城乡公共服务 均等化问题研究

A Study of the Balanced Supplying of Public Services for the Urban and the Rubal Inhabitants

王谦著

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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

城乡公共服务均等化问题研究/王谦著.一济南:山东人民出版社,2009.5

ISBN 978-7-209-04830-9

I.城… II.王… III.社会服务—研究—中国 IV. D669.3

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2009) 第 070134 号

责任编辑:于宏明封面设计:李海峰

城乡公共服务均等化问题研究

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山东出版集团

山东人民出版社出版发行

社 址:济南市经九路胜利大街 39号 邮 编:250001

网 址:http://www.sd-book.com.cn

发行部:(0531)82098027 82098028

新华书店经销

青岛星球印刷有限公司印装

规格 32 开(148mm×210mm)

印 张 7.75

字 数 185 千字 插页 2

版 次 2009年5月第1版

印 次 2009年5月第1次

ISBN 978-7-209-04830-9

定 价 19.00元

前 言

中国经济体制改革已经走过了30年的历程,到目前基本实现了 由高度集中的计划经济体制向社会主义市场经济体制的根本性转 变。在这30年中,我国经济保持了高速增长的势头,取得了举世瞩 目的成绩。在这种情况下,私人产品供给日益丰富,私人需求在市场 体系中可以得到极大满足。但与此同时,伴随着经济的快速增长,我 国居民对教育、医疗、社会保障等方面的公共需求也开始全面快速增 长,现有的公共服务难以满足快速变化的需求。同时,随着社会主义 市场经济体制的初步确立,市场机制自身的盲目性逐渐暴露,市场机 制在增进效率的同时也产生新的问题,尤其是社会成员享有社会发 展成果的差距程度,表现为逐渐扩大的城乡差距、地区差距、行业差 距和个人收入差距。广大社会成员对缓解收入差距、实施再分配的 公共需求比以往任何时期都强烈。在这些差距中,城乡差距尤为突 出,是矛盾的主要方面。缩小收入差距不仅是缩小城乡经济总量和 收入水平的差距,更重要的是逐步缩小城乡居民在基本公共服务方 面的过大差距。公共服务是收入分配中最基本的公平对象,只有实 现基本公共服务的最大公平,保证个人"基本能力"的平等,才能使人

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们真正享受追求自我价值实现的自由。2005年,党的十六届三中全会提出了一个新的改革命题"公共服务均等化"。城乡公共服务均等化最重要的内容。实现城乡公共服务均等化最重要的内容。实现城乡公共服务均等化最重要的内容。实现城乡公共服务均等化最重要的内容。实现城乡公共服务均是有利于促进我国市场经济的发展,二是有和谐是会建设,四是有利于促进解决"三农"问题,推动社会主义新研究是建设,四是有利于促进解决"三农"问题,推动社会主义新研究联系均等化的研究基础,但笔者认为目前对城乡公共服务均等化问题。比如,对城乡公共服务均等化问题。比如,对城乡公共服务均等化的原则、阶段性目标和当前实现城乡公共服务均等化的原则、阶段性目标和当前实现城乡公共服务均等化的原则、阶段性目标和当前实现城乡公共服务均等化的具体内容。现有的研究对当前城乡公共服务均等化现城乡公共服务均等化的具体内容。现有的研究对当前城乡公共服务均等化现状原因分析缺乏系统性,并且对于如何实现城乡公共服务均等化的需进一步理顺并形成详细而清晰的政策思路。

本文在已有研究的基础上,通过大量的阅读文献和实地调研,深入研究我国城乡公共服务均等化问题,通过理论分析,在详细阐述城乡公共服务均等化内容与特征的基础上,合理确定实现城乡公共服务均等化的目标、原则和内容。然后展开对当前城乡公共服务非均等现状的考察,分析造成城乡公共服务非均等现状的原因,最终提出了实现我国城乡公共服务均等化的政策取向和路径选择,为我国探索实现城乡公共服务均等化提供了有针对性的借鉴和参考。

由于作者水平有限,不当之处敬请读者提出宝贵意见。

作 者 2009年3月

摘 要

我国是一个农业大国,70%以上的人口在农村,改革开放30年 来,中国经济保持了高速增长的势头,取得了举世瞩目的成就,基本 实现了由高度集中的计划经济体制向社会主义市场经济体制的根本 性转变。但是,在经济增长的同时,由于忽视共享社会发展成果的理 念,中国农民阶层在社会地位上始终处在不利的位置,这集中表现为 城乡居民享受公共服务的不均等。实现城乡公共服务均等化是实施 国民收入再分配的一种手段和方式,可以显著的解决我国城乡差距 过大的问题,同时改善农民阶层的社会地位。同时,在中国经济高速 增长,日益走向市场化的体制背景下,政府如何发挥其应有的职能, 制定有效的公共服务政策,维护市场经济的正常运行和社会的和谐 稳定是非常必要的。目前,中国正致力于构建公共服务型政府,中央 对加强政府公共服务职能相当重视。2005年,党的十六届五中全会 提出了一个新的改革命题"公共服务均等化"。城乡公共服务均等化 是公共服务均等化的重要组成部分,系统的研究城乡公共服务均等 化问题,既具有理论意义与实践价值,又富于开拓性和挑战性。本书 将城乡公共服务均等化问题作为研究的内容,这一选题立足于对公 共服务均等化理论的完善,立足于对中国经济和社会现实问题的关注,立足于通过对理论的有效应用为实现城乡公共服务均等化提出切实可行的相关政策。

本书的理论篇分析从明确"城乡公共服务均等化"中"公共服务" 的内涵入手。目前,对公共服务概念的界定有多种观点,本书通过审 视我国政府提出"公共服务均等化"的过程和意图,明确这里的"公共 服务"要从狭义的政府职能,即提供公共产品的角度来理解,但公共 服务并非公共产品的同义表达,而应该是政府为行使其职能提供的 包含着价值判断的,为社会公众所共同享有,以满足社会公共需要、 实现社会公平为目标的产品和服务。公共服务除了具有公共产品的 效用的不可分割性、消费的非竞争性和受益的非排他性特点之外,还 需要强调其满足社会公共需要和包含价值判断、应为公民普遍公平 享有两个特点。然后借助于公共产品理论分析了公共服务的需求与 供给。理论篇的重点是对城乡公共服务均等化的界定。城乡公共服 务均等化是和谐社会建设和统筹城乡发展的重要组成部分,体现政 府基于当前的社会经济发展阶段所做出的执政理念的变革.是指以 政府为主体,以农村为重点,在城乡间合理配置公共服务资源,向城 乡居民提供与其需求相适应的,不同阶段具有不同标准的、最终大致 均等的公共服务,使城乡居民在享受公共服务的数量、质量和可及性 方面都大体相当。以农民的现实需求和实现城乡公共服务均等化的 阶段性为依据,当前实现城乡公共服务均等化的内容应该主要包括 两个方面,一方面是实现包括基础教育、基础医疗卫生和社会保障在 内的社会性公共服务城乡均等化。另一方面是在努力实现上述公共 服务城乡均等化供给的同时,也必须从农民的现实需求出发,注重提 供目前农民急需的、具有农村特殊性的、促进农业现代化的公共服 务,增加诸如农村基础设施、农业信息、农业科技服务和技术培训等 公共服务项目的供给。实现城乡公共服务均等化,归根到底是在城乡居民间合理配置公共资源,以提高社会总体的福利水平,涉及公平与效率的权衡问题。本书从理论和现实的角度深入分析了城乡公共服务均等化与公平效率原则的关系。城乡公共服均等化在一定程度上体现效率原则,但其阐述城乡居民在享受公共服务上的利益关系,主要体现一种公平正义的发展理念,体现公共服务分配的公平原则。理论篇的最后对实现城乡公共服务均等化的机理进行了抽象分析。

在理论分析的基础上,本书转入实证篇,分析当前我国城乡公共服务非均等的现状。首先分析了我国当前公共服务总量,尤其是农村公共服务总量供给不足的现状。接着,从多角度依次分析了城乡 基础教育、基础医疗卫生和社会保障的非均等现状。由于城乡居民长期以来存在社会地位上的差异和社会资源分配方面的不平等,农村公共服务水平远远低于城市。因此,实现城乡公共服务均等化的重点在于增加农村公共服务的供给,提高农村公共服务水平,需要使公共资源对处境不利的农村居民进行倾斜配置和优先扶持,为其提供机会和利益补偿。实证篇还包括调研分析。笔者在山东境内,按经济发展水平的从高到低,选定在潍坊的寿光市、济宁的曲阜市及菏泽的郓城县农村展开调研,就当前农民对农村公共服务的供给合意度和需求程度进行实证分析,从而进一步明确当前立足农村现实,从农民需求出发,实现城乡公共服务均等化,增加农村公共服务供给应着力解决的问题,也为前文理论部分提出的当前实现城乡公共服务均等化的内容提供了一个现实依据。

导致当前城乡公共服务非均等现状的原因有很多,本书从宏观、中观、微观三个层面对其因素进行了比较全面的分析。"一国两制"的城乡二元制度是导致城乡公共服务非均等的宏观因素;财政是公共服务供给的物质基础,是导致城乡公共服务非均等的中观因素;

"自上而下"公共服务供给机制下的政府理性和农民理性是导致城乡 公共服务非均等的微观因素。

在前面理论和实证分析的基础上,本书最终转入政策篇的研究, 包括实现城乡公共服务的政策取向和路径选择。首先,针对前文提 出的导致城乡公共服务非均等现状的因素,相应的提出了实现城乡 公共服务均等化的宏观政策、中观政策和微观政策。宏观政策是指 改变城乡二元结构的制度安排,包括从制度上改变工农"剪刀差",发 展农业经济;改革户籍制度,确立平等的城乡居民身份;改变城乡二 元就业制度,实现城乡劳动力就业一体化;建立城乡统筹的公共服务 供给制度。中观政策是实现城乡公共服务均等化的财政政策,包括 完善与实现城乡公共服务均等化目标相适应的分税制财政体制:改 善乡镇财政困境,保证农村公共服务的供给;推进城乡一元税制改 革,建立城乡一体化的公共服务成本分摊制度;形成可持续的农村公 共服务财政支持机制。微观政策是指改变"自上而下"公共服务供给 机制下的农民理性和政府理性对农村公共服务供给的影响,包括建 立农民对农村公共服务的需求偏好表达机制;建立对基层政府提供 公共服务的绩效评价机制;理顺政府部门间的条块管理,落实公共服 务供给责任。其次,以基础教育、基本医疗卫生和社会保障为例,提 出了当前实现城乡公共服务均等化的路径选择。实现城乡基础教育 均等化的路径选择主要包括明确政府基础教育事权:加大财政对基 础教育的投入:建立城乡统一的基础教育办学标准,提高从事农村基 础教育的教师水平。实现城乡基础医疗卫生均等化的路径选择包括 财政对基础医疗卫生投入的重点从城市转向农村;加强对农村医疗 卫生服务的供给,缩小城乡居民医疗卫生条件的差距;因地制宜的建 立农村合作医疗制度,提高农民的健康水平。实现城乡社会保障均 等化的路径选择包括为实现城乡社会保障均等化提供财政支持;建 立农村居民最低生活保障制度;建立农村社会养老保险制度;将农民 工纳入城市社会保障体系等。

关键词:城乡;公共服务;均等化;公平效率;供给需求

ABSTRACT

China is a large agricultural country, and more than 70% Chinese people live in the rural areas. In the thirty years of China's introducing reform and opening up policy, economy has maintained a momentum of high speed growth, achieved world - acclaimed achievements and basically realized a fundamental change from the highly centralized planned economic system to the socialist market economic system. However, with the economic growth, we ignore the concept of sharing the outcome of the social development, so China's peasants class are always in a disadvantageous position, which is on the performance of unbalanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural inhabitants. Realizing the balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural is a way to redistribute the national income, which can excessively resolve the problem of the significant gap between China's urban and rural areas, and improve the social status of peasant class. At the same time, on the background of China's high - speed economic growth and more market - oriented system, it is very necessary that the government plays its proper functions, makes effective public service policies and maintains the normal operation of market economy and the harmony and stability of society. At present, China is endeavoring to build public service – oriented government, and the central government has attached great importance to public service functions. In 2005, a new reform proposition was promoted on the fifth session of the 16th CPC National Congress, which is the "balanced supplying of public services". The balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural is an important part of balanced supplying of public services, and systematic researches on it have theoretical significance and practice value. In this thesis, we will make study of the balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural inhabitants. The research will be based on improving theory, concerning about China's economic and social practical issues, and promoting feasible countermeasures and proposal.

The theoretical chapter begins from making clear the connotation of "public services". At present, there are different standpoints on the connotation of "public services". In this article, through examining the process and intent of the government's promoting "balanced supplying of public services", we make clear that the "public services" may be understood from the narrow functions of the government, which means from government's promoting public goods. But public services and public goods are not of the same meaning. Public services mean the goods and the services provided by the government, which contain a value judgment, are commonly enjoyed by the public, and have targets of meeting the public needs and realizing social justice. Public services have the same property of the public goods, which are non – divisibility, non – rivalness and non – excludability. Besides, public services stress the properties of meeting the public needs, containing

value judgment and being equitably enjoyed by the public. Then in this thesis, we make an analysis on the demand and supply of public services with public goods theory. The focal point of the theoretical part is the definition of "balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural inhabitants". The "balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural inhabitants" is the integral part of harmonious society construction and coordinating rural - urban development, and reflects the change of the concept of governance based on the current socio - economic development stage. It means that we will make rational allocation of public resources between urban and rural areas, provide public services to the urban and rural residents, which are geared to the needs, are provided with different standards in different stages and are eventually roughly equal, and then the urban and rural residents will enjoy the public services roughly at the same quantity, quality and accessibility. According to the practical needs of peasants and the stage of realizing balanced supplying of public services, the content of balanced supplying of public services at present should include two aspects, in one aspect of which is realizing balanced supplying of social public services including basic education, basic health and social security, and in the other aspect of which is from the practical needs of peasants to focus on the provision of public services quite needed by the peasants, having particularity of the rural, and promoting the modernization of agriculture, which include rural infrastructure, agricultural information, agricultural technology services and technical training. Ultimately, realizing balanced supplying of public services means making rational allocation of public resources between the urban and rural inhabitants to improve the overall level of benefits, so it involves weighing equity and efficiency. In this thesis, we make in - depth

analysis of the relationship between balanced supplying of public services and the principles of equity and efficiency from the theoretical and practical perspective. To a certain extent, balanced supplying of public services reflects the principle of efficiency, but as it is of the interest the urban and the rural inhabitants enjoying public services, it mainly reflects equity development concept and equity principle of public services distribution. Finally, in the theory chapter, we make abstract analysis of the mechanism of realizing balanced supplying of public services.

After the theoretical analysis, we switch to the demonstrational chapter, in which we will analyze the existing state of unbalanced supplying of public services. Firstly, we analyze the existing state of inadequate total supplying of public services, especially the inadequate total supplying of public services in rural regions. Secondly, we make analysis of the unbalanced supplying of public services, such as basic education, basic health and social security in urban and rural regions. Because the urban and rural inhabitants have differences in social status and inequality on resources allocation, the supplying level of public services is much lower in the rural regions than that in the urban regions. So the focal point of realizing balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural is to increase the supply of public services and raising the level of public services in rural areas. We should make the public resources allocation inclined to the rural inhabitants who are in the disadvantaged condition and provide opportunities and benefits compensation for them. The demonstrational chapter also includes investigation research. We make investigation in three counties of Shandong province, from the investigation we make empirical analysis of supply satisfaction and demand urgency degree of public services in rural areas, and then we can make clear the contents and order of improving public services supply at present. The empirical analysis provides a base for the content of realizing balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural.

There are many factors of the unbalanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural. In this thesis, we will analyze macro, mid – scale and micro factors. Macro factors are the urban – rural dual system. Finance is the material foundation of public services supplying, so finance factors are the mid – scale factors. The micro factors are the government and peasants reasons under the mechanism of the public services supplying from the upper to the lower.

On the basis of theoretical and demonstrational researches, finally we switch to the policy chapter, which include policies and ways of realizing balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural. Firstly, in accordance with the factors above, we propose the macro, mid – scale and micro policies. Macro policies are to change the urban – rural dual system, which include changing scissors difference and developing agriculture economy, changing household registration system, changing the urban – rural dual employment system and building coordinating urban – rural system of public services supplying. Mid – scale policies are finance policies, which include improving the financial system of tax distribution, improving township financial difficulties to ensure the supplying of rural public services, promoting unitary urban – rural tax reform to built unitary urban – rural public services cost – sharing system, and making sustainable financial support mechanism for rural public services. Micro polices are to change the influence on the supplying of rural public services by the government and peasants reasons

under the mechanism of the public services supplying from the upper to the lower, which include building the expression mechanism of the needs of the rural public services, building the performance evaluation mechanism of grass - roots government's supplying public services, and rationalizing the government compartmentalization management to implement the responsibility of supplying public services. Secondly, we propose the ways of realizing balanced supplying of public services for the urban and the rural, making basic education, basic medical treatment and social security for example. The ways of realizing balanced supplying of basic education include making clear the basic education authority, increasing financial input to basic education, building unified standards of basic education school and improving the teaching level of teachers in the rural areas. The ways of realizing balanced supplying of basic medical treatment include changing the focus of financial input on basic medical treatment from the urban to the rural areas, strengthening the rural medical and health services supply, and building rural cooperative medical system adjusting measures to local conditions. The ways of realizing balanced supplying of social security include providing financial support, building the minimum subsistence guarantee system for the rural residents, building rural social endowment insurance system, and making farmer workers included in the urban social security system.

Key words: Urban - rural; Public Services; the Balanced Supplying; Equity and Efficiency; Supply and Demand