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住宅制度改革中国城镇



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中国城镇住宅制度改革

中国社会科学院财贸经济研究所美国纽约公共管理研究所

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前言

1992年,中国社会科学院财贸经济研究所和美国纽约公共管理研究所(Institute of Public Administration,IPA)在中国国家社会科学基金和美国福特基金会的资助下,合作完成了《中国城市土地使用与管理》课题的研究。在进行这项研究的过程中,合作双方一致感觉到:中国城市土地使用制度的改革,将极大地推动中国城市住宅制度的改革;而对城市土地使用制度的研究,显然为研究住宅制度的改革奠定了良好的基础。因此,合作双方共同希望:在土地课题结束之后,能有机会进一步共同研究中国城市住宅制度改革问题。在土地课题的最终成果论证会上,专家们又就进一步合作问题进行了探讨,并取得了一致意见。此后,经过双方工作人员的磋商,并再次得到中国国家社会科学基金和美国福特基金会的支持,遂有了《中国城镇住宅制度改革》的课题,并产生了这份同名研究报告集。

课题组聘请了著名经济学家、全国人大常委、中国社会科学院特别顾问、国务院住房改革领导小组成员刘国光研究员任顾问。课题的领导小组由中国社会科学院经济研究所所长张卓元研究员、美国公共管理研究所主席大卫·马门(David Mammen)先生、中国社会科学院财贸经济研究所副所长李扬研究员、中国社会科学院财贸经济研究所副研究员组成。课题组的中方成员有:中国社会科学院经济研究所副研究员组成。课题组的中方成员有:中国社会科学院经济研究所副研究员注利娜、财贸经济研究所副研究员张敬东、城市研究中心副研究员廖康玉、财贸经济研究所副研究员陈晓伟、财贸经济研究所副研究员张京。

本课题从 1993 年正式启动, 1995 年完成, 历时 3 年。其间, 课题组成员曾先后赴上海、江苏、北京、广东、四川等地进行了

实地调查;同时,也对美国、英国、新加坡、香港等国家和地区进行了访问研究。这些调查和访问,产生了一系列具有独立价值的调研和考察报告,并对形成课题组的最终观点奠定了基础。根据研究计划,课题组从1994年下半年着手准备撰写总报告。总报告的写作小组由张卓元、李扬、张敬东、汪利娜组成。李扬执笔。张敬东、汪利娜、廖康玉为初稿的写作提供了部分文稿和背景材料。汪利娜承担了文稿的英文翻译工作。陈晓伟负责全书中文稿的编辑工作。

经过中外专家的努力, 总报告于 1995 年上半年完成初稿。此 后,课题组利用各种形式征求了中外专家的意见;专家们都负责 任地就总报告提交了书面修改意见。这些专家有,美国纽约公共 管理研究所卡尔森 (Eric Carlson) 先生、美国纽约城市经济区域 规划研究会高级经济学家阿姆斯特朗 (Regina Armstrong)、印度 新德里国家公共财政政策研究所马瑟(Om Mathur)博士、美国 建筑师协会顾问克特尼 (John Courtney) 先生、加拿大温哥华不 列颠哥伦比亚大学人类居住问题研究中心主任拉克培恩(Aprodicio A. Laquian) 博士、日本东京经济大学柴田德卫 (Tokue Shbata)教授、美国夏威夷大学城市地区规划系主任道格拉斯 (Mike Douglass) 博士、中央党校副校长苏星教授、中国社会科学 院副院长王洛林研究员、中国人民银行政策研究室副主任谢平博 士、建设部房地产司宋春华司长、国家土地管理局土地规划院黄 小虎院长、国务院研究室李晓西博士、中国社会科学院财贸经济 研究所所长杨圣明研究员、中国社会科学院城市研究中心杨重光 研究员。中外专家提供的有价值的意见,指导了本报告的修改工 作。

中国城镇住宅制度改革已经进行了十余年。在此期间,局部的、甚至是全局性的变化一直在发生;国家主管部门也在不断颁布新的政策和法规。对一个经常变化的事物进行历时3年的研究,面临着一些实际的困难。因为,研究者总希望自己的成果在发表

时能切中时弊并引起反响。但是,研究对象的迅速变化,不仅使得收集和更新资料成为一项令人头痛的工作,而且可能使得某些基于"那时"的状况所做的分析和政策建议,在"此时"已经失去了现实的针对性。我们在将这份文集整理付印的时候,就不免有一些这类遗憾。好在,由于课题起初设定的目标就是研究中国城镇住宅制度改革中那些具有全局性和长远性的问题;针对这些问题发表的议论,大部分在今天看来仍然有一定的现实意义。当然,本报告的观点只是一得之见,它们究竟在多大程度上反映了中国改革的现实,并能对这一伟大的改革产生积极的影响,还有待实践予以检验。我们真诚地等待着大家的批评。

一九九六年三月 北京

PREFACE

In 1992, the Institute of Finance and Trade of Economics (IFTE) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and the Institute of Public Administration (IPA) in the United States of America had fulfilled the joint research study on China's Urban Land Use and Management, with the assistance of the Chinese Social Sciences Foundation and the American Ford Foundations. In the process of the collaborative project, both the Chinese and American scholars had acknowledged that the reform on China's urban land use would stimulate the reform of China's urban housing system. And the study on the land use had laid good foundation for the research on the housing system. It was a common aspiration of the both sides for more opportunities of collaborate study on China's urban housing. Discussions on the further cooperation were made among the experts and scholars after the international appraisal conference of the project, and a final agreement had been reached to set up a new joint research project on China's Urban Housing Reform, which was much honored again to win the strong assistance of the Chinese Social Sciences Foundation and the American Ford Foundations. As a result, the collection of research papers is presented here as the fruit of this joint research project.

The special consultant of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Chinese Academy of Social Sci-

ences Professor Liu Guoguang, a well—known economist and a member of the Housing Reform Leadership Group under the State Council was invited as the senior advisor. The project was carried out under the direct leadership of Professor Zhang Zhuoyuan, Director of the Institute of Economics, CASS and President David Mammen, IPA, together with Professor Li Yang, Deputy Director of IFTE and Associate Professor Shi Xiaokang. The main participants on the Chinese side were, Associate Professor Wang Lina, Institute of Economics, Associate Professor Zhang Jingdong, IFTE; Associate Professor Liao Kangyu, Urban Research Center; Associate Professor Chen Xiaowei and Zhang Jing, IFTE.

In the past three years of the collaborate study (from the beginning of 1993 to the end of 1995), great efforts had been made by the team members on case studies and field survey in many Chinese cities, such as Shanghai, Jiangshu, Beijing, Guangdong and Sichuan. Meanwhile, comparative studies had been conducted on the UK, Singapore and Hong Kong models. All these had contributed a lot to a number of special working reports with unique analysis and opinions, which were great input to this final report.

As it was planned in the schedule, the research team started to work on the final report in the second half of 1994. The writing group consisted of Zhang Zhuoyuan, Li Yang, Zhang Jingdong and Wang Lina. And Mr. Li Yang was the chief writer for the final report with the background materials and part of report draft prepared by Zhang Jingdong, Wang Lina and Liao Kangyu. Ms Wang Lina fulfilled the translation of the final report from Chinese to English and Ms Chen Xiaowei completed editing of

the Chinese version.

With the joint efforts of the Chinese and American experts and scholars, the primary draft of the final report was accomplished in the second half of 1995. Comments and opinions were collected in various forms. We would like to take this opportunity to express out sincere thanks to the following experts who gave us valuable and constructive comments. They are: Senior Fellow - Economics Regina Armstrong, Regional Plan Association, New York; HDFC Professor Om Mathur, Ph. D. Housing and Urban Economics, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi, India; Independent Consultant John Courtney, AIA, AICP, Washington, D. C; Director Aprodicio Laquian, Ph. D. Center for Human Settlements, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada; Professor Tokue Shibata, Ph. D., Keizai University, Tokyo, Japan; Professor and Chair Michael Douglass, Ph. D. Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Hawaii at Manoa; Vice President and professor Wang Luolin, CASS; Vice President and professor Su Xing, University of the Chinese Communist Party, Deputy Director Xie Ping, Ph. D. the Department of Policy Research, the People's Bank of China; Director Shong Chunhua, Real Estate Development Bureau, Ministry of Construction; President Huang Xiaohu, the State Administration of Land Use; Deputy Director Li Xiaoxi, Ph. D., the Research Division under the State Council; Professor Yang Shengming, Director of IFTE and Professor Yang Chongguang, Urban Research Center, CASS.

It is over ten years since the start of China's urban housing reform. During this period, partial and overall changes have taken place with the enforcement of the government new policies and new regulations on the housing reform. The frequent change of the situation has brought some difficulties for this three—year long research project, since all the researchers hope their recommendations and achievements would contribute directly to the solution of the existing problems. In fact, the rapid change of the objective situation not only brought difficulties for the collection of data and materials, but also made some of our analysis and policy recommendations lose immediate significance in dealing with the newly—raised problems. That is probably a little pity in our preparation for the publication of this book. Fortunately, the objective of our research project was set on the long—term strategic issues, which made most of our research recommendations still practical and of realistic importance even today.

Finally, all the opinions presented here are our one—sided view. Whether they fit in with the reality of the housing reform in China or any active impact they could produce are still issues to be tested in future. We sincerely wish our readers could present your views, comments and criticisms on the book.

March 1996 in Beijing.

目 录

(CONTENT)

总 报 告

中国城镇住宅制	度改革	(3)		
提要和结论	<u> </u>	(3)		
序言••••••		(10)		
第一章 改	(革的进展和存在的问题	(11)		
	战镇住宅产权制度改革			
第三章 建	建立独立的住宅营运机构	(31)		
第四章 建	建立有效的住宅融资体系	(40)		
第五章 住	E宅价格与居民承受能力	(54)		
附录	北京市房地产综合开发价格构成因素	(65)		
	Final Report			
China's Urban Housing Reform				
Abstract and Conclusion				
Foreword	***************************************	(78)		
Chapter 1	Progress and Problems in the			
Housing	Reform	(80)		
Chapter 2 Chapter 3	Reform	(93)		
Chapter 2 Chapter 3	Reform On the Property Rights	(93)		
Chapter 2 Chapter 3 Institution	Reform Reform on the Property Rights Independent Housing Delivery ons An Efficient Housing Finance	(110)		
Chapter 2 Chapter 3 Institution	Reform	(110)		

Chapter 5 Housing Price and Affordability							
of Households (141)						
Appendix: The Composition of Total Costs of							
Real Estate Development in Beijing (155)						
分报告							
(Subreport)							
•							
中国住宅金融的抉择:从计划拨款转向市场融资							
(Transition of China's Housing Finance)							
······················· 汪利娜(Wang Lina)(161)						
上海市住宅公积金制度 (Shanghai Housing Provident Funds	s)						
张敬东 李 扬 (Zhang Jingdong & Li Yang) ((173)						
论住宅抵押贷款在我国城市的可行性 (On the Feasibility							
of Housing Mortgages in Urban China)							
······· 汪利娜(Wang Lina)((187)						
从居民的住房承受能力出发调整现行住房制度改革方案							
(Improving the Housing Reform Scheme based on the							
Affordability of Residents)							
·····································	(197)						
住房投资体制改革与中国城镇住房发展(The Reform of							
Housing Investment System & Housing Development							
in China) ············ 廖康玉(Liao Kangyu)((202)						
简评世界银行支持中国城市住宅体制改革的新举措							
(Appraisal on the Housing Reform Trials Assisted							
by the World Bank) ·········· 汪利娜 (Wang Lina) ((226)						
美国的住宅融资制度及其对中国的启示(The American							
Housing Financial System and its Enlightenment							
on China) ·············· 李 扬 (Li Yang) ((235)						
2.							

1):	国的住宅融资体系	. (The Housii	ig Financ	e Syster	n in	
	Britain)	•••••••	••• 李	扬 (Li	Yang)	(251)
德	目的住它金融体制	(The Housin	ng Financ	e in Gei	rmany)	
	*** *** *** *** *** ***		· 汪利娜	(Wang	Lina)	(268)
浅	折英国住宅建筑社	的发展(On	the Devel	opment	of Buile	ding
	Society in the U	K)	· 汪利娜	(Wang	Lina)	(282)

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总 报 告

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中国城镇住宅制度改革

提要和结论

- 1. 中国城镇住宅体制改革,始终以提高租金、出售公房以及-多渠道筹集资金为主要内容。然而,十余年来,虽然这三个方面的努力均有重大成果,但中国城镇住宅体制改革似乎还没有达到预定的目标。本报告认为:对于中国城镇住宅体制改革来说,上述三个方面固然重要,但是,若干制度性建设,例如,住宅产权制度的建设、住宅资产的独立化和社会化经营、发展有效的住宅融资体系以及建立合理的住宅价格形成机制等等,可能更具关键意义。系统地研究这些制度性建设的问题,构成本报告的主要内容。
 - 2. 市场交换的实质是权利的转让,因此,建立一套界定清晰、受到法律保护和监督、可以实施的产权体系,是推行市场化改革的前提条件。对于住宅这种位置固定的特殊商品来说,建立有效的产权制度尤其重要。不动产产权作为最复杂的权利束,不仅包括多种权利,而且其组织形式也多种多样。大致说来,国际上通行的房地产产权,主要有单独所有权、合伙经营、股份有限公司和不动产信托等四种形式。对这些产权组织形式进行分析便可看出,产权作为一种界定人与物、权与利、以及人与人关系的社会

契约,事实上并不只有"公"和"私"两种形式。另外,由于产权是可以交易的,采取何种产权组织形式并不特别重要,关键在于,产权必须界定清楚,并能在法律的保障下顺利得到实施。

- 3. 中国城镇住宅产权的问题主要有三:一是产权结构单一; 二是产权界定不清且得不到认真的保障;三是产权很难流动。这种状况,不仅使得公有住宅的出售遇到实际的障碍,而且减少了 从其他来源,特别是从居民手中吸引住宅投资资金的可能性。
- 4. 考虑到中国城镇住宅体制改革的实际进展,并借鉴发达市场经济国家的经验,我们认为,中国城镇住宅产权的进一步改革,应当着重解决好三个问题。其一,要建立与社会主义市场经济发展相适应的多元化产权主体;其二,应当使住宅购买者得到足够且具有法律效力的权利;其三,要培育和发展有利于产权流动的、住宅市场。
- 5. 在中国城镇住宅体制改革中,切断居民在住宅上对其就业单位的依赖,将原先由成千上万个企事业单位各自拥有的住宅资产分离出来,形成独立的住宅经营实体,进行社会化经营,是一个关系全局的大问题。这首先是因为,企事业单位不能摆脱作为其雇员的住宅供应者的地位,会使中国住宅体制改革的重要举措——提高住宅租金和出售现有公有住宅——都难以顺利施行。其次,从市场上看,企事业单位代表其雇员投资建造或购买住宅,其需求并不受居民的支付能力制约,这种预算约束的错位,不利于形成合理的住宅市场价格。总之,如果各种单位仍然为其雇员从事住宅投资,并且仍然通过住宅分配的途径向其雇员提供巨额住宅补贴,则住宅投资的规模越大,便意味着越来越多的新住宅在不断进入旧体制之中。这无疑会阻碍住宅制度改革的进程。
- 6. 分离企事业单位住宅资产的建议,早在 1986 年就已经被 提出。但是,从实践上看,实施这一改革是要有条件的;只有当