

张远索 张占录◎著

农村居民点

整理模式研究

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序

随着我国城镇化的不断发展，城市用地需求增加，供求关系紧张；而广大农村地区由于人口外移村庄出现空心现象，用地粗放，供地潜力巨大。整合城乡土地资源，实现城乡统筹发展，是应有发展之路。目前，我国传统的农用地整理的潜力基本得到发挥，农村居民点整理作为一种土地整理形式，其重要程度日益凸显。我国地区间发展水平不一，情况差别较大，农村居民点整理模式各异，涌现出很多好的模式，有很多经验，但实践中也存在很多问题。在此背景下，关于农村居民点整理模式的研究显得相当重要。《农村居民点整理模式研究》这本书是我的博士生张远索在其毕业论文《基于多元利益格局优化的农村居民点整理模式研究》的基础上，结合中国人民大学张占录教授主持的相关课题成果撰写而成的。

这本书在综述既有文献和总结相关理论的基础上，系统地总结了现阶段我国农村居民点整理模式，进而从协调政府、开发商、村集体、农民个人等多个利益主体的角度，研究各主体的经济利益、社会利益、生态利益等多种利益，研究视野具有典型的“二维多元”

特征，全面剖析了农村居民点整理进程中应有的利益协调思路。最后结合大量的实地调研案例，从多元利益格局优化的角度提出农村居民点整理的理想模式。

张远索博士的毕业论文，受到了包括答辩委员在内的专家们的好评。他们认为论文工作量大，创新点多，其以下观点对农村居民点整理理论和实践都有较重要参考价值：一是他认为要进一步完善城乡建设用地增减挂钩政策，掌握好试点批准节奏，挂钩试点项目应主要放在城乡结合部，既能有效满足大城市发展用地需求，又能充分解决居民点整理资金回笼的问题。较偏远的农村则不具备上述优势，在挂钩政策理论细则、实践操作等层面未能彻底完善之前，不宜将偏远地区农村纳入此整理模式。可以引入土地发展权理念，加大财政转移支付力度，改善和提高偏远地区农村群众居住条件和生活水平。二是他所在的课题组通过调研得知，大部分农民比较喜欢“农民上楼”整理模式，但因补偿利益没有达到预期要求，不愿上楼的民众比例略高于经验合理值，认为好的制度设计其实施效果要有良好的执行与监管作保障。在城乡一体化建设大背景下，以“农民上楼”为主要形式的农村居民点整理是大势所趋，随着中央政府对农民利益日益重视，我国农村居民点整理形势会更加乐观。三是他从多个层面提出了多元主体利益协调措施，丰富了利益协调理论。

从博士毕业论文开题算起，这本书历时四年多才成稿。其中前两年用来完成博士毕业论文写作，期间作者前往台湾、深圳、成都、重庆、北京、天津、济南等省市实地调查，获取了丰富的一手资料，后两年继续跟踪调查，进一步加强了相关理论和实证研究的深度。从总体看，该书关注社会发展热点，直面理论难题，充满思想火花，非常值得从事土地管理等领域工作的相关人员阅读。

当然，这本书也存在一些不足。比如作者过于注重书的可读性，理论高度稍显不足；定性分析居多，定量分析不足；模式设计和政策建议失之宏观等等。这些都需要作者在后续的研究中加以完善，也希望读者在这些领域不断研究和探讨，丰富和完善有关理论和实践。

张远索博士是一位非常勤奋好学、踏实肯干的学生，在本书终稿完成之际，他请我为本书作序，我也非常高兴接受这一任务，遂对本书作以上简评，用以为序。

谢经荣

2014年8月31日

摘 要

我国城乡建设用地之间存在明显的效率落差，并有扩大趋势，必须大力推进城乡建设用地的节约集约利用。单纯依赖数量型挖潜为特色的农用地开发整理难以成为土地整理的持久方向，加大建设用地整理力度是推进土地节约集约利用的重要途径。长期以来我国农村居民点建设用地粗放，通过农村居民点整理实现耕地保有目标将是后续政策之取向。国土资源部2005年10月下发通知，确定试行挂钩政策及第一批挂钩试点城市。但在推进过程中出现了认识有偏差、做法不规范、管理有缺陷等问题，甚至出现了自焚、群体性事件等不和谐社会现象。究其原因，绝大多数是因为当事农民认为利益没有得到保障，或认为利益分配不均。针对媒体关注的失地农民“被上楼”现象，国土资源部2011年宣布，将开展为期三个月的“增减挂钩全面清理检查”，并得到温家宝总理的重要批示。一方面是社会经济发展现实需要对农村居民点进行整理，另一方面却又在农村居民点整理过程中存在很多问题，阻碍了我国城市化的发展进程。在此背景下，本研究在大量实地调研的基础上，将如何协调我国农

村居民点整理中各方主体的利益关系作为研究的切入点，研究我国现行农村居民点整理的模式问题，旨在为土地管理理论宝库添砖加瓦的同时，能为有关部门制定决策提供参考。

本研究的主要内容包括：（1）梳理总结与简要述评国内外关于农村居民点整理利益分配的理论与实践，国内外农村居民点整理模式的理论与实践，总结分析本研究之相关理论基础。（2）研究我国农村居民点整理模式现状，具体内容包括：居民点整理模式的分类与内涵、农村居民点整理利益分配（利益产生来源、利益分配主体、利益分配方法）、农村居民点整理总体特点与存在的问题、农民上楼需求调研与意向性模式选择。（3）采用博弈论的方法研究“宅基地换房”模式，在分析利益主体的基础上进行利益博弈分析和博弈均衡分析。（4）农村居民点整理实证研究，选取典型的具有地域特色的天津、深圳、成渝、台湾作为实证研究对象，分析其居民点整理做法，总结其整理经验与存在的问题；在全国范围内随机抽选多个省市，调研农民上楼相关情况。（5）我国农村居民点整理利益协调与模式优化，包括农村居民点整理利益协调与利益格局优化、农村居民点整理模式改革取向两方面的内容。

通过以上分析解决以下问题：（1）我国农村居民点整理中可用的传统利益分配方法及可借鉴的利益协

调新方法。(2) 我国农村居民点整理利益分配与整理模式的多维度解析。(3) 通过博弈分析当前主流模式“宅基地换房”中利益主体博弈地位及利益诉求。(4) 感性认识典型地区居民点整理, 为理论提升打下铺垫。(5) 我国农村居民点整理利益协调途径, 整理模式改革取向。

本研究的主要结论和建议:(1) 城乡统筹发展是解决当前我国城乡二元结构问题的根本出路, 缓解日益严峻的人地矛盾是社会经济健康发展的必然要求, 合理进行农村居民点整理是有效保护耕地、增加城市建设用地指标的有效途径。我国以提高土地利用率为主要目的、以高效率为主要特征的政府主导型整理模式还将持续一段时间。(2) 我国现阶段农村居民点整理模式以“农民上楼”模式为主。但各地具体操作环节存有差异, 尤其是在补偿标准、农民上楼后续保障等方面差距较大。全国范围调研结果显示, 不情愿上楼而“被迫”上楼的农民所占比例高达 19.96%, 对补偿标准不满意的农民占比高达 31.70%, 同时, 部分地区上楼后续生活保障力度有所欠缺。南方地区较北方地区市场化程度较高, 农民所得增值利益比值较大。(3) 在我国农村居民点整理过程中, 部分地方政府过分追求经济利益, 对社会效益、生态效益等重视程度不够, 而中央政府追求的是多目标效益, 近年来农民利益日益受到重视和保护, 并在实践中不断得以体现。

(4) 农村居民点整理中出现的大多数问题，其产生根源在于整理主体间利益未能有效协调，未能产生整体性和谐格局，应从制度、政策、物质、文化、技术等多个层面予以优化调整。(5) 完善城乡建设用地增减挂钩政策，掌握好试点批准节奏，将挂钩试点主要放置在城乡结合部，其他偏远地区农村暂缓大规模上楼模式。强化农村居民点整理目标多元化，重视环境改善和生态景观设计，借鉴“农村再生”理念，加强农村居民点整理后续管理。引入土地发展权思想，加大财政转移支付力度，改善和提高偏远地区农村群众居住条件和生活水平。

关键词：农村居民点整理模式；多元利益协调；土地产权；农民上楼；农民利益

Abstract

The gap of the efficiency of construction land use between urban and rural areas is big and is getting bigger. The economic and intensive use of land should be promoted in China. Agricultural land development and consolidation depending only on quantity type of potential tapping is not sustainable. Therefore, strengthening construction land consolidation is key approach to promote economic and intensive use of land. During long period, rural residential construction land is the land to be used extensively. Through rural residential land consolidation to achieve the goal of cultivation land protection is the trend for policy making. Ministry of Land and Resource issued the “link policy” and selected the first round pilot cities in October, 2005. However, during the implementation process, there are some problems happened, such as wrong understanding, nonstandard doing, weak management, and also some disharmonic social phenomenon happened, such as self burning, group incident, and so on. Most of above

mentioned problems and phenomenon are caused by unsecured interests or unequal distribution from involved farmer's point of view. Faced to the phenomenon of farmers forced to go upstairs, Ministry of Land and Resource announced to have three month length movement to do fully inspection, and received the important instructions from Premier Wen Jiabao. On one side, rural residential land consolidation is needed for social and economic development. On another side, the problems happened during rural residential land consolidation hinder the urbanization process. Based on these backgrounds, the article is to choose how to coordinate interests of all involved parties in rural residential land consolidation to be breakthrough point to do research. The research focuses on the model of current rural residential land consolidation and hope to give some contributions to the land management theories tank, and to the policy makers in relevant departments.

The contents of the article are including: (1) review and conclude domestic and foreign theories and practices on interest distribution and model of rural residential land consolidation, and to analyze the relevant theoretical basis regarding the article's research; (2) research the current situation of rural residential land

consolidation including classification and contents of residential land consolidation models, interest distribution of rural residential land consolidation (resource of interest, interest distribution parties, method of interest distribution), characteristics and existed problems of rural residential land consolidation, demand survey on “farmers upstairs”; (3) choose game theory to do research on model of “homeland and upstairs exchange”, based on interest parties analysis, to do interest game analysis and game equilibrium analysis; (4) do empirical research on rural residential land consolidation; choose typical representative cities including Tianjin, Shenzhen, ChengYu, Taiwan to be research objects, analyze methods of residential land consolidation and conclude pros and cons; random select provinces and cities to survey the situation on “farmers upstairs”; (5) interest coordination and model optimization of rural residential land consolidation including interest coordination vs interest structure optimization, and model reform.

Through the above analysis to address the following issues: (1) available methods of the traditional interest allocation and new referable methods of interests coordination in the Rural Residential Land Consolida-

tion; (2) multi-dimensional resolution of the interest allocation and consolidation model in rural residential land consolidation; (3) through game analysis to figure out game position and interest demand of interest parties in the current mainstream model “homeland and upstairs exchange”; (4) perceptions of typical residential land consolidation in typical areas for the theory enhancement; (5) Approach of interest coordination of Rural Residential Land Consolidation, reform orientation of consolidation model.

The main conclusions and recommendations of this study: (1) urban and rural development is the fundamental way to solve the problem of dual structure in urban and rural, to ease the increasingly serious contradiction between human beings and land is must requirement for the social and economic healthy development, reasonable Rural Residential Land Consolidation is the effective approach to protect cultivation land and to increase the index of urban construction land. The government-led consolidation models for the main purpose of increase rate of land utilization, and for the characteristic of high efficiency will continue for some time; (2) the present stage of rural residential consolidation model mainly concentrates on “farmers upstairs”

model. There are differences in specific operation process around different areas, and there is a big gap especially in such aspects as compensation standards, follow-up support after farmers upstairs. The nationwide survey results show that the proportion of farmers who are reluctant but forced to go upstairs is up to 19.96%, the proportion of farmers who are not satisfied with the compensation standards is as high as 31.70%, while in some areas, follow-up support after upstairs is lacking. The higher degree of market-oriented in south region caused the higher ratio of value-added benefits of farmers' obtain compared with north region; (3) in the consolidation process of the rural residential land, some local governments over-pursue economic interests, and less emphasis on social and ecological benefits. while the central government is to pursue the benefits of multi-objective, the farmer interests in recent years are paid more and more attention and protection, and continue to be reflected in practice; (4) most of the problems in the Rural Residential Land Consolidation are caused by ineffective coordination among involved parties, and failure to produce the overall harmonious pattern. Such aspects as system, policy, material, culture, technology should be optimally ad-

justed; (5) improve “increase and decrease link policy” on urban and rural construction land, control the speed to approve pilot cities, and select the pilot cities in the border between urban and rural areas. Suspend the large-scale model of “farmer upstairs” in other remote rural areas. Strengthen the diversification of consolidation goals of rural residential land. Put the emphasis on environmental improvement and ecological landscape design. Learn the concept of “rural regeneration” . Strengthen follow-up management of rural residential land consolidation. Absorb the ideology of land development rights. Strengthen financial transfer payments. Improve and enhance the life conditions and living standards of rural people living in remote areas.

Keywords: rural residential land consolidation model; multiple interests coordination; land property rights; farmers upstairs; farmer interests.

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