

适应性调整

新制度主义视角下的 中国体制转型研究

李 艳 著



中国社会科学出版社

适应性调整

新制度主义视角下的 中国体制转型研究

李 艳 著



中国社会科学出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

适应性调整：新制度主义视角下的中国体制转型研究 / 李艳著.

—北京：中国社会科学出版社，2016.12

ISBN 978-7-5161-9384-6

I. ①适… II. ①李… III. ①体制改革—研究—中国

IV. ①D61

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2016)第 290712 号

出版人 赵剑英
责任编辑 冯春风
责任校对 张爱华
责任印制 张雪娇

出 版 中国社会科学出版社
社 址 北京鼓楼西大街甲 158 号
邮 编 100720
网 址 <http://www.csspw.cn>
发 行 部 010-84083685
门 市 部 010-84029450
经 销 新华书店及其他书店

印 刷 北京君升印刷有限公司
装 订 廊坊市广阳区广增装订厂
版 次 2016 年 12 月第 1 版
印 次 2016 年 12 月第 1 次印刷

开 本 710×1000 1/16
印 张 20.75
插 页 2
字 数 340 千字
定 价 78.00 元

凡购买中国社会科学出版社图书，如有质量问题请与本社营销中心联系调换。

电话：010-84083683

版权所有 侵权必究

本书得到下列基金项目的资助：

河北省社会科学基金项目“新制度主义视角下地方政府行为适应性调整研究”（项目编号：HB15ZZ012）

河北师范大学博士基金项目“新制度主义视角下的中国地方政府行为悖论分析”（项目编号：130917）

河北师范大学人文社会科学基金项目“国有企业产权制度的适应性调整研究——基于对新制度主义功能绩效观的反思”（项目编号：S2015Y06）

河北师范大学法政学院（马克思主义学院）学术著作出版基金项目

Abstract

This paper concentrates on the adaptability adjustment of institutional transformation in China in the three aspects of the system of property rights, government behavior and ideology from the perspective of new institutionalism. Overall, the institutional transformation in China is a large - scale institutional change related to all fields of economic, political, social and cultural. Due to the complexity of the institutional transformation, the transition takes on a lot of features which new institutionalism theory can not cover and is called features of "discretionary" in the paper. It is shown in the following ways: timely conversion of main roles of institutional change, the pattern of institutional change with attendant "induced" and "mandatory", transition and adaptability of the path of institutional change and the adaptability adjustment of ideological form. The main factors that affects institutional transformation includes not only the interest goals of actors, but also other factors of the changing institutional environment, as the constitutional order, ideology, decentralization reform of the central government and the process of market - oriented, interest groups and the distribution of power.

In the institutional transformation in China, the system of property rights, government actions and ideology make the adaptability adjustment with the changes in the institutional showing regularity characteristics, which constitute the overall picture of the institutional transformation. Among them, the system of property rights is a priority. If we evaluate the reform of property rights in China based on the view of economic performance of new institutionalism, this is not only inconsistent with the general standard of system performance, and not in

line with China's specific national conditions. We build the view of multidimensional performance combining procedural performance and real performance, static performance and dynamic performance to replace the view of single performance only containing the economic performance criteria in order to evaluate the performance of reform of the enterprise property right system in Chinese institutional transformation. Throughout the empirical analysis, this paper points out that in the institutional transformation the adjustment of property rights system of state - owned enterprises and private enterprises has certain "adaptive efficiency", that is, the property right systems in various stages have the characteristics of relative efficiency and dynamic adaptability. But from the point of static view of procedural performance, there exists the non - coupling of system of property rights, external competition mechanism and the internal governance structure, as well as the inharmony of the system of supply and demand and the lack of related supporting reforms of institutional arrangements. Meanwhile, in the aspect of real performance, state - owned enterprises have achieved significant economic performance since the reform, but there is a great lack in the fair performance.

Referring to the changes of government behavior, the paper argues that whether the evolution of the behavior of the central government or that of local government behavior itself is the adaptability adjustment under the motives of seeking profit according to the institutional environment, only that the objective function and the institutional environment which they face is not exactly the same. The adaptability adjustment conducted by the central government for environmental change is mainly reflected in its decentralization acts including administrative decentralization, economic decentralization, fiscal decentralization and political decentralization. The decentralization of the central government behavior is in accordance to China's economic system in various stages, whose process of decentralization is mainly limited by the macroeconomic institutional framework and the official ideology. Overall, the decentralization of the central government acts shows the market - oriented characteristics under the auspices of the central government. China forms a kind of unique political and economic

structure of the relative concentration in politics and relative autonomy in economics by adapting to the leading of central government and market - oriented reforms.

Due to the rule of the government evolution of Sunan Model and Wenzhou Model, this paper concludes the general trajectory of the adjustment of the behavior of local governments, i. e. the behavior of local governments experience changes in three stages from “directly accede” to “indirectly promote” and then to “provide peripheral services”. The characteristics of government behavior in the stage of the “directly accede” mainly includes direct intervention, taking on everything and a strong resource for mobilization and disposable capacity. In this stage, government actions affect the whole process of the enterprise economic activity and dominate economic behavior of firms. The characteristics of government behavior in the stage of “indirectly promote” is very different from taking on everything of the stage of “direct accede”. In this stage, the government steers “passively” from the “leader” to “facilitator” under the objective institutional environment. The government acts as the role of a “corporate broker” i. e. the government pushes the enterprises into the market through various way actively and the government exits from the role of managing specific economic enterprises. Due to the change of the relationship from business brokers to mutual aid or reciprocity between government and enterprises, the government in the stage of “provide peripheral services” no longer directly manages and operates on the enterprise, but commits to creating a better market environment in the region and strengthening macro guidance of the enterprise. The evolution of the behavior characteristics is the result of the adaptability adjustment of the local government according to the internal and external environment. The environmental factors which affect the behavior adjustment of local governments mainly includes the process of market - oriented, institutional environment including macro - system environment and micro - system environment, policy environment and ideological constraints.

The effect of the adjustment of the behavior of the central government and local government has a dual nature. It both promotes and hinders economic and

social development and forms the “paradox of government behavior”, which is not a complete equivalent to the “North Paradox” and “institutional paradox”. The paradox of the behavior of the Chinese government in the institutional transformation is mainly due to institutional factors behind the behavior of the government i. e. mainly due to that the ideology and the related system has not made adaptability adjustment timely for the changed economic base and the institutional environment.

System and behavior are inseparable from the guide of the concept. The greatest constraints posing for the system of property rights and government action in the institutional transformation is the official ideology as the adjustment of the property system and the government action must be accompanied by adjustment of the official ideology. In the process of institutional transformation in China, the official ideology in fact is an important part of the formal system. Reflecting in national policy documents as well as the Constitution and legal system, the official ideology has rigid constraints on the behavior of individuals and groups and national institutional change so is often as important components of the institutional environment. The most important ideological factors that impact the current Chinese institutional transformation is the relationship between planning and the market, the nature of ownership, the relationship between the public sector of the economy and the non - public economy as well as the relationship between efficiency and fairness in the the field of distribution. The ideological adjustment in institutional transformation in China shows the characteristics of the paralleling of the official ideology and the traditional cultural values, the bidirectional adaptability of the ideology and other institutional arrangements and institutional environment, the unity of stability and flexibility and pragmatism permeated with the practical rationality, etc. At the same time, the effect in ideological institutional transformation shows a decreasing trend from the center to the margin. And different ideological preferences of local governments determines to some extent the path of economic development and the economic model of the region just like the case of that the formation of Sunan Model and Wenzhou Model is due to the local government's ideological differences. While

we are sure of the positive role of ideology and adjustment of concept, we should also see its lacks which exists in cognitive, invention and starting delays in the reform of state – owned enterprises, inability in explaining the problems in the reality in the changes of property rights and distribution system, the failure to establish the ideology for the market economy and to a reasonable Seeking Profits behavior, that they can not play the function of diluting the opportunistic behavior and also in inharmony of traditional culture and values of the market economy, and so on.

The great achievement in Chinese institutional transformation is mainly owing to the adaptability adjustment of property rights, government behavior and ideology. However, we should also be fully aware of that there are still many problems in the adjustment of these three areas, and some of them become so serious that even have affected the performance and process of China's reformation. This is a question of the first importance we have to solve in the future tends of the adaptability adjustment. In the matter of the system of enterprise property rights supported to introduce a series of related supporting reforms to continue to improve the corporate governance structure and external competition mechanism on the basis of the deepening of enterprise reform of property rights, to reasonably set social goals and the target market of the state – owned enterprises, to improve the supporting reforms of related political, economic and legal systems. In terms of government behavior, that is to properly deal with the relationship between the central government, local and enterprise, to promote the establishment of public service – oriented government by changing the philosophy of government action, building a system of public finance and reforming the evaluation standards of government performance, to constrain the paradox for behavior of the local government by improving checks and balances mechanism of the local government. In ideology and concept, that is to develop and improve the mainstream ideology under the principle of making coexisting dominance and inclusiveness, to taking into account the inheritance and innovation; adaptability and flexibility, effectiveness and practicality and to build cultural foundation and values system compatible with the socialist market economic sys-

tem in order to better guide and standardize people's market behavior.

To sum up, there are two crucial issues need to be solved in the deep development of institutional transformation. In the first place, the related system must be reformed, especially the political system and economic system. In the second place, it will continue to promote the adjustment of ideology and ideas keep pace with the times. Not only because that ideology and ideas can make a reasonable description of the results of the transformation, but also it could guide the system to continues to adaptability adjustment.

Key words: Adaptability adjustment; Institutional transformation; New institutionalism; The system of property Rights; Government actions; Ideology

目 录

Abstract	(1)
第一章 导论	(1)
第一节 问题的提出及研究意义	(1)
一 问题的提出	(1)
二 研究意义	(5)
第二节 核心概念与主要研究内容	(7)
一 核心概念	(7)
二 主要研究内容	(11)
第三节 理论创新与研究方法	(15)
一 理论创新	(15)
二 研究方法	(16)
第四节 论文写作思路与基本框架	(18)
第二章 文献综述	(21)
第一节 关于体制转型的文献综述	(21)
一 国外关于体制转型的研究	(22)
二 国内关于体制转型的研究	(29)
三 对已有研究的简要评述	(32)
第二节 新制度主义制度变迁理论在中国应用的文献综述	(34)
一 国外学者对新制度主义制度变迁理论的研究	(34)
二 国内学者对新制度主义制度变迁理论的研究与应用	(35)
三 对已有研究的简要评述	(40)
第三节 新制度主义产权理论在中国应用的文献综述	(44)
一 国外学者对新制度主义产权理论的研究	(44)

二	国内学者对新制度产权理论的研究与应用	(45)
三	对已有研究的简要评述	(51)
第四节	新制度主义国家理论在中国应用的文献综述	(53)
一	国外学者对新制度主义国家理论的研究	(53)
二	国内学者对新制度主义国家理论的研究与应用	(55)
三	对已有研究的简要评述	(60)
第五节	新制度主义意识形态理论在中国应用的文献综述	(61)
一	国外学者对新制度主义意识形态理论的研究	(61)
二	国内学者对新制度主义意识形态理论的研究与应用	(62)
第三章	制度、行为与意识形态	(65)
第一节	制度与制度变迁	(65)
一	制度	(65)
二	制度变迁	(69)
第二节	产权、企业产权制度与产权制度绩效	(74)
一	产权与产权形式	(74)
二	产权制度与企业产权制度	(77)
三	产权制度绩效	(80)
第三节	行为者及其利益	(85)
一	企业行为及其利益目标	(86)
二	中央政府行为及其利益目标	(87)
三	地方政府行为及其利益目标	(90)
第四节	意识形态与传统文化观念	(92)
一	意识形态	(93)
二	传统文化观念	(94)
第四章	中国体制转型的基本特征与主要影响因素	(95)
第一节	中国体制转型的基本特征	(95)
一	制度变迁主体的适时转换	(95)
二	诱致性与强制性相伴的制度变迁方式	(97)
三	制度变迁路径的过渡性与适应性	(103)
四	意识形态的适应性调整	(106)
第二节	中国体制转型的主要影响因素	(107)

一 制度环境	(107)
二 利益集团与权力分配	(114)
第五章 体制转型中产权制度的适应性调整	(119)
第一节 产权制度的外适应力：制度效率的相对性与适应性	(119)
一 制度的外适应力的含义	(119)
二 国有企业产权制度适应性调整	(120)
三 民营企业产权制度适应性调整	(124)
第二节 产权制度的内适应力不足：制度的非耦合与非协调	(139)
一 产权改革、外部竞争机制、内部治理机制三者之间的非耦合	(140)
二 制度供求不协调，相关制度安排配套改革不到位	(144)
第三节 产权制度的实质绩效不足：国企改革中的“效率与公平”目标失衡	(147)
一 国有企业的双重属性与双重目标	(148)
二 国有效率目标与公平目标的失衡	(148)
第六章 体制转型中政府行为的适应性调整	(153)
第一节 体制转型中中央政府行为的适应性调整	(154)
一 中央政府放权行为的主要内容	(155)
二 中央放权行为中的适应性调整	(166)
第二节 体制转型中地方政府行为的适应性调整：以苏南模式与温州模式为例	(174)
一 苏南模式强制性制度变迁中的政府行为	(174)
二 温州模式诱致性制度变迁中的政府行为	(180)
三 地方政府行为调整的适应性特征	(188)
第三节 政府行为调整中的“制度性悖论”	(196)
一 “诺斯悖论”及其适用性分析	(196)
二 中央政府行为悖论及原因分析	(203)
三 地方政府行为悖论及制度性因素	(209)
第七章 体制转型中意识形态的适应性调整	(230)
第一节 体制转型中官方意识形态调整轨迹	(230)
一 改革方向和改革目标的探索：社会主义市场经济体	

制的确立过程	(233)
二 关于“所有制”与“国有企业”观念的转变	(235)
三 效率与公平的分配观念的变迁	(239)
第二节 体制转型中意识形态调整的特征	(243)
一 官方意识形态与传统文化价值观念并行	(244)
二 意识形态与其他制度安排及制度环境的双向适应性	(248)
三 稳定性与灵活性统一	(252)
四 渗透着实践理性的实用主义特征	(253)
第三节 体制转型中意识形态调整的层级性与区域性差异	(255)
一 意识形态调整的层级性差异	(255)
二 意识形态调整中的区域性差异	(259)
第四节 意识形态与观念调整中的“非适应性”问题	(262)
一 意识形态调整滞后	(262)
二 传统文化价值观念与市场经济不协调	(267)
第八章 中国体制转型中的适应性调整趋向	(269)
第一节 企业产权制度的适应性调整趋向	(269)
一 继续深入推进产权制度改革	(269)
二 完善企业内部治理机制	(271)
三 健全外部竞争机制，培育充分竞争的产品市场与要素市场	(272)
四 合理确定国有企业的社会目标与市场目标，以实现其公平绩效与经济绩效的均衡发展	(274)
五 健全与完善其他相关政治、经济与法律制度的配套改革	(274)
第二节 政府行为的适应性调整趋向	(275)
一 正确处理中央政府、地方政府、企业之间的关系	(276)
二 政府行为目标由“经济建设型”向“公共服务型”转变	(280)
三 完善地方政府权力制衡机制	(285)
第三节 意识形态的适应性调整趋向	(286)
一 继续发展与完善主流意识形态	(287)

二 构建与社会主义市场经济体制相适应的文化基础和 价值观念体系	(292)
第九章 结论	(295)
参考文献	(302)
后 记	(316)

第一章 导 论

第一节 问题的提出及研究意义

一 问题的提出

关注体制转型问题一直是学界的焦点。转型主要是指苏联、东欧以及中国等国家在 20 世纪后期所进行的从高度中央集权的计划经济体制向分散决策的市场经济体制的转变过程。转型涉及大规模的制度变迁，被认为是 20 世纪最重要的经济事件之一，波及 30 多个国家和 15 亿人口，也是 20 世纪中继社会主义（计划经济）试验之后的另一项伟大试验。经过将近 20 年的转型过程，俄罗斯、东欧与中国在转型过程中出现的一系列原有经济理论无法解释的现象，使得经济学家们展开激烈辩论，究竟如何认识转型国家的转型目标、路径与方式以及如何评价转型国家各不相同的转型绩效，成为争论的焦点。西方学者分别从新古典自由主义、保守主义、新凯恩斯主义视角分析转型问题并得出不同结论。以萨克斯等人为代表的新古典自由主义主张激进式改革，提出包括自由化、稳定化、私有化为主要内容的“华盛顿共识”并开出了“休克疗法”的药方，试图使转型国家一劳永逸地从根本上解决计划经济体制下的弊端，但是苏联和东欧国家按图索骥的转型实践所导致的几近毁灭性的打击使得激进式改革遭到普遍质疑和批判。与此同时，中国“摸着石头过河”的渐进式改革在改革初期取得的重大成效引起国内外理论界高度重视，基于中国实践以及原有理论基础，形成了以哈耶克、斯蒂格利茨、科勒德克、热若尔·罗兰等人为代表的制度一演进学派，他们虽然分属不同的经济理论流派并在转型问题上的分析各有侧重，但又存在着共识，即认为体制转型是一个大规模的制度变迁过程，由于转型势必涉及利益调整，因此转型的过程必然是一个充

满冲突和相互妥协的过程，因此是一个渐进而非激进的过程。热若尔·罗兰对此进行综合，强调“改革的总和不确定性”和“政治约束”作用，“在总和的和个别层面上，结果的不确定性都是转型的关键特征。即使转型有一个明确的目标，也没有公认的理论说明如何达到这个目标”。“由于总体不确定性的存在，转型从来就没有路线图。”^①

中国学者对转型问题的分析借助了新制度主义和演化制度主义分析工具，更主要是前者，但是在具体分析中国转型过程中采取了独特的视角并加入了中国实践的元素，对原理论进行补充和创新，比如我们在新制度主义成本收益分析框架中加入了利益因素，认为改革本身是一个利益关系的调整过程，其中讨价还价、相互冲突和妥协贯穿始终，利益冲突本身构成了改革成本。在目标既定和收益既定的前提下，改革就是一个探寻成本最小化的过程，也就是将冲突控制在最小范围内，显然只有通过渐进式改革才能做到，这样学者们就将公共选择理论融入到新制度主义研究范式之中。在具体分析制度变迁方式中，林毅夫、杨瑞龙、黄少安、金祥荣等人基于中国实践提出了创新理论，是对新制度主义的一种扩展和补充。

不同国家转型绩效的阶段性变化不能不引起我们的关注，苏联、东欧国家在经历了转型初期的混乱倒退后，在 20 世纪 90 年代后期纷纷复苏，并于 21 世纪开始展现出强势发展的势头。中国 20 多年来虽然一直保持经济高速增长势头，但是转型出现的问题和困境也越发明显，如经济增长方式的粗放型与不可持续性；放权改革后的重复建设、地区分割、保护主义等问题；制度变革中对非公有制经济的歧视性政策；国企改革中国有资产流失与垄断行业高额垄断利润问题；城乡之间、地区之间、阶层之间、行业之间收入差距不断扩大等等问题，不一而足。我们不禁要分析产生这些问题的根源是什么呢？仅仅从单一的制度领域分析无法透视体制转型的全部，制度是对观念的反映并通过约束主体行为而产生，制度的绩效受制于两方面因素：一是制度目标或制度的绩效标准，它受制于主流意识形态和内外环境约束；二是制度对行为的约束效果，在这个过程中，行为主体通过观念与行为作用于制度，使得制度对行为的约束更有效或无效。制度目

^① [比]热若尔·罗兰：《转型与经济学》，北京：北京大学出版社 2002 年版，第 25—27 页。