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ADMINISTRATIVE
REFORM

◎ 徐增辉 著

中山大学出版社



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摘 要

20 世纪后期，全球化、信息化与国际竞争加剧的时代背景以及政府自身面临的财政、管理与信任危机，使西方国家政府遭遇前所未有的挑战，要求政府改革的呼声此起彼伏。在公共选择理论、委托代理理论以及治理理论的支持下，从 20 世纪 80 年代开始，西方各主要发达国家掀起了政府改革的浪潮。各国的改革在广度、深度和成效方面虽然存在差异，但都涉及公共管理模式的根本性变革，即表现形式都是对传统公共行政模式的否定，改革的目的是要寻求替代官僚制组织的政府治理模式，并且都是以政府职能的市场化作为改革的基本取向。这起政府改革浪潮被统称为“新公共管理”。

西方国家的新公共管理运动涉及行政管理体制和政府活动的各个方面。但改革的基本主线是重新界定政府与市场的关系，改革的内容也主要是围绕政府功能的重新定位、政府公共服务提供方式的转变、政府内部管理体制的改革以及政府部门引入私营部门管理技术等四个方面来展开。改革的措施包括：通过放松政府对经济活动的规制以及国有企业的私有化实现优化政府职能的目的；通过合同出租、公私合作、使用者付费以及凭单制度打破政府对公共服务的长期垄断，实行公共服务的市场化，以期减轻政府财政压力、提高公共服务水平；通过放松政府内部规制、变革文官永业制、淡化政治中立原则以及分权化改革对政府内部管理机制进行调整；通过在公共部门引入顾



客导向以及绩效评估等私营部门的管理方法，增强政府的回应力，提高政府的绩效。

新公共管理改变了传统公共行政学的研究范围、主题、方法、学科结构、理论基础和实践模式，日益成为当代西方公共部门管理实践在理论上的总结，反过来又成为公共部门管理改革实践的指导思想。新公共管理已成为一种不同于传统公共行政范式的新范式。

然而，尽管新公共管理喊出了“摒弃官僚制”的口号，对理性官僚制展开了激烈的批判，其锋芒直指理性官僚制的组织结构与其所蕴涵的理性、非人格特征，但是改革的结果证明，新公共管理作为一种新的公共管理范式，其实质并非对传统的官僚制模式的全面摒弃，而是随着行政生态环境的变化，以市场化运作模式和私营部门的管理方法对传统的官僚体制进行的一次修正。“摒弃官僚制”仅仅是针对官僚制过度发展带来的弊端的一种激进口号。

新公共管理是发达国家为迎接后工业社会和经济全球化的挑战而进行的政府管理革命，其目的和使命是探索适应后工业社会和全球化竞争需要的未来政府治理模式。它对我国当前的行政改革具有重要的启示和借鉴意义。

一方面，新公共管理对我国行政改革具有先导性作用。这是因为：第一，新公共管理有助于扩大我国行政改革的视野。新公共管理综合运用多学科理论与方法来研究公共管理问题；它将公共部门的管理主体扩大到除政府以外的各种非政府组织、各种社会团体甚至私营部门；它直接利用私营部门管理领域所发展起来的许多理论和方法对公共部门管理进行深层次的改革。这些超出了传统公共行政学的范畴，拓展了政府改革的视野。第二，我国同样面临全球化对政府能力提出的挑战。第

三，我国同样面临多元化社会对公共行政的挑战。第四，我国同样面临改革公共服务供给机制以提高公共服务水平的任务。第五，新公共管理的放松市场规制以及市场化取向与我国经济体制改革有一致性。第六，新公共管理在公共行政领域引入私营部门管理方法对我国有极大的借鉴作用。

另一方面，国情差异决定我国不能完全照搬新公共管理。这主要是因为：第一，我国的基本经济制度与西方国家不同。我国生产资料的社会主义公有制决定了我国不能像西方资本主义国家那样对国有企业进行大规模私有化。第二，与西方发达国家于 20 世纪后期相继步入贝尔所说的“后工业社会”不同，当前，我国社会现代化进程总体上表现为由传统农业社会向现代工业社会的转型。第三，我国公务员制度成熟度与西方国家不同。西方国家根据理性官僚制发展起来的公务员制度已有 100 多年的历史。我国的公务员制度经过 10 余年的运作，尽管在制度建设上取得了很大成绩，但在现实工作中仍有许多不完善之处，如公共行政领域普遍存在的理性精神阙如、法治意识淡薄、监督制约机制不足、专业化水平不够等问题。第四，我国市场经济发展程度与西方国家不同。推行新公共管理的西方国家都属于成熟的市场经济国家。目前，我国仍处在由计划经济体制向市场经济体制转型的过程之中，市场经济的发展程度不高。第五，我国非政府组织发育程度与西方国家不同。西方国家的非政府组织无论在数量上还是在质量上都非常成熟，而我国的非政府组织无论在数量上还是在质量上都才刚刚起步。

基于以上分析，我们认识到，我国的行政改革既要保持在总的历史方向和目标上与世界潮流的一致性，同时也要充分考虑我国的基本国情和改革所具有的阶段性。也就是说，在改革



的总方向和总目标基本一致的前提下，改革的道路、策略和政策选择可能是不同的，在某个阶段的某些政策选择甚至可能是逆向的。

具体来说，我国新一轮的行政改革应该在以下方面作出努力：

1. 改革市场规制，推动市场经济发展

在现实中，我国市场规制既存在着越位的情形，也存在着缺位的情形。因此，转型经济时期的我国市场规制改革应走松紧结合的道路，即放松规制与强化规制并重：一方面逐步放松原计划经济体制时期所遗留下来的经济性规制，另一方面则逐步强化适应社会主义市场经济体制要求的间接规制和社会性规制。此外，我国还应该强化对规制主体的规制。

2. 强化政府引导，推进公共服务市场化

随着我国政治、经济体制改革的深化，近年来我国在公用服务市场化改革方面也进行了积极的探索，并取得了一定的进展。今后我们还应通过加强公共服务市场化的法制建设、积极培育市场、大力发展非政府组织以及局部地区的大胆实验，将公共服务市场化改革推向深入。

3. 坚持以人为本，构建服务型政府

要摒弃“以物为本”和“以政府为本”的行政理念，树立“以人为本”和“以民为本”的行政理念。通过强化政府基本公共服务职能以及建立健全政府回应机制，构建以人为本的服务型政府。

4. 强化政府内部规制，建设法治政府

法治政府就是在法律的规制下行使权力的政府。法治政府不仅强调政府要维护和执行法律的秩序，更强调法律之于政府权力的优先性和至上性。当前，建设我国法治政府必须继续强化对行政主体的设置、行政主体的职权范围以及行政程序的法律规制。

5. 推行政府绩效评估，提高政府效能

推行政府绩效评估有利于提高我国政府绩效、提高我国资源配置效率、沟通政府与公众关系。因此，我们应该通过推进政府绩效评估的法制化、培养多元化的评估主体、建立合理的绩效评估指标体系等措施，把这项制度常规化、系统化、规范化。

Abstract

In the late 20th century, globalization, informatization, the international increased competition, the management and the trust crisis which governments face made the governments of western countries encounter the unprecedented challenge. The voice of requiring governments to reform rose one after another. According to the theories such as public choice, principal-agent and governance, many developed countries in the west have raised the tide of government reform since the eighties of the 20th century. Though differences exist in scope, depth and effect in the reforms of various countries, the reforms have been the fundamental changes related to public management model, namely the form of manifestation was the negation to the traditional public administration model. The purposes of the reforms have all been to seek the government administration patterns instead of bureaucratic organizations, and the basic tendencies of them have entirely been the marketization of governmental function. The tide of government reforms is usually referred to as "new public management" movement.

New public management movement of the western countries has involved every respect of administrative systems and government activities. But the basic clue of the reform was to define the relation between government and market again. The content of it was mainly

about reorienting government function, transiting the measures that the government offered public services, reforming the government's internal management system, and introducing the administrative skill of private sectors into the government, etc. The measures of the reform included: optimizing government function through relaxing the regulations about economic activities and privatizing state-owned enterprises; broking the long-term government monopoly to public services through contracts renting, cooperating with private sectors, user's paying and voucher system to implement the marketization of the public service, in the hope of lightening the finance pressure of governments, improving the public service level; adjusting the internal management mechanism of the government through relaxing the excessive regulations to public servants, transforming lifelong hire, desalinizing political neutrality and discen-tralization reform; strengthening the respond to the public and improving the performance of governments through introducing the management methods such as customer orientation and performance measurement to the government.

New public management has changed the research range, theme, method, discipline system, theoretical foundation and practical model of the traditional public administration. It has been the theoretical summary in the management practices of contemporary western public sectors and the guidelines of public sector management reform. New public management has already become a kind of new paradigm different from the traditional public administration patterns.

However, though new public management movement put



forward the slogan “banishing bureaucracy” and launched the fierce criticism to the organization structure and the inhumanity characteristic of the rational bureaucracy, the results of the reform have proved that, as a kind of new public management paradigm, its essence is not to banish the traditional bureaucracy entirely but an improvement to it with operation marketization model and the management methods from private sectors, along with the change of the administrative ecological environment. “Banishing bureaucracy” is only a radical slogan which aims at the drawbacks that the excessively developing bureaucracy brings.

New public management movement is the revolution of government management in developed countries in order to meet the challenges of post-industrial society and economic globalization. Its mission is to explore the government administration patterns in the future fit for post-industrial society and global competition. It is an important enlightenment to the present administrative reform of our country.

On one hand, new public management has a guiding function on the administrative reform of our country. First, new public management contributes to expanding the vision of the administrative reform of our country. New public management uses multi-disciplinary theories and methods to study problems of public management synthetically; it expands the entities of public management to various kinds of NGOs besides government, various kinds of public organizations even private sectors; it utilizes directly a lot of theories and methods of private sectors to carry on the profound reform of public sectors management. These have gone beyond the category

that the traditional public administration studies and have expanded the vision of government reform. Second, our country faces the challenge of globalization to governmental capacity too. Third, our country faces similarly the challenge of diversified societies to public administration. Fourth, our country has the same tasks of reforming the supply mechanism of public services in order to raise the level of it. Fifth, both relaxing government control and marketization tendency of new public management are consistent with the economic system reform of our country. Sixth, there is a great referential function on our country to introduce the management methods of private sectors into the field of public administration.

On the other hand, differences of national conditions have determined that our country can't totally imitate new public management. First, the basic economic system of our country is different from western countries. The socialist public ownership of means of production determines that our country shouldn't go on privatizing state-owned enterprises as like as western capitalist countries do. Second, at present, dissimilar from western developed countries which have stepped into "post-industrial society" in succession in the late 20th century, the social modernization process of our country is generally shown as the transition from traditional agricultural society to modern industrial society. Third, the development level of public servants system in our country is different from western countries. The western countries have already made the public servants system developed for more than 100 years on the basis of national bureaucracy. Despite the public servants system of our country has made much progress in institutional construction as operating

for more than ten years, there are a lot of places not perfect in the practical work. For example, the rational spirit in the field of the public administration is wanting, the consciousness governed by law is indifferent, the supervision and restraint mechanism is insufficient, specialization level is not enough, etc. Fourth, the development degree of market economy of our country is distinct from western countries. The western countries pursuing new public management all belong to ripe market economy countries, but our country is still in the course of the transition from planning economy system to market economy system, not in high development degree of market economy. Fifth, NGOs' development degree in our country is unlike western countries. NGOs of the western countries are very mature either on quality or on quantity, while ours are just at the beginning of development.

On the basis of the analysis above, we realize that the administrative reform of our country should keep consistent with the world trend in general direction, and at the same time, we should consider adequately the fundamental realities of our country and the periodical development of our reform. That is to say, under the prerequisite of being basically unanimous in general goal and direction, the roads, the tactics and the policies chosen for the reform would be different, even reverse in some policies at a certain stage.

Particularly, the new-round administrative reform of our country should focus on the followings:

First, reform government regulations and promote the development of market economy. In reality, there are "offside" and

“omission” phenomena in our country. So, in the economic transition period our government regulation reform should adhere to the principle of combining looseness with tightness, namely attaching importance to relaxing as well as strengthening. On one hand, progressively relax the economic control left for us in the original planning economic system period, strengthen indirect and social regulations step by step to meet the needs of socialist market economic system on the other hand. In addition, we should also intensify the control on the entities of regulations.

Second, strengthen the government guidance and promote the marketization of public services. With the deepening of political and economical system conversion of our country, the exploration in marketization reform of public services has carried on actively in recent years and made much progress. In the future, we should also strengthen the legal system construction on the marketization of public services, cultivate the market system, develop NGOs actively and make bold experiments in sectional regions to propel the marketization reform of public services further and further.

Third, stick to humanism and build service-government. Banish the administration idea of “material-centric” and “government-centric” and establish the idea of “humanism” and “people-oriented”. Build the service-government based on the humanistic idea by means of strengthening basic public services function and amplifying responding mechanism of government.

Fourth, consolidate internal regulations and construct a rule-of-law government. The rule-of-law government is the government to exercise power under the rules of law. It not only emphasizes



safeguarding and carrying out the law in order, but also lays stress on the priority and the authority of law to government power. At present, in order to build the rule-of-law government, we must go on strengthening the legal regulation to the establishment of the administrative entities, the enactment of the scope of their power and administration process.

Fifth, carry out government performance measurement and improve government efficiency. Pushing the government performance measurement will be good to improve government performance, distribution efficiency of resource and the relation between the government and the public. So we should adopt measures such as propelling the legalization of performance measurement, cultivating pluralistic assessment entities and setting up reasonable criteria system to make the government performance measurement system more routine, systematized and standardized.

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