farmers, this paper uses indicators of per capital disposable income of rural residents, income ratio of urban-to-rural and consumption ratio of urban-to-rural to measure the absolute and relative levels of rural affluence. The wealth indicators include the Engel's coefficient of rural residents so as to capture farmers' standard of living.

A comparison of wealth indicators shows a minimal gap between urban and rural populations in China. The Engel's coefficients of urban and rural residents in 2020 were 29.2% and 32.7%, respectively, and the per capita expenditure for cultural, educational, and recreational purposes accounted for 9.6% and 9.5% of total expenditure of urban and rural residents, respectively, indicating that the consumption structures in urban and rural areas are gradually converging. However, in terms of absolute expenditures, in 2020 the urban population spent on average 3,401 yuan more on food and beverages than the rural population and 1,283 yuan more on entertainment and recreation. Consumption level is typically largely determined by income level, but at present, the consumption gap between urban and rural residents is far lower than their income gap. Hence the key to achieving farmers' prosperity lies in increasing their income.

From 2016 to 2021, the per capita disposable income of rural residents in China registered an annual increase of 6.61%, which was 1.48 percentage points higher than that of urban residents. In fact, since 2010, the growth rate of rural income has been higher than urban income for 12 consecutive years. If this historical economic growth were to continue, the per capita disposable income of rural residents in 2035 would double compared to 2020, with a maximum estimation edging close to 40,000 yuan per capita (based on the price level of 2020). This shows that it is expected to double total rural economic output or per capita rural income by 2035.[5]

However, the income gap between urban and rural residents may still persist. It is predicted that even taking the relatively low estimation of urban income increase rate and the high estimation of rural income increase rate, by 2035 the difference in per capita disposable income could be over 30,000 yuan in absolute terms.[6] More importantly, with an increase in the income base, the gap in per capital disposable income of urban and rural residents could continue to widen. In 2021 the income ratio of urban-to-rural was 2.50, meaning that the annual rate of increase of rural income would have to be at least twice that of urban income in order to close the urban-rural income gap within 30 years. Therefore, in the medium- and long-term, it is vital to implement mechanisms of shared growth to drive equal income for urban and rural residents, thereby promoting the overall agenda of common prosperity.

2.4 Prospects for the Mid- and Long-term Goals of Rural Revitalization

Focusing on the above three dimensions of the mid-term goal ("to improve the efficiency and quality of the agricultural sector, make rural areas suitable to live and work in, and ensure that farmers are affluent and well-off"), we further identify the 2035 target values of the key indicators as shown in Table 1.

To improve the efficiency and quality of the agricultural sector, the utmost priority is to further consolidate national food security and safeguard basic self-sufficiency of staple foods. Additionally, to meet people's constant demand for agricultural products, it is important to improve the quality of products and strike a supply-demand balance particularly in major foods such as grain, vegetables, fruits, livestock and poultry and aquatic products. Furthermore, it is crucial to boost China's participation in

[5] Xi, Jinping. "Explanation on 'The CPC Central Committee's Proposal on Formulating the 14th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the Long-term Goals for 2035'." *Chinese Government Website*, November 3, 2020.

[6] The per capita disposable income of rural residents calculated according to the different growth rates stated above, and the conclusions are consistent.

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Table 1: Target Values of Key Indicators of Rural Revitalization

First-tier indicator	Second-tier indicator (unit)	Base value in 2020	Target value in 2035
Efficiency and quality of the agricultural sector	Agricultural productivity (US$/person)	5,564[a]	≥15,000
	Contribution rate of science and technology progress (%)	60	≥70.0
	Effective utilization factor of farmland irrigation	0.56[a]	0.65
	Utilization rate of fertilizers and pesticides in three major crops (%)	40	55
	Mechanization rate in crop cultivation and harvesting (%)	71	85
Rural areas suitable to live and work in	Integrated usage rate of of livestock and poultry manure (%)	75[a]	95
	Coverage of sanitary toilets in rural areas (%)	68	100
	Proportion of villages that handle domestic waste (%)	>90	100
	Popularity rate of tap water systems (%)	83	100
	Percentage of villages with strong collective economy (%)	5.3[b]	20
Affluent and well-off farmers	Per capita disposable income of rural residents (10,000 yuan)	1.7	4
	Engel's coefficient of rural residents (%)	32.7	≤20
	Income ratio of urban-rural	2.56	≤1.8
	Consumption ratio of urban-rural	1.97	≤1.5

Note: Due to missing data from 2020, some indicators draw data from 2019 (marked with a), and some from 2016 (marked with b).

the international agricultural markets and to elevate productivity, mechanization rates and crop species beyond the level of upper-middle-income countries. Moreover, in order to make the agricultural sector more sustainable, the total input and intensity of fertilizers and pesticides need to be reduced and material outputs and waste recycle levels need to be enhanced. Finally, the capacity of deriving growth impetus from scientific and technological innovation needs to be improved significantly. In addition, it is vital to optimize the division of labor in agricultural service industries and to restructure the agricultural industry by propelling the integration of industries such as food processing, leisure agriculture, eco-tourism, and e-commerce.

In terms of making rural areas suitable to live and work in by 2035, key actions are still needed to ensure that tap water systems are installed in all administrative villages, rural household garbage classification is fully promoted, effective treatment of wastewater is widespread in vast majority villages, and the quality of water, electricity, and transportation networks are improved. Furthermore, it is evidently vital to increase green areas in villages, narrow the urban-rural gap in terms of the provision of basic public services such as education, elderly care, and healthcare, and promote fine rural culture. Additionally, risk prevention and disaster emergency control systems should be established, and a rural governance model based on the rule of law and the self-governance needs to be advanced further.

To help farmers become affluent and well-off, another decisive factor would be to establish a sustainable mechanism that guarantees a continuous increase in income and employment quality. It is expected that by 2035 the average disposable income of China's rural population will be double in comparison to 2020, and if the average annual income growth rate of the rural population continues to outpace that of the urban population, by the same year the ratio of urban-to-rural income would be below 1.8. In addition, it is essential to build an advanced public service and social security system, while continuously improving the ‘‘quality’’ of farmers by enriching their intellectual and cultural lives, and promoting a green production and lifestyle. In summary, the gap between urban and rural in terms

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of development and living standard should be further narrowed, laying a solid foundation for a more prosperous society.

It is expected that by 2035 China will have made decisive progress in rural revitalization, and taken solid steps to lead all people towards achieving common prosperity. In the 2050 outlook, the comprehensive revitalization of the countryside will have become the fundamental element for basically realizing common prosperity, the goals of *"robust agriculture, beautiful countryside and well-off farmers"* will have been achieved, and an agricultural powerhouse will have been built in an all-round way, with the output efficiency of some important agricultural products leading the world. In concrete terms, we expect that the employment quality of rural residents will have been improved significantly, and the income and living standards of urban and rural residents will be on a par. Urban and rural basic public services will have achieved equality both in term of quantity and quality, and thorny issues of urban-rural development imbalance and insufficient rural development will have been resolved fundamentally. Green production and lifestyles will have been made prevalent, and resource utilization methods will have become more intensive. A good ecological and cultural environment will have been created across all rural areas as it is a crucial symbol of a countryside being suitable to live and work. Last but not least, the intellectual and cultural lives of rural residents will have been greatly enriched, the continuous yearning of rural residents for a better life will have been satisfied, and a socialist modern countryside will have been constructed fully. All in all, by 2050, it is promising that China will achieve common prosperity among urban and rural areas.

3. An Endogenous Path of Rural Revitalization and Shared Development

The process of achieving rural revitalization is synergistic to that of striving for common prosperity, with the latter being an integral element of the former. Hence, the path to rural revitalization should take efforts on two levels, endogenous growth and shared development. The first one requires to spur the endogenous vitality of rural areas and unleash the inherent growth potential of rural areas, and the second underlines the necessity of continually narrowing the urban-rural gap in public services, and establishing a sharing mechanism in which the privileged ones will share wealth and drive prosperity together with the left-behind population.

3.1 Innovating Mechanism of Endogenous Growth

Endogenous growth is the fundamental driving force for rural revitalization, and a conducive policy environment and market space is vital in this regard. The lack of economies of scale and the large-scale emigration of the rural labor force to cities have resulted in decreased and scattered internal demand in rural areas. The approach aimed at developing small cities and towns does not apply in rural revitalization. Instead, it is pivotal to build an endogenous rural growth pattern that gives full play to urban-rural interaction. An endogenous growth pattern also means taking advantage of the development and technological spillover effects from the urban economy, tapping into the full potential of diverse rural resources, and exploring the complementary advantages of the rural economy. In this process, several aspects need to be taken into consideration.

Firstly, the optimization of resource allocation is expected to be a strategic core of rural revitalization. The challenges of rural development are not caused by a shortage of core resources such as human capital, land, investment, and technology, but rather, by the unequal allocation and use of resources between urban and rural areas. Therefore, the key to promoting endogenous growth is to unleash the full potential of the rural workforce by deepening rural reform and fostering the reallocation of key resources. To this end, it is essential to promote a two-way population flow, and improve policies that are conducive to rural entrepreneurship while supporting the settling-in of rural immigrants in cities. In addition, optimal allocation of land resource is vital to promote urban-rural market linkage

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and co-development. In this regard, the reform on rural land system needs to be further deepened, the restrictions on homestead usage gradually eased, and a unified urban and rural land market system in terms of transfer, leasing, and mortgage needs to be established. Based on the above, it is also essential to strengthen financial guarantees for rural development, promote technological transfer, and incentivize optimal allocation of human capital, land, investment and technology, thereby fully unleashing the benefits of a new round of rural reform.

Secondly, the accumulation of human capital should be regarded as the top priority for rural revitalization. With its rapid pace of economic transformation and industrial upgrade, China's previous economic advantage rooted in low-cost production and supported by low-skilled labor force has lost its footing and would fail to sustain rural revitalization. It is hence important to accumulate human capital and improvements in rural workers' knowledge and skills so as to boost the innovation and entrepreneurship capacity of the rural population, as well as to help integrate the rural economy into new economic trends such as the digital economy, the service economy, and the low-carbon economy. The Chinese government should take a two-pronged approach in this regard. The first prong is to improve the quality and coverage of vocational and secondary education, thereby improving the educational level of rural students; and the second is to provide relevant training to the rural labor force to improve its skills and knowledge, especially concerning digitalization, thereby increasing its workers' employment opportunities.

Thirdly, more attention should be paid to resource aggregation to help guide the entire process of rural revitalization. Scale effects are in general a growth driver, even though the rural economy often lacks scale compared with the urban economy. It is still essential to propel the aggregation of rural resource and servicing infrastructure. We also believe that the Chinese government should incentivize the integration of resources among villages to create more effective economies of scale, facilitate rural participation in high value-added production and trade activities, and create a favorable environment for employment and entrepreneurship in the vicinity of villages. However, we should also guide aggregated modern production means towards scaled market entities, promote new agricultural businesses, and build scaled consortiums to integrate dispersed and small-scale farmers and larger entities into industrial value chains, thereby comprehensively improving agricultural industrial efficiency.

3.2 Improving Mechanism of Shared Development

To comprehensively promote rural revitalization, it is not only important to make the rural areas prosperous, but also to ensure that the fruit of development and growth is shared by everyone. After aggregating resources and allowing part of the population to get rich first, public policies need to follow to ensure a shared growth and equal distribution of public services in the process of rural revitalization.

Firstly, rural diversity is the basis of achieving shared growth. On the one hand, due to their natural resource endowments and resource-intensive industrial bases, rural areas can play a significant role in enabling China to transit towards a low-carbon economy, which is an integral element of constructing an ecological civilization. In this regard, the Chinese government needs to establish a fair mechanism of ecological value transformation to ensure those rural areas blessed with ecological resources but backward development can equally enjoy the fruit of growth. More specifically, it is vital to manifest the values imbedded in the slogan "lucid water and lush mountains are invaluable assets", to speed up cooperation and pairing between developed and under-developed areas in the field of natural resources, businesses, human resources and technology, in order to improve environmental governance capacity. On the other hand, the government should step up policy and financial support in developing rural industries, tapping unique rural resources such as farming culture, rural ecology, and idyllic sceneries. In addition, efforts should be intensified to improve shared growth, connect rural and urban markets, and increase investment and consumption in rural areas by means of value chain and function extension, technology penetration, and industrial integration.

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Secondly, it is of necessity to build a favorable policy environment and favorable market conditions for common prosperity and in particular a mechanism compatible with China's scattered rural collective property rights. In light of the unique characteristics of property rights, the Chinese government can start by promoting joint development among collectives and even across regions. In this process, on the one hand, it is essential to fully respect CPC's leadership in coordinating and integrating resource advantages of several villages or townships, and support a governance mechanism in which strong villages will lead the weak ones, and those who become rich first will carry forward the rest. On the other hand, it would be effective to implement some co-construction and sharing pilot projects in those fields that can particularly benefit from economies of scale such as industrial development and provision of basic public services. In this way, resource sharing could be promoted between strong and weak villages, comparative advantages could be explored, and common prosperity could be achieved. By strengthening the mechanisms linking the interests of business entities and farmers, the Chinese government may be able to facilitate low-income farmers improving their situations.

Thirdly, high-quality basic public services are an important support for the common prosperity, and it is necessary to make the improvement of the quality and accessibility of basic public services a strategic grasp to promote the common prosperity of rural residents. On the one hand, it is of necessity to enhance the inclusiveness of the countryside by accelerating the elimination of the difference in the provision of public services between urban and rural areas. In the current context, it is effective to pilot the unification of urban-rural basic public service standards and integration of different systems at the county level, while steadily reducing the gap between urban and rural areas and among different regions. Accelerate the elimination of inequality in insurance, healthcare, and basic pension systems. However, as China is still in the mid to late stage of urbanization, and the overall level of rural public services is relatively low, in line with economies of scale, it is important to aggregate the provision of basic public services for medical care, healthcare, and elderly care by mobilizing networks of collaboration and enabling swift adaptation to changes in population distribution, thereby making rural areas more attractive to live and work in.

4. Differentiated Promotion Strategies Classified by Region and Type

Rural revitalization involves a wide range of topics, and resource endowment conditions vary across regions. To implement its rural revitalization strategy, it is therefore necessary to implement differentiated promotion strategies and policy supporting systems. To this end, it is important to determine the priorities of policies based on a solid understanding of characteristics and diversity of different areas, as well as to explore innovative, diversified and locally-adapted rural wealth-sharing mechanisms.

4.1 A Regionally Differentiated Approach

At the national level, the Chinese government should formulate a holistic strategy that integrates aspects of rural development, construction, and governance, aiming at the revitalization of rural industries, talents, culture, ecology, and institutions. At the local level, it should devise regionally differentiated implementation plans that take into account different development and agricultural modernization levels in the four major economic regions (eastern, central, western and northeastern). In this process, the Chinese government should underline the significance of pilots, giving full play to the leading role of model counties, townships, and villages in rural modernization and revitalization.

To be more specific, the eastern region should take the lead in agricultural modernization. To this end, the Chinese government could set up several demonstration areas for rural revitalization in developed provinces such as Jiangsu, Shandong and Zhejiang, focusing on spurring innovation-driven agricultural development and accelerating the transformation towards high value-added integrated

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agricultural business development in these rural areas. Afterwards, it could roll out the pilot experience across the whole county or take an inter-provincial collaboration approach. In addition, the eastern region could pilot solutions to close the gap in urban-rural public services, explore the mechanisms of increasing rural citizens' participation in public affairs, thus improving rural capacity for governance modernization.

As for the central and northeastern regions, which possess abundant and distinct agricultural resources, the Chinese government should fully unleash the potential of their comparative advantages in driving rural and agricultural development. In those areas with good agricultural production conditions, it is essential to speed up the green transformation of traditional agriculture by stepping up efforts to protect arable lands, increase the utilization rate of soil and water resources, and enhance the supply of mid-to-high-end agricultural products. They should also scale the application of smart equipment in agricultural activities, as well as expand the coverage of agricultural social services in fragmented farmlands on slopes, hills, and mountains. Additionally, the Chinese government should implement more pilot projects of livable rural areas, focusing on increasing the treatment capacity of wastewater and rural waste in those more backward areas, while strengthening the prevention and control of pollution from the sources.

In the western region, where economic developmental foundations are particularly weak, to promote rural revitalization, it is essential to leverage with specific policies designed for poverty reduction in key counties, particularly in those poor areas and areas for relocation and resettlement. The priority here is to set up basic healthcare and relief services and support the establishment of an integrated medical care network between counties and villages, with a key focus on expanding coverage to the mountainous areas, border areas, and areas where ethnic minorities live. In addition, in these areas, the Chinese government should pay particular attention to strengthening support for migrant workers by providing technical training and employment services so as to help enable them to increase their income. In the cooperation framework between the eastern and western regions, it is also important to include the collaboration on environmental governance and ecological compensation as well as the collaboration in such areas as industrial transfer and relocation, cadres, and talent exchange. Last but not least, for rural areas in the western region, the Chinese government should accelerate efforts to improve the overall level of social assistance services including pension and minimum living security systems, and unify the social services standards between urban and rural areas to help achieve its goal of common prosperity.

4.2 A Type-Differentiated Approach

With over 493,000 administrative villages and 2.363 million natural villages, China's rural area is vast and diverse. It is expected that with the continuous advancement of urbanization, these numbers will gradually drop. Given this diversity and vastness, it is thus important to design a promotion mechanism that is tailored to the unique characteristics of a village in line with the principles outlined in the "*Strategic Planning for Rural Revitalization 2018-2022"*. To avoid the adverse effects of a one-size-fits-all approach, the Chinese government should implement differentiated measures to cater to roughly four types of villages in China.

The first type of village is the area where there is a relatively large central village and other general villages that will continue to exist. This type of village is the lever and core carrier of rural revitalization, and the focus here should be to ''upgrade'' them by strengthening their leading industries while developing specialized services in agriculture, trade, and recreation. For the center village, the Chinese government should attempt to create favorable conditions to attract clusters of entrepreneurship and innovation. Those villages that have more advanced conditions can experiment with pilot projects in smart agriculture and digital villages, and tap into their unique resources such as idyllic scenery, culture, and craftsmen skills, simultaneously driving the production, living, and ecological functions of a rural

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area.

The second type of village is located in the adjacence of suburbs of cities and county towns. Having benefitted from the extension of public services and infrastructure from cities, these villages are primed to transform to urban areas. Crucial levers here are to construct several pilot integrated villages surrounding urban agglomerations, metropolitan areas, and large and medium-sized cities, and to focus on improving the integration of agricultural and industrial development, on increasing the two-way flow of urban and rural resources, and on promoting equal access to basic public services. Notably, it is essential to preserve the original style and characteristics of the villages in the process of integration. In addition, this type of village could pilot the building of new governance models, further absorb the spillover effects from cities, and continually explore new opportunities to serve urban development and meet urban consumption needs.

The third type of village is endowed with distinct historical cultures, traditions, ethnic minority cultures and/or unique landscape resources. Preserving these natural resources and local lifestyles and traditions is key to rural development for these villages, and only on this basis can the Chinese government even moderately develop characteristic industries and rural eco-tourism while paying full attention to the relationship among preservation, resource utilization, and development.

The fourth type of village is forced to relocate as they face serious population emigration due to dire living conditions, vulnerable ecological systems and frequent natural disasters. Here, the Chinese government could combine the relocation of villages with the process of county urbanization and could explore the most effective way of land use with the consensus of the residents. For those remote mountainous areas facing serious resource-depletion and ecological crises, the Chinese government should take a centralized resettlement approach, while undertaking efforts of reclamation and ecological restoration. For so-called "hollow villages," the focus should be on strengthening rural planning and guidance and leveraging the urbanization process of adjacent counties. Overall, the adjustment of village layout is a long-term process, and hence it is suggested to avoid a hasty or broad-brush approach. Instead, it should fully respect the wishes of the local residents, adopt scientific methods, and take a coordinated development approach in terms of building infrastructure and supporting public services. Only in so doing, can we concretely improve livelihoods and increase the well-being of rural residents.

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