—— 基于村庄和农户微观视角

余 航/著



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摘 要

随着我国经济的快速发展,国家越来越重视"三农"问 题,不断加大对"三农"领域的资金投入,提供了众多惠及 "三农"、服务"三农"、支持"三农"的公共物品和公共服 务。但是由于存在资金流失黑洞,大量支农惠农资金没有真 正地落实到农村和农民手中,最终浪费程度惊人。我国支农 惠农资金流失浪费程度到底有多严重?如何对其进行客观的 估算测量?这些资金是通过什么渠道和方式流失掉?什么原 因导致惠农资金大量流失浪费?如何杜绝或减少支农惠农资 金的流失浪费?面对这些问题,本书利用问卷调查的数据和 实地访谈的资料,从村庄和农户微观视角入手,对农田水 利、农村公路、农村沼气、农家书屋、农村小学等支农惠农 项目的毁损废弃情况进行统计分析,测量估算支农惠农资金 流失浪费的程度。在对支农惠农资金流失程度有了整体判断 之后,从理论上分析可能导致惠农资金流失的渠道和方式, 以及造成资金流失的制度缺陷。为了进一步揭示影响资金流 失的因素, 本书构建理论模型分析解释支农惠农项目中利益 相关者的行为动机和行为选择,并通过实证分析验证影响支 农惠农项目流失浪费的关键因素。

首先,本研究利用统计年鉴数据和政府文件,对改革开 放后我国财政支农的发展演进进行描述和梳理,总结其发展 变化规律,把握财政支农资金投入的总体状况和资金配置模式,作为进一步分析资金流失浪费的基础。从整理结果来看,中央财政支农惠农强度逐年加大,支出总规模大幅度增长,支农资金占财政收入比重基本稳定,但支出增长率存在较大幅度波动,而且支农结构不均衡,基础设施和农业科技投入明显不足。地方财政支农惠农资金总量和比重均表现出较大幅度的增长。目前国家支农惠农模式为"国家主导,地方配套,社会参与,农民主体"的管理体制和运作机制,项目制是中央对地方转移支付的主要财政支农模式,除去日常运转开支和工资外,几乎所有的农业基础设施和公共服务投资都实现了专项化和项目化。在项目制管理模式中,"项目发包"成为国家有关部门的基本运作机制,地方政府负责"项目承接与再分配",村庄的基本运作就是在地方政府指导下"跑项目"和"接项目",从而形成一条垂直的供应链。

其次,本书重点对六类支农惠农项目资金流失浪费情况进行测量估算。我们以支农惠农项目的废弃毁损数量和比例为主要指标进行测量,以项目建设投资或重置资本为参照,估算由于项目毁损废弃闲置而导致资金流失浪费的程度。研究结果发现,各种支农惠农项目都存在不同程度的流失浪费问题。按照我们的测量和估算,农村小学因撤并造成的资源流失最严重,相应的资金浪费也最多。农村公路因质量问题被废弃造成的资金流失量排第二,农田水利中的机井因废弃导致的资金流失量排名第三。而且在这些项目建设中,均出现了不同程度的拖延挪用拨款,资金配套不到位,补贴不足

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额等问题,直接影响了项目的工程质量,造成了这些公共设施的短寿。进一步分类研究发现,不同地区,不同自然地理条件,不同组织建设模式,不同管理维护水平,不同监督检查都会对这些支农惠农项目的流失浪费程度产生影响。

第三,本书对项目寻租、挤占挪用截留、配套资金不到 位、偷工减料与假冒伪劣、精英捕获、虚报冒领、部门利 益、各级政府主管部门决策失误、贪污腐败、过度在职消费 等可能导致财政支农资金流失浪费的主要渠道进行理论和实 证案例分析,对各种资金流失浪费的渠道方式进行概念界定 和特征描述, 梳理其易发的环节、条件和领域, 研究各种资 金流失浪费方式对经济社会造成的损害, 为预防和治理违法 违规现象提供借鉴参考。观察现象、发现问题是研究工作的 开始环节,进一步的工作是找出产生问题的原因。我们从资 金划拨渠道过长、层次过多的组织结构问题, 财政支农资金 分配机制的条块分割问题,压力型行政组织体制下官员考核 与晋升制度导致异化的激励与约束,项目后期缺乏对管护的 财政支持和激励机制,去组织化后高度分散的小农无力承接 国家支农项目, 财政分权制度引起财权与事权不匹配导致的 体制性矛盾, 信息、权利与责任不对称的决策机制等方面剖 析造成资金流失浪费的体制机制缺陷和矛盾, 指出今后制度 创新和政策调整的切入点,以期完善正规制度和非正规制度 以堵住资金流失浪费的漏洞。

最后,本书选择农田水利、农村公路和农村沼气作为三个专题,构建理论模型,分析相关利益主体的行为选择和动机,解释不同行为策略和行为方式对资金流失浪费的影响;

展开实证分析,发现能够预防、减少资金流失浪费的关键因素。专题一研究结果表明,在中央政府的资金和政策激励下,调动了地方政府建设农田小水利的积极性,增加了极后。一个大型,是不知了,农民通过维护投劳积极的。一个大型,是不知了,农民通过维护投劳积极的。一个大型,是不知了,农民通过维护投劳积极的。一个大型,是不知了,在农村公路建设方面存在双重寻租,承包商资源配置偏向。专题三研究结果表明,在农村沼气工程建设中确实存在地方官员为晋升而进行锦标赛式的竞争,这种只追求数存在地方官员为晋升而进行锦标赛式的竞争,这种只追求数存在地方官员为晋升而进行锦标赛式的竞争,这种只追求数存在地方常是导致大量沼气池废弃的主要原因。三个专题研究表现出的共同结果就是各级组织的监督能有效减少项目的废弃率,对于分散小型的惠农工程,当地的村委组织监督效果明显;对于大型的惠农工程,上级政府检查效果显著。

关键词: 支农惠农项目; 资金流失浪费; 毁损废弃率; 测量估算

Abstract

With China's rapid economic development, CCP and government pay more and more emphasis on rural issues, and continue to increase the investments on san nong, and supply more public goods and services to benefit farmers. However, due to the presence of the black hole of the loss of funds, a lot of funds are not really implemented in the rural areas and farmers, which led to an amazing waste. How serious the degree of fund loss is? How to measure and estimate it objectively? What channels and means are these funds losed through, and what is the reason? How to reduce the loss and waste of funds? In this paper, from the microperspective of the villages and farmers, we used the data of survey and field interview to analyse statistically the abandoned and damaged condition of the agricultural projects, for example irrigation, rural road, rural biogas pool, rural study, rural primary school etc., and measured and estimated the degree of fund loss. After got a whole judgement, we analysed the channels and means, which may led to fund loss, and try to find deficiencies of the system which may be the reason of fund loss. In order to reveal the impact factor of fund loss deeply, we built some theory models to analyze the motives and behavior of the stakeholders in the project, and tested the result of impact factor to fund loss by regression analysis.

First, we use the yearbook data and government documents to describe and sort out the development and evolvement of financial support for agriculture in China after the reform, to summarize the changes and grasp the overall situation of the financial support for agriculture and fund allocation mode as the basis of further analysis of fund loss and waste. Seeing from the result, the intensity of the central financial support for agriculture is increasing year by year, the total size of expenditures significantly increased up, the proportion that fund for agriculture accounts of fiscal revenue is stability. But there are more substantial fluctuations of spending growth, and the structure of expenditure is no balance, such as investment infrastructure and agriculture in science and technology is clearly insufficient. On the other side, total funds and the proportion of local financial support and benefit agriculture showed a more substantial rise in. At present, the model of Country Support Agriculture is an management system and operation mechanism that central government led, local government matched, social force attended, farmer did. The project system is the main model that central transfer

payments to local financial support for agriculture, removing the day-to-day running expenses and wages outside, almost all agricultural infrastructure and investment in public services have specialized and projectized. In this kind of management model, "project contract" has become the basic operation mechanism of the state sector, the local government is responsible for the project to undertake and redistribute. Under the guidance of the local government run, the village leaders take charge of applying for project or picking projects, which forms a vertical supply chain.

Second, we focus on measuring and estimating the waste and loss of fund in six types of projects supporting agriculture. We defined the number and proportion of abandoned and damaged projects as main indicators, associated with project investment or reset capital, to estimate the loss of funds due to damaged, abandoned and idle. The study found that a variety of Support and Benefit Agriculture Projects have varying degrees of loss or waste. According to our measurements and estimates, due to be cutted and merged, the loss of rural primary school resources was the most serious and waste of money up. Rural road ranked second, and irrigation and water conservancy ranked third due to motor-pumped wells abandoned. In the process of construction of these projects, there are varying degrees of delays and misappropriated funds, supporting funds are not

in place, subsidies are not in full, which directly impact the quality of the project, and resulted in a short-lived of these public facilities. our further classified study found that different regions, different natural and geographical conditions, different organizations building mode, a different level of management and maintenance, a different level of supervision and inspection all will impact the degree of fund loss and waste of projects which support agriculture and benefit farmers.

Third, we made the theoretical and empirical case studies on the channels and means of fund loss, such as rent-seeking, misappropriation or diversion, interception, Elite capture, sector interests, etc. we researched the definitions and characterizations of the channels of the waste and loss of fund, combed the condition and link where they often appears, analysed the economic and social damage caused by fund loss, and Provided a reference for preventing and governing the new illegal phenomenon. Then, we tried hard to dissect the flaws and contradictions of institutional mechanisms resulting in the loss and waste of fund, pointed out the entry point of the institutional innovation and policy adjustment, improved the formal system and informal constraints to block the vulnerability of loss and waste of fund.

At last, in this article, we chose farmland water • 4 •

conservancy facilities, rural road and rural biogas as special subjects to build theoretical models and made the empirical research. By theoretical models and the empirical research, we analysed the selection and motivation of the behavior of the relevant stakeholders to explain the impact of different behavioral strategies and behavior to the loss and waste of fund, and found out the key factor, which be able to prevent and reduce the waste and loss of fund, the research results of Special subject one show that fund and policy incentives from central government mobilized the enthusiasm of the local government to construct farmland water conservancy, which led to increase the supply of high-quality farmland water conservancy facilities. At the same time, farmers cooperated actively to maintenance farmland water conservancy facilities, which reduced the damaged and abandoned rate significantly. The research results of Special subject two show that there is a double rent seeking in rural road construction. the contractor rent-seeking deterioration of the quality of road, and village rent-seeking led to the allocation of high quality road resources tend to rent-seeking village. If we Increase road maintenance, it will improve the quality of road significantly, the research results of Special subject three show that there is a promotion of the tournament between local officials in rural biogas projects, this kind of competition aimed at quantity has led to a large number of biogas pools abandoned. The research of three special subjects showed a common result that is the supervision from the organization at different levels can be effective in reducing the abandoned rate of the project. For dispersed and small benefit agriculture project, supervision from the village committee organization is very effective, and for the large benefits agricultural project, the checks form local government have significant effect.

Keywords: Support and Benefit Agriculture Project; waste and loss of funds; damaged and abandoned rate; measure and estimate

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Abstract

第	1	章		류·	论	••••		•••		•••			•••	٠			• • •	• • • •			 		••••	•	1
	1.	1	石	开穷	2背	景		问	题	įĖ	這	父京	ζ.								 			c.	1
		1.	1.	1	研	究	背景	景						٠	•••				•••		 				1
		1.	1.	2	问	题	的打	是上	H		•••				•••		•••				 			•	7
		1.	1.	3	支	农	惠石	交	5	金	的	界	定	••	,	•••		••••			 				13
		1.	1.	4	研	究	缘声	已						•••							 			5	14
		1.	1.	5	研	究	意	义								•••	• • •				 				20
	1.	. 2		文南	犬纺	述	· · · ·			٠										•••	 				24
		1.	2.	1	玉	外	研	究王	见	状	及	发	展	动	态					•••	 •••		••••	1	26
		1.	2.	2	玉	内	研	究	见	状			• • •	•••	• • • •						 				50
		1.	2.	3	现	上有	研	究日	的	不	足			٠.,	• • • •						 			,	57
	1.	. 3	7	开多	Z [目标	i,	理	论	之村	王夕	足、	7	开:	究	内	容				 			. [4	61
		1.	3.	1	研	F 究	目	标													 			0 (1	61
		1.	. 3.	2	理	论	框	架													 				62
		1.	. 3.	3	可	F究	内	容		• • • •					•••				•••		 				68
		1.	. 3.	4	拟	以解	决	的	关	键	问	题									 				73
	1	. 4	1	研多	記プ	方法	= ,	数	执	書う	长多	長っ	方	案	和	技	术	路	线		 	•••			74

	1.4.1	研究方法	74
	1.4.2	数据搜集方案	76
	1.4.3	研究技术路线	80
1.	.5 可育	E创新之处	80
	1.5.1	研究视角创新	80
	1.5.2	研究方法创新	82
	1.5.3	研究内容创新	83
第 2	章 我	国支农惠农总体状况描述 ······	84
2.	.1 改革	5开放后我国支农惠农的发展演进	84
	2. 1. 1	国家财政支农总规模增长显著	85
	2. 1. 2	财政支农占财政收入比重稳定	87
	2.1.3	支农结构不均衡	89
	2.1.4	地方财政支农惠农资金大幅度增长	92
2.	. 2 国家	尽支农惠农资金的管理体制和运作机制	93
	2. 2. 1	"项目发包"——国家部门的基本	
		运作机制	96
	2.2.2	"项目承接与再分配"——地方政府的	
		基本运作机制	98
	2. 2. 3	"跑项目"和"接项目"——村庄的	
		基本运作机制	99
第 3	章 支	农惠农资金流失浪费的测量估算	02
3.	1 农田	·····································)4
		农田水利设施基本情况 10	

	3.1.2	农田水利设施资源流失浪费的总体情况	107
	3.1.3	主要农田水利设施资源毁损废弃的	
		分类调查分析	111
	3.1.4	造成农田水利设施毁损浪费的原因	115
3.	2 农村	寸公路资源的流失浪费	121
	3. 2. 1	农村公路基本情况	122
	3. 2. 2	农村公路资源流失浪费的总体情况	125
	3. 2. 3	农村公路资源流失浪费的分类调查分析	127
3.	3 农村	打沼气资源的流失浪费	135
	3. 3. 1	农村沼气基本情况	135
	3. 3. 2	农村沼气资源的流失浪费总体情况	138
	3. 3. 3	农村沼气资源流失浪费的分类调查分析	141
	3. 3. 4	沼气资源被废弃的原因	146
3.	4 农村	寸文化资源的流失浪费	147
	3. 4. 1	农村文化基本情况	147
	3.4.2	农村文化资源流失浪费的总体状况	149
	3. 4. 3	农村文化资源流失浪费的分类调查分析	151
	3.4.4	农村文化资源流失的原因	153
3.	.5 农村	村教育资源流失浪费	155
	3. 5. 1	农村小学教育基本情况	156
	3. 5. 2	农村教育资源流失浪费的总体情况	
	3. 5. 3	农村流失教育资源的去向	158
3	.6 涉7	v综合补贴的流失	
	3. 6. 1	种粮补贴资金流失	161
	3.6.2	种粮补贴对农户种粮行为的影响	162

3. 6. 3	家电下乡补贴资金的流失	164
3. 6. 4	汽车摩托车下乡补贴资金的流失	165
⇔ 4 ≠ +	中市中次人法开泊电海洋上休息机机	
	农惠农资金流失浪费渠道与体制机制	
政	陷的理论分析	167
4.1 支农	农惠农资金流失浪费方式和渠道	167
4.1.1	项目寻租	167
4.1.2	挤占、挪用、截留、滞留	172
4.1.3	配套资金不到位	175
4.1.4	偷工减料、假冒伪劣	177
4.1.5	精英捕获	180
4.1.6	虚报冒领	187
4. 1. 7	各级政府主管部门决策失误	189
4.1.8	部门利益	191
4.1.9	贪污腐败	193
4. 1. 10	过度在职消费	195
4.2 造瓦	过支农惠农资金流失的体制机制缺陷	199
4. 2. 1	资金划拨渠道长层级多的组织结构问题	199
4. 2. 2	支农惠农资金分配机制的条块分割问题	201
4. 2. 3	官员考核与晋升制度导致异化激励与约束	202
4.2.4	项目后期缺乏对管护的财政支持和	
	激励机制	204
4. 2. 5	去组织化后高度分散小农无力	
	承接国家项目	
4. 2. 6	财权与事权不匹配的体制性矛盾	210