



转型期中国公共危机治理模式研究 ——从碎片化到整体性

张玉磊◎著

中国社会科学出版社

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摘 要

伴随着后工业社会的来临,人类社会越来越呈现风险社会的特征,各国面临的风险因素不断增多,且风险的复杂性、不确定性剧增,由此导致公共危机发生的可能性大幅上升。各种类型公共危机事件的频发,已成为影响世界各国经济发展和社会稳定的重要因素,如何实现公共危机的有效治理也就成为任何一个国家都无法回避的全球性难题。风险社会是全球风险社会,作为全球化一部分的中国不可能独善其身。中国的双重转型与巨大的社会变迁使中国社会已迈入风险社会甚至是高风险社会,面临着更加复杂多样的社会风险。因此,在全球风险社会和中国双重转型叠加背景下,如何迎接风险社会的来临,有效治理急剧上升的公共危机,成为中国经济社会发展过程中一个重大的现实问题。

随着中国社会进入风险社会,社会风险诱因日益多元化,公共危机的复杂性程度日益加深,公共危机越来越呈现高度动态性、复杂非线性、深度不确定性和鲜明跨界性特征,这就进一步增加了对公共危机有效治理的难度。然而,公共危机事件频发、维稳成本高企、地方政府陷入越维稳越不稳的“维稳怪圈”等社会现实,凸显了中国公共危机治理体系的结构不良与运行不畅等诸多问题,公共危机治理存在一定程度的治理失灵。探究中国公共危机治理失灵的深层次原因,在于当前中国的公共危机治理模式是碎片化的,其特征主要表现为在治理理念上公共性不彰、在治理目标上奉行“不出事”逻辑、在治理主体上进行政府一元治理、在治理结构上表现为组织结构裂化、在治理流程上重心异化、在治理工具上行政手段主

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导、在治理资源上保障不足。中国公共危机治理模式之所以是碎片化的,有着复杂的生成机理:在价值选择机制方面,公共利益的方向偏离;在组织协调机制方面,官僚制主导下的组织体制;在体制运行机制方面,“切割式”的行政区行政模式;在信息沟通机制方面,信息孤岛的客观存在;在社会契约机制方面,社会资本阙如。

中国碎片化的公共危机治理模式提高了公共危机治理成本,甚至形成了公共危机治理低效或失灵的“路径依赖”,用整体性治理替代碎片化治理已成为中国公共危机治理模式转型的必然要求:一方面网络时代公共危机的治理环境、治理结构、治理资源与治理绩效与非网络时代显著不同,这使得建立在传统科层官僚制基础上的碎片化公共危机治理模式已无法适应公共危机治理的需要,而具有网络化特征的整体性治理模式成为理想选择,这是构建公共危机整体性治理模式的外生动力。另一方面现代社会条件下公共危机愈发凸显跨界特性,而跨界公共危机与传统公共危机相比极大地增加了治理难度,使传统的以地域为边界、应对单一性公共危机为主的治理模式陷入困境,这是构建公共危机整体性治理模式的内生动力。更为重要的是,公共危机治理是一个协同、动态、持续、整合的管理过程,而整体性治理理论以整体性为取向,它在治理理念、治理主体、治理机制、治理结构、治理流程、治理工具、治理路径等方面与中国公共危机治理的碎片化整合高度契合。因此,整体性治理理论提供了一个审视公共危机治理碎片化的解释范式,为中国公共危机治理模式的转型升级指明了方向。

公共危机整体性治理模式是整体性治理理论与实践发展的产物,它以整体性治理作为理论基础,在各种资源要素的支持下,力图通过相关体系构建、相关机制的协调整合以及相关治理模式的完善,有效化解公共危机碎片化治理模式带来的各种问题,从而实现系统性、持续性、协同化、动态化的公共危机治理。公共危机整体性治理模式具有主体多元性、层次多重性、交叉多向性、统分结合性、动态适应性等特征。作为以整合为核心的公共危机整体性治理模

式,其在运行过程中必然涉及多元治理主体间关系和多中心集体行动的制度安排,而如何保障公共危机治理过程中的合作治理尤其是地方政府间的合作就成为公共危机整体性治理模式运作机制的核心问题。具体来说,公共危机整体性治理模式的运作机制主要包括应急联动机制、利益协调机制和监督约束机制。

长三角地区是中国区域一体化程度最高的地区,区域内各类生产要素高度集聚且流动性较强,由此导致跨界公共危机频繁发生。为有效治理跨界公共危机,长三角地区政府开始在环境保护、事故灾难、公共卫生、社会安全等公共危机治理领域开展合作的尝试,并初步形成了合作的制度化和常态化,在跨界公共危机治理的应急联动机制、基础设施共建共享机制、利益分配机制、监督约束机制等方面均有所建树。从某种意义上说,长三角地区合作治理跨界公共危机可以看作是跨界公共危机整体性治理的实践探索,其做法不仅对长三角地区的经济社会发展具有促进意义,也能为中国其他地区有效治理跨界公共危机提供经验借鉴和现实参照。本部分将在评述跨界公共危机治理研究现状的基础上,分析长三角地区公共危机的跨界特征及其形成机理,论述长三角地区跨界公共危机整体性治理的主要做法与现实困境,根据整体性治理相关要求,提出优化长三角地区跨界公共危机整体性治理的政策建议。

公共危机整体性治理模式的本质是一种合作治理,而合作治理本身面临着目标不一致、分割式协调、沟通灾难、监督难题、能力不足以及关系稳定性差等挑战。因此,公共危机整体性治理模式的构建并有效运转需要一定的现实条件,并在治理能力、治理结构、协调机制、利益均衡、责任归属、信息共享等方面面临着巨大的挑战。为应对这些挑战,顺利构建中国的公共危机整体性治理模式,需要根据整体性治理理论的相关要求,结合中国公共危机治理的具体实践,从理念、体制、结构、机制、流程、技术、保障、环境等方面采取系统化的整合策略,包括理念更新:强化公共利益和公共责任;体制重塑:形成多元主体参与的治理网络;结构整合:构建

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以联合为特征的组织结构形式；机制革新：建立以协调为核心的运作机制；流程改造：重塑全过程并重的治理流程；技术支撑：打造基于信息共享的网络平台；制度保障：建设以法治为核心的制度体系；环境营造：培育以信任为核心的社会资本等。

关键词：转型期 公共危机 治理模式 碎片化治理 整体性治理

Abstract

Human society is showing more and more characteristics of risk society along with the coming of post – industrial society. In the meantime each country confronts more and more risk factors with increasing in complexity and uncertainty, so the possibility of occurrence of public crisis has shown a trend of substantial growth. The frequent occurrence of various types of public crisis has been the important factor which affects the economic development and social stability in all countries in the world, how to achieve the effective governance of public crisis has also become an unavoidable global problem for any country. Risk society is the global risk society, China as part of the globalization can't expect to be immune from the results of risk society elsewhere in the world. Chinese society has been the risk society even the high risk society due to the dual transformation and tremendous social changes, so China faces more complex and varied society risks. As a result, how to meet the risk society and harness effectively the soaring public crisis is an important realistic problem in the course of Chinese economic and social development on the background of global risk society and dual transformation overlaying.

Along with human society approach to the risk society, social risk incentive is increasingly pluralistic, public crisis complexity goes on increasing and public crisis is characterized by high dynamism, complex nonlinearity, deep uncertainty and sharp trans – boundary, so the difficulty of harnessing effectively the public crisis further increase. However, the so-

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cial realities including public crisis frequently occurring, maintaining stability cost keeping high and local government falling into “maintaining stability trap” have highlighted the structure deficiency and performing poorly of the public crisis governance system, so the public crisis governance presents some extent governance failure. Exploring the deep reasons for the governance failure of public crisis lies in the fragment of public crisis governance pattern which is characterized by lacking of commonality, pursuing the logic of “maintaining no accident”, implementing government monopoly, manifesting organizational structure cracking, dissimulating focus, choosing absolutely administrative measures and lacking of safeguard on governance idea, goal, body, structure, process, tool and resource. Why the public crisis governance pattern is fragment in China has complex formation principles: deviating from the direction of public interest on the value orientation mechanism; the organizational system guided by the bureaucracy on the organizational coordination mechanism; the cutting pattern of administering administrative districts on the system operation mechanism; the objective existence of information isolated island on the information communication mechanism; the deficiency of social capital on the social contract mechanism.

Chinese fragment of public crisis governance pattern increases the cost of public crisis governance even leads to path dependence of public crisis governance in inefficient or faulty, so holistic governance substituting fragment governance has been the necessary requirement for the transformation of Chinese public crisis governance pattern: There are many great different features on the environment, structure, resource and performance of public crisis governance between in the internet age and the non-network age. Consequently, the fragment of public crisis governance pattern based on the traditional bureaucratic is unable to adapt to the demand of public crisis governance and the holistic governance pattern with networking charac-

teristic become an ideal choice, which is the exogenous motivation for constructing the holistic governance pattern of public crisis; On the other hand, the public crisis more highlights trans - boundary and the trans - boundary crisis than the traditional public crisis adds significantly to the governance difficulty, so the traditional governance pattern with bounded by territory and overcoming the single public crisis gets into a scrape, which is the endogenous motivation for constructing the holistic governance pattern of public crisis. More importantly, public crisis governance is the management procedure with cooperation, dynamic, continuation and conformity, so the holistic governance theory which is holistic - oriented highly corresponds with the fragment integration of public crisis governance on the governance idea, body, mechanism, structure, process, tool and path. As a result, the holistic governance theory provides an explanation paradigm of surveying the fragment of public crisis governance and shows clearly direction for transformation and upgrade of public crisis governance pattern.

As the product of holistic governance theory and practice development, under the aegis of all sorts of resources, holistic governance pattern of public crisis on the basis of the holistic governance theory strives to effectively resolve various problems because of fragment governance pattern of public crisis through constructing related systems, integrating related mechanisms and perfecting related patterns, which can achieve public crisis governance with systematic, persistent, cooperative and dynamic. Holistic governance pattern of public crisis has the characters of subject pluralism, hierarchy multiplicity, multi - crossover, combination of centralization and decentralization, dynamic adaptability. Holistic governance pattern of public crisis as the core of integration inevitably involved in the multiple governance subjects relation and the institutional arrangement on multi - center collective action in the process of operation. Meanwhile,

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how to ensure the cooperative governance especially among the local governments is the key problem of operation mechanism of holistic governance pattern of public crisis. Concretely speaking, the operation mechanism of holistic governance pattern of public crisis mainly includes integrated emergency response mechanism, interest coordination mechanism and supervision and restraint mechanism.

Yangtze Delta area is the highest degree of regional integration in China, which regional all kinds of factors of production accumulate highly and flow strongly, leading to frequent trans - boundary public crisis. In order to govern trans - boundary public crisis, Yangtze Delta area government begin to try cooperation and have preliminarily framed institutionalized and normalization in the public crisis governance field including environmental protection, accidents and disasters, public health and social security, which success in many respects such as integrated emergency response mechanism, sharing and building mechanism of infrastructure, interest coordination mechanism and supervision and restraint mechanism. In a sense, the cooperative administration on trans - boundary public crisis can be regarded as the practice exploration on holistic governance of trans - boundary public crisis, which can not only promote the development of economy and society, but also provide experience and reference of governing effectively trans - boundary public crisis. On the basis of commenting present research situation of trans - boundary public crisis governance, this part will analyze the characteristics and forming mechanism of trans - boundary public crisis in the Yangtze Delta area, discuss the important measures and real dilemma of trans - boundary public crisis governance in the Yangtze Delta area, provide the policy proposals of Optimizing trans - boundary public crisis governance in the Yangtze Delta area according to the requirements of holistic governance.

The essence of holistic governance pattern of public crisis is the coop-

erative governance, while cooperative governance faces many challenges including discrepancy aim, fragmented coordination, communication disorder, supervision problem, insufficient ability and poor relative stability. As a result, constructing and implementing effectively of the holistic governance pattern of public crisis need certain realistic conditions and confront great challenges in many aspects of governance ability, governance structure, coordination mechanism, benefit equilibrium, responsibility belonging and information sharing. For replying these challenges and realizing successfully the constructing of holistic governance pattern of public crisis, we should according to the relative requirement of holistic governance theory and combining the concrete practice of public crisis governance adopt systematic integration tactics from the idea, system, structure, mechanism, process, technology, security and environment, including concept renovation on strengthening public interest and public responsibility, system remodeling on forming multiple governance network, structure integration on constructing joint organization structure, mechanism innovation on establishing the operation mechanism as the core of coordination, process transformation on rebuilding governance process of equal attention to whole process, technical support on developing platform based on information sharing, system guarantee on building institutional system as the core of law and environment constructing on cultivating social capital as the core of trust.

Key Words: Transformation period Public crisis Governance pattern Fragment governance Holistic governance

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第一节 研究背景与意义

一 研究背景

(一) 全球风险社会和双重社会转型的国际国内背景考验中国公共危机治理能力

维克多·雨果 (Victor Hugo) 曾说:“地球上没有任何力量,可以阻止一个时代已经到来的想法。”按照美国社会学家丹尼尔·贝尔 (Daniel Bell) 对人类社会发展进程的划分,人类社会在经历了前工业社会 (农业社会) 和工业社会两大历史阶段后,正在迈入后工业社会阶段。与后工业社会进程相伴随的是社会风险急剧增加,各种传统的和非传统的安全问题不断威胁着人类社会,危机由一种“非常态”的威胁力量已成为人类现实世界的“常态”,高风险性成为我们这个时代的一个显著特征。正如德国社会学家尼克拉斯·卢曼 (Niklas Lehmann) 所言,我们生活在一个“除了冒险别无选择的社会里”。^① 风险社会理论创始人、德国社会学家乌尔里希·贝克 (Ulrich Beck) 明确指出:“现代性正从古典工业社会的轮廓中脱颖

^① Bertalanffy, *General System Theory, Foundation, Development, Applications*, New York: George Braziller Press, 1968, pp. 187 - 198.

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而出,正在形成一种崭新的形式——‘风险社会’。”^①“如果说阶级社会的推动力可以用一句话来概括:我饿!那么,风险社会的集体性格则可以用一句话来概括:我怕!”^②随着人类社会越来越呈现风险社会的特征,风险成为现代性的重要特征和基本要素,各国面临的危险因素不断增多,且风险的复杂性、不确定性剧增,由此导致公共危机发生的可能性大幅上升,各种类型的公共危机事件频发,已成为影响世界各国经济发展和社会稳定的重要因素,如何实现公共危机的有效治理也就成为任何一个国家都无法回避的全球性难题。

风险社会是全球风险社会,作为全球化一部分的中国不可能独善其身。“这是一个最好的时代,也是一个最坏的时代。”查尔斯·约翰·赫法姆·狄更斯(Charles John Huffam Dickens)在《双城记》里的这句经典名言可以恰当地形容当前中国所处的时代特征。当前,中国正处于结构转型与体制转轨同步启动的社会转型期,经济规模的迅速膨胀和急剧的社会转型使得社会结构趋于复杂化、多元化,超常规的发展导致社会失衡,诸如不合理的收入分配制度、城乡分割的二元社会体制、不均衡发展、社会阶层分裂、行业垄断、政府腐败以及生态环境恶化等,所有这些都集中表现在社会风险问题上,使得各类社会矛盾日益复杂化,各类社会风险不断地集聚并被释放出来,自然灾害、事故灾难、公共卫生事件、社会安全事件等各种类型的公共危机频发。正如查尔斯·沃尔夫(Charles Wolf Jr.)所言:“中国在未来十年面临广泛的社会风险,包括制度性的和结构性的、部门性的、金融性的。”^③更有学者断言,中国社会存在着一种“风险并发症”,其他国家所面临的各种社会风险中国几

① [德] 乌尔里希·贝克:《风险社会》,何博闻译,译林出版社2004年版,第2页。

② 同上书,第32页。

③ Charles Wolf Jr., “Fault Lines in China’s Economic Terrain”, *Journal of Asian - Pacific Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2004, pp. 58 - 72.