

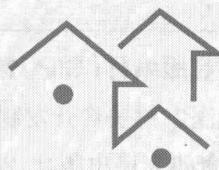
扶贫创新

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# 我国农村扶贫开发制度 创新研究

程联涛 / 著

*A Study on Institutional Innovation of China's Rural  
Poverty Alleviation and Development*



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## 摘 要

伟大的国家有伟大的梦想，伟大的时代有伟大的梦想。扶贫开发是实现中华民族伟大复兴中国梦的重要举措。改革开放以来，我国在扶贫开发方面做了一系列的制度创新，有效地缓解了农村贫困，推动了绝大多数农村人口温饱问题的解决。然而，随着时代的发展与变迁，我国的农村贫困特征与背景都发生了很大变化，已经从由区域发展滞后导致的普遍性、绝对性贫困过渡到以收入不平等为主要特点的相对性贫困，扶贫开发也从以解决温饱问题为主要任务的阶段转入巩固温饱成果、加快脱贫致富、改善生态环境、提高发展能力、缩小发展差距、实现共同富裕的新阶段。在这个新阶段中，扶贫开发体制机制已经出现了某些不适应的状况，甚至是障碍。为此，新时期扶贫开发必须加强制度创新，以制度创新破除体制机制障碍。新形势下认真总结我国农村扶贫开发制度的成功经验、深入研究农村扶贫开发的现实问题与脱贫致富的制约因素、进一步推进扶贫开发制度创新，不仅对丰富发展中国特色扶贫开发理论具有重要学术价值，而且对于我国的扶贫开发政策的制定和实施、基本消除农村贫困现象、促进社会和谐与实现全面小康奋斗目标具有十分重要的实践价值。

本书综合运用马克思主义经济学、区域经济学、制度经济学等多学科的理论和方法，既重视分析扶贫开发的现实问题，又重视扶贫开发的理论研究，运用定性等分析方法，以扶贫开发制度内涵与制度变迁为研究的逻辑起点，围绕着“如何创新我国农村扶贫开发制度”的主线展开，针对农村扶贫开发的新特征，通过分析现有扶贫开发的制度缺陷，重点对扶贫开发的若干经济制度进行讨论，并提出新时期扶贫开发制度创新的建议。

本书按照“总一分”的结构谋篇布局，总论阐述了扶贫开发制度创新的基

本原理及重点领域，包含第一、二、三章；分论从新时期扶贫开发的若干特征展开研究，从集中连片特困地区区域经济发展、产业扶贫、金融扶贫、生产生活条件改善、农村体制改革、非正式制度以及工作机制等方面，系统地研究了新时期扶贫开发制度创新的重点内容，包含第四、五、六、七、八、九章；第十章是尾语，对全文主要观点与对策建议进行归纳总结。本书主要内容和研究结论如下。

**第一，对我国农村扶贫开发制度创新理论背景进行了深入研究，构建起本书的理论研究框架。**对贫困、扶贫开发、扶贫制度、扶贫开发制度要素及制度、机制、体制和制度体系、扶贫开发制度及创新等概念进行了界定，然后对经济理论研究文献中的制度与贫困问题的相关文献进行了梳理和述评，接着对农村扶贫开发制度创新的相关支撑理论进行了概述，明确了本书的研究空间。

**第二，深入分析了扶贫开发制度创新的机理，为研究制度创新提供总体思路和分析框架。**对我国扶贫开发历程及其制度变迁进行了回顾，着重对扶贫开发制度要素、制度体系、作用机制以及制度创新的一般路径等内容进行了研究，提出了扶贫开发制度创新的总体思路。本书认为，扶贫开发制度创新的目标是解决深度贫困问题，制度创新应该把区域经济发展与集中连片地区开发统筹考虑，把产业扶贫、金融扶贫与促进贫困人口增收联结起来，把公共服务均等化与贫困人口生产生活条件改善综合起来，把农村体制改革与扶贫开发制度设计协调起来，并充分重视非正式制度和工作机制的优化和完善。扶贫开发制度创新不仅要推动贫困地区区域经济发展，而且还要使贫困人口从中获得切实的利益，更要通过产业扶贫、金融扶贫等制度创新以增强贫困地区的自我“造血”功能和可持续发展功能。

**第三，根据新时期扶贫开发的新特征，提出扶贫开发制度创新的重点领域。**本书认为，制度创新的根本动力在于创新带来的预期收益大于创新所需的预期成本，扶贫开发制度创新具有连续性、继承性、阶段性等特征，其创新的过程并非对既有制度的全盘否定，而是根据扶贫开发新形势、新特征摒弃已经不适用的旧制度，或调整优化存在缺陷的制度，或设计与创新一些新制度。新时期扶贫开发的制度创新应该充分认识贫困地区的深刻变化和扶贫开发的新任

务，以集中连片特困地区扶贫开发制度创新、产业扶贫机制创新、金融扶贫机制创新、改善生产生活条件的制度创新、扶贫开发制度与农村体制改革协同创新、扶贫开发非正式制度与管理制度创新等为重点内容。

**第四，基于区域经济发展视角，提出集中连片特困地区的扶贫开发制度创新思路。**首先从扶贫开发制度与扶贫开发总体要求存在差距、扶贫开发制度不能满足区域发展要求和新阶段扶贫开发制度面临挑战3方面分析总结我国区域扶贫开发制度的主要问题，然后从集中连片特困地区的空间范围及主要特征入手，分析了集中连片特困地区扶贫开发的制度障碍，提出集中连片特困地区的扶贫开发制度创新，再从扶贫开发工作重点县的区域特征来分析，总结我国扶贫重点县扶贫开发制度创新的典型模式，最后提出集中连片特困地区扶贫开发制度创新的实施路径。

**第五，从产业扶贫机制创新的视角，探讨了贫困地区产业发展和制度支撑。**本书分析了贫困地区产业扶贫与产业发展现状，发现贫困地区存在产业结构层次低、商品化程度低、市场发育不足等问题。贫困地区拥有丰富的特色资源和生态财富，又是旅游资源的富集区，但由于基础设施建设落后、资本与技术匮乏、劳动力素质较低等多重原因，产业扶贫效益难以发挥。本书认为，贫困地区之所以长期发展滞后，关键原因是没有形成地区优势产业或支柱产业。为此，加快贫困地区产业扶贫机制创新，对推进产业发展既紧迫又重要。本书指出，新形势下产业扶贫机制创新要结合国家支持贫困地区产业发展的政策，充分利用贫困地区的特色资源，立足于比较优势实施差异化发展战略，以特色资源生产特色产品，以特色产品培育特色产业，并把特色产业发展成为地区优势产业，增强贫困地区“造血”功能。产业扶贫机制创新的落脚点应该是以产业发展促进贫困人口增收，探索产业发展与贫困人口增收的利益联结机制，建立政府、银行、龙头企业、专业合作社、基地、农户等不同主体利益联结的组织形式，完善合同制、合作制、股份制以及混合制等不同的利益联结形式，提升贫困人口增收的能力。

**第六，从农村金融市场论与不完全竞争理论的视角，探讨了金融扶贫的基本内涵与特征，分析了金融扶贫机制现状及问题，提出了金融扶贫机制创新**

我国农村扶贫开发制度创新研究

**的对策建议。**本书认为，金融扶贫在反贫困事业中做出了巨大贡献，取得了显著的成效，但受限于商业性金融“嫌贫爱富”的特点，农村贫困地区并不可能在市场机制的作用下成为商业性金融的“宠儿”。实践也证明，越是贫困的地区，就越是金融的盲区。新形势下广大贫困地区依然面临着金融组织体系不完善、金融扶贫工具发展滞后、金融减贫效果不佳、金融生态环境仍然较差等问题以及贫困农户对金融服务的需求日益增强与金融服务还远未能满足实际需要的尖锐矛盾。为此，新时期金融扶贫机制创新应遵循金融发展的一般规律，适当加以政策引导与规范，将金融扶贫作为扶贫战略的一个重要组成部分和深入推进开发式扶贫方针的重要手段，完善贫困地区金融组织体系，创新金融扶贫产品与服务形式，推进精准化金融扶贫，改善金融生态环境，为农村扶贫开发提供强有力的金融支撑。

**第七，深入分析了贫困地区生产生活基础设施建设情况，提出了改善生产生活条件的制度创新建议。**本书认为，新形势下扶贫开发制度创新应更加注重扶贫开发对象的精准性，逐渐由区域瞄准向人口瞄准转变，由以面为主、点面结合转向以点为主、点面结合，把改善生产生活条件的制度创新作为推进精准化扶贫的重要举措。贫困地区生产生活条件是贫困人口生活水平的直观反映，其中水、电、住房等基础设施是贫困人口基本生活的保障，水利、交通等基础设施是贫困地区农业生产和经济发展的前提，贫困地区之所以贫困，很大程度上是因为生产生活所需的基础设施十分落后。本书认为，既要加强农村交通基础设施建设、农田水利建设、农村电力管理体制，改善贫困地区生产条件，又要致力于解决贫困人口安全住房问题、完善医疗卫生服务体系、创新公共文化服务供给体制，改善贫困人口生活条件。

**第八，通过同期对比分析，提出扶贫开发制度与农村体制改革协同创新建议。**本书指出，扶贫开发制度建设与农村体制改革作为农村地区的两大动力引擎，二者之间是一种互补关系，双方协同推进关系到农村发展的速度和均衡。本书在对我国农村体制改革与扶贫开发制度变迁同期比较的基础上，以贵州湄潭县为例，分析农村体制改革与扶贫开发的关系，寻找扶贫开发与农村体制改革的协同点，从让贫困地区在农村改革实验中获利、以发展我国经济微观基础

为主要任务、重视贫困地区与邻近地区的整体性联系性和培育农村要素市场等4个方面，推进扶贫开发制度与农村体制改革协同创新。

最后，本书对非正式制度创新与工作机制创新两部分内容展开了讨论，以保持扶贫开发制度创新的完整性。第一部分，本书阐述了非正式制度创新的特殊地位，认为非正式制度对农村扶贫开发行为有着非常重要的影响，当它与正式制度相互兼容时，可以有效地推进正式制度的执行，但在加快推进农村扶贫开发的特殊背景下，造成了正式制度与非正式制度不相容或不一致的客观现实，这直接影响着扶贫开发的实效性。本书认为，应该加大非正式制度创新，促进非正式制度与正式制度相兼容，并提出了非正式制度创新的核心内容与主要途径。第二部分，本书以精准扶贫机制、贫困县考核机制、专项扶贫资金管理机制、干部驻村帮扶机制、扶贫开发制度创新绩效评估机制等为重点，探讨了扶贫开发工作机制的创新。本书认为，工作机制效率的高低在一定程度上反映着该制度设计是否合理，虽然扶贫开发工作机制在不断丰富和完善，但在新的历史起点上，必须以新的任务要求和理念来设计扶贫开发的工作机制。

**关键词：**扶贫开发；制度创新；制度体系；产业扶贫；精准扶贫

# A Study on Institutional Innovation of China's Rural Poverty Alleviation and Development

**Major:** Political Economics

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**Supervisor:** Prof. Deng Ling

Abstract: There is great dream in great country ,so as in great time. Poverty alleviation and development is a maior initiative to acheieve the Chinese Dream. In order to alleviate the particularly serious rural poverty, China has carried on a series of system reforms and institutional innovations since the reform and opening up, which has greatly solved the problem of food and clothing for the majority of the rural population. However, with the development of the times, great changes have taken place in the features and the background in the poverty regions of China, which have been transferred from widespread, absolute poverty caused by lagging regional development to relative poverty mainly featured by income inequality, and poverty alleviation and development has also turned from the stage with solving the problem of food and clothing as main task into the new stage of consolidating the results gained, accelerating poverty alleviation, speeding up poverty alleviation in poor areas, improving ecological environment, improving the ability of development, narrowing the development gap and achieving the common prosperity. In this new stage, there has been certain in - adaptability or even obstacles in the existing systems and mecha-

nisms of poverty alleviation and development. Therefore, institutional innovation should be strengthened in poverty alleviation and development in the new stage, so as to remove institutional obstacles. Under the new situation, carefully summarizing successful experiences in China's rural poverty alleviation and development systems, deeply studying realistic questions of rural poverty alleviation and development and restricting factors of poverty relieving and better off and further promoting institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development will not only have important academic value for enriching and improving poverty alleviation and development theory with Chinese features, but also have important theoretical and practical significance for the formulation and implementation of China's poverty alleviation and development policies, basically eliminating the rural poverty, promoting social harmony and building a comprehensive well-off society.

With the theory of Marxist economics as a guide, by comprehensively using Marxist economics, regional economics, institutional economics and various theories and methods, this dissertation attaches importance to the analysis of practical problems in poverty alleviation and development and also pays attention to theoretical researches. Through combining qualitative analysis with quantitative researches and institutional analysis with economic performance, taking the institutional connotation and change of poverty alleviation and development as the logical starting point for the research, it unfolds the research around the theme of "how to innovate China's rural poverty alleviation and development system", and it focuses on the discussion of several economic systems on poverty alleviation and development and puts forward suggestions for institutional innovation of poverty alleviation and development in the new period, based on its new features and through the analysis of system deficiencies of poverty alleviation and development.

The dissertation gives an analysis of the components from two aspects: pandect and sub-pandect. The pandect expounds the basic principles and key fields of institutional innovation of poverty alleviation and development, including Chapters I, II,

III. The sub-pandect launches the research from several features of poverty alleviation and development in the new period, and systematically studied key contents of institutional innovation of poverty alleviation and development in the new period from the aspects of the concentrated continuous regional economic development, reducing poverty through industrial development, financial aid, improving production and living conditions, countryside system reform, informal institutions and working mechanisms in destitute areas, including Chapters IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX; Chapter X is the part of conclusion, it summarizes the main ideas and countermeasures and suggestions proposed in this dissertation. Below are the main contents and research conclusions.

Firstly, make a deep study on the theoretical background of institutional innovation of China's rural poverty alleviation and development to build a theoretical research framework for this dissertation. It defines the concepts of poverty, poverty alleviation and development, system of poverty alleviation, institutional elements and system of poverty alleviation and development, poverty alleviation and development system and innovation, and it sorts and reviews the poverty problems in related literature on economic theoretical researches, and then it summarizes the relevant supporting theories on institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development and clears the paper's research space.

Secondly, deeply analyze the mechanism of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development, providing the general thought and analytical framework for its research. It reviews the history of China's poverty alleviation and development and its institutional change, focuses on the study of institutional elements, system and mechanism of action of poverty alleviation and development as well as general path of institutional innovation, and puts forward the general thought of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development. It argues that the goal of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development is to solve the problem of deep poverty, and institutional innovation should consider

regional economic development and concentrated continuous regional development as a whole, join industrial development, financial aid and increasing income of poor population together, gather up equalization of public service and the improvement of production and living conditions of poor population, coordinate countryside system reform and the design of poverty alleviation and development system, as well as pay fully attention to the optimization and improvement of informal institutions and working mechanisms. To realize institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development, we should not only need to promote the regional economic development in poverty-stricken areas, but also to enable poor population to get tangible benefit from it, more importantly, we should enhance poverty-stricken areas' self-invention ability and sustainable development capacity by reducing poverty through industrial development, financial aid and other institutional innovations.

Thirdly, according to the new features of poverty alleviation and development in the new period, put forward the key fields of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development. It holds that, the fundamental driving force of institutional innovation is that expected earning the innovation brings is greater than the expected cost it needs, institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development has the features of continuity, inheritance, periodicity and so forth, its innovation process is not to totally repudiate the existing systems but to discard old systems not applicable to new features of poverty alleviation and development in the new period, or adjust and optimize defective systems or design and arrange some new systems. To realize the institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development, we should fully understand the profound changes in poverty-stricken areas and new tasks of poverty alleviation and development, and we should focus on contents of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development in concentrated destitute areas, reducing poverty through industrial development, financial aid and other mechanism innovations, institutional innovations of improving production and living conditions, collaborative innovation of poverty alleviation

and development system and countryside system reform, informal institution and administrative system innovation.

Fourthly, from the perspective of regional economic development, propose the idea of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development in concentrated destitute areas. First of all, from three aspects that there is a gap in poverty alleviation and development system and general requirements of poverty alleviation and development, poverty alleviation and development system cannot meet the requirements of regional development and it faces challenges in the new period, it analyzes and summarizes the main problems in China's regional poverty alleviation and development system. Then starting with the special scale and main features of concentrated destitute areas, it analyzes its institutional obstacles and puts forward its institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development. In addition, based on the regional features of key counties of poverty alleviation and development, it studies the typical modes of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development in key counties, and finally it proposes the general thought of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development in concentrated destitute areas.

Fifthly, from the angle of mechanism innovation of reducing poverty through industrial development, it explores industrial development and institutions underpinning in poverty-stricken areas. This dissertation analyzes the current situation of reducing poverty through industrial development and industrial development in poverty-stricken areas, and finds problems including low level of industrial structure, low degree of commercialization and lack of market growth in poverty-stricken areas. Poverty-stricken areas have the features of rich featured resources and ecological wealth and are also enriched zones of tourism resources, but because of the backward infrastructure construction, lack of capital and technology, relatively low quality of the labor force and other multiple reasons, it is difficult for industrial development to yield the economic profit in reducing poverty. The

dissertation views that the failure of the formation of regional superior industries or pillar industries is the critical cause of the long-term economic lagging, thus promoting industrial development and the mechanism innovation of reducing poverty through industrial development in poverty-stricken areas is urgent and important. It points out that, under the new situation, the mechanism innovation of reducing poverty through industrial development should combine the national policies that support industrial development in poverty-stricken areas, make full use of their featured resources, and develop the specialty industries into the regional superior industries based on the implementation of differentiation strategies of comparative advantages, the use of featured resources to produce featured products and then to cultivate specialty industries, so as to strengthen their self-invention ability. The mechanism innovation of reducing poverty through industrial development should rely on promoting the income of poor population with industrial development and exploring the mechanism of binding interests from industrial development and increasing income, building the organizational form of interests binding among different main bodies like the governments, banks, leading enterprises, professional cooperatives, bases and farmers and so forth, perfecting interests binding forms, such as the contract system, cooperative system, joint-stock system and mixing system and so on, as well as improving the poor population's ability to increase income.

Sixthly, from the perspective of rural financial systems paradigm and imperfect market paradigm, discuss the basic connotation and features of financial aid, analyze the current situation of financial aid and its problems, and put forward countermeasure and suggestion of mechanism innovation of financial aid. The dissertation argues that financial aid has made an enormous contribution to fight against poverty and achieved remarkable results, but limited by the features of "looking down upon the poor and flattering the rich" of commercial finance, under the action of market mechanism, poor rural areas have become the "cosset" of

commercial finance. Practice has also proved that the poorer the area is, the more that becomes the dead zone of the finance. Under the new situation, the majority of poor areas are still facing various problems, such as, the imperfect financial organizing system, lagging development of financial aid tools, poor effect of poverty reduction through financial aid, relatively poor financial ecological environment and so forth, the contradiction of rural poor households' increasingly dominant demand of financial service and financial service falls far below the actual demand is intensifying. Therefore, the mechanism innovation of financial aid, in the new period, should follow the general rules of financial development, add proper policy guidance and norms, treat financial aid as an important part of the poverty reduction strategies and further develop the important means of development-oriented poverty reduction policy, improve the organization system in poverty-stricken areas, innovate financial products and services for poverty alleviation, promote precision financial aid and improve the financial ecological environment, providing powerful financial support to solve the poorest countryside, groups and the most urgent problems.

Seventhly, deeply analyze the situation of production and living infrastructure construction in poverty-stricken areas and put forward the suggestion of improving production and living conditions through institutional innovation. The dissertation believes that, under the new situation, institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development should pay more attention to the accuracy of objects of poverty alleviation and development, which should gradually turn its target from region to the population, change its method from plane-oriented to point-oriented, that is, link work at selected spots with that in entire areas, and take the institutional innovation of improving production and living conditions as an important measure of promoting precise poverty alleviation. The production and living conditions directly reflect the living conditions of the poor population, among which water, electricity, housing and other infrastructure are their basic living security, water conservancy, transport and other infrastructure are the prerequisite for agricultural production and

economic development in poverty-stricken areas, poverty is largely caused by the extremely backward production and living infrastructure. The dissertation proposes that we should strengthen the construction of rural transport infrastructure, water conservancy and rural electric management system, improve production conditions in poor areas, and we should also devote ourselves to solve the problems of security housing, improve health service system, innovate public cultural service and supply system, as well as improve the living conditions of the poor population.

Eighthly, through the year-over-year contrastive analysis, it puts forward the suggestion of collaborative innovation of poverty alleviation and development system and countryside system reform. This dissertation points out that the construction of poverty alleviation and development system and countryside system reform, as two powered engines in rural areas, are complementary, their joint promotion concerns the speed equilibrium of rural development. Based on year-over-year comparison of China's countryside system reform and institutional change of poverty alleviation and development, taking Meitan, the county of Guizhou Province as an example, it analyzes the relationship between countryside system reform and poverty alleviation and development, looks for their coordination points, it has made a profit from the experiment of rural reform in poverty-stricken areas, and attached importance to integrity and connectivity between poverty-stricken areas and adjacent regions, and cultivated the rural factor market with China's economic development and micro-foundation development as the primary mission, to promote the collaborative innovation of poverty alleviation and development system and countryside system reform.

Finally, the dissertation carries out the analysis from two parts including informal institution innovation and working mechanism innovation, in order to maintain the integrity of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development. In the first part, the dissertation expounds the special status of informal institution innovation and believes that it has a very important influence on rural

poverty alleviation and development, when it is mutually compatible with formal institutions, it can effectively promote the implementation of formal institutions, but in the special background of speeding up the rural poverty alleviation and development, it has led to the objective reality that formal institutions and informal institutions are incompatible and inconsistent, which has directly affected the effectiveness of poverty alleviation and development. The dissertation holds that it should strengthen the informal system innovation, promote the mutual compatibility between them, and put forward core contents and principal pathways of informal institution innovation, In the second part, focusing on precise mechanism for poverty alleviation, poverty county assessment mechanism, special aid-the-poor funds management mechanism, the mechanism of cadre residency support and mechanism of performance evaluation of institutional innovation of rural poverty alleviation and development, it explores the innovation of working mechanism of poverty alleviation and development. To some extent, the dissertation believes that the efficiency of working mechanism reflects whether it is reasonably designed, although the working mechanism of poverty alleviation and development has been enriching and improving, in the new historical starting point, it should be designed based on new task demands and concepts.

**Key words:** Poverty Alleviation and Development; Institutional Innovation; Institutional System; Reduce Poverty through Industrial Development; Precise Poverty Alleviation