公共经济与公共政策 齊魯文庫

国家社科基金项目"基本公共服务均等化: 基本理论与实证研究"研究成果

石绍宾 著

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基础教育 均等化供给研究

On the Equalizational Provision of Urban-Rural Primary Education



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2007年金秋时节,经山东省委宣传部、山东省哲学社会科学研究规划领导小组批准,山东省公共经济与公共政策研究基地正式成立。该基地挂靠山东大学,依托山东大学多学科、综合性的研究优势,设立公共经济与政策、公共管理与公民自治、社会福利政策、公共卫生政策、生态环境政策、公共政策效应计量等六个研究中心。研究基地主要承担三项职能:第一,开展学术研究与咨询,针对学科前沿和重大理论与实践问题,组织高水平科研项目,产出创新性成果;第二,搭建交流平台,组织学术交流;第三,培养和造就高素质的学术带头人和中青年学术骨干,培养博士、硕士等高级专门人才,壮大社会科学研究队伍。

我们确立的基地建设目标是,通过5~8年的努力,力争把公共经济与公共政策研究基地建设成为省内首位、国内有重要地位、国际有一定影响的重点研究和咨询基地,活跃开放的学术交流基地,高水平的公共经济与政策高层次人才培养基地。为了实现上述目标,我们将主要采取如下建设措施:第一,凝练方向,培养和形成研究优势与特色;第二,整合力量,组织承接国家和地方重大研究项目;第三,潜心研究,形成《中国公共经济与公共政策研究报告》;第四,

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扶持新人,遴选出版"公共经济与公共政策齐鲁文库";第 五,营造氛围,办好双周公共经济与公共政策讨论班。

研究基地成立以来,紧密结合我国经济发展和社会进步的实际,以科学发展观为指导,我们凝聚一支结构合理、素质良好、勤奋敬业的研究队伍,在公共经济与公共政策的几个关键领域开展了比较深入系统的研究,迄今已初见成效,形成了系列研究报告和专著。经基地学术委员会委员投票表决、认真甄选,现已确定《新农村建设中的公共品供需均衡研究》入选《中国公共经济与公共政策研究报告》,《城乡基础教育均等化供给研究》、《公众节能行为的经济分析及政策引导研究》、《我国农村公共品的供给效率研究——基于制度比较和行为分析的视角》、《公共品供给中的政府经济行为分析——一个理论分析框架及在中国的应用》等四本专著入选"公共经济与公共政策齐鲁文库"第一批专著。

仰赖经济科学出版社和中国财政经济出版社的鼎力支持,承蒙经济科学出版社吕萍副总编和中国财政经济出版社赖伟文副总编、赵力女士的精心谋划,《中国公共经济与公共政策研究报告》(第一辑)和"公共经济与公共政策齐鲁文库"第一批专著即将面世。在此,衷心感谢他们的真诚关心和辛勤劳动!

期待读者们的积极回应和热心指教。

粪爾明 2008 年立夏于山东大学 随着人类社会的不断进步与文明程度的不断提高,基础教育对社会经济发展的重要性也日益显现。向全体居民提供免费、平等和统一的基础教育,以保证任何居民不论其经济状况与政治地位如何,都有机会接受免费的、全国统一的基础教育,不仅有助于改善社会的公平状况,而且对于提高整个社会人力资本的质量和水平,促进经济发展和社会进步,都具有十分重要的意义,因而,均等化供给基础教育不仅是公共财政和民主财政的内在要求,也是现代民主国家的一个重要责任。

但在2006年9月1日新的《中华人民共和国义务教育法》(以下简称《义务教育法》)颁布实施之前,我国的基础教育却走了一条不免费、不平等以及不统一的道路。由于户口登记制度将社会人为割裂成农村与城市两部分,且各自实行不同的基础教育管理制度,从而很长一段时间以来城乡之间的基础教育差异悬殊,主要表现在:首先,城市中"普九"的任务早已完成,"普及十二年"甚至"普及十五年"教育的口号也时常在城市中提及,而与之相反,农村地区"普九"的任务目前依然尚未完全实现,部分地区完成"普九"的标准很低,且相当脆弱;其次,从融资角度来看,城市地区的基础教育完全由财政负担,而农村地区的基础教育却要由农民承担很大一部分责任,"农村教育农民办";第三,从办学条件看,城乡间存在巨大差异,许多农村贫困地区的学校甚至无法保障最基本的办学条件;最后,流动人口,特别是进城务工就业的农民

工子女入学得不到有效保障,由于难以就近进入公办学校接受教育,大部分农民工子女只能选择条件较差的打工子弟学校读书,或者回家成为留守儿童,再或者选择在城市随父母流浪成为新的文盲。

正是这些令人触目惊心的差异促使笔者对我国城乡基础教育发展进行研究,笔者希望通过本书的研究一方面能够厘清城乡基础教育差异的现状、差异的程度,造成差异的原因,以及因差异所带来的不良影响;另一方面更为重要的是希望在厘清差异的基础上,以基本公共服务均等化理论为指导,探讨促进城乡基础教育均等化发展的制度创新之路。因此,本书的研究不仅对于解决我国城乡基础教育均等化发展有一定的指导意义,而且对于丰富和发展相关的基本公共服务均等化基础理论也有十分重要的理论意义。

本书采用规范分析与实证分析相结合的研究方法。基本思路是 先分析基本公共服务均等化的基础理论,再进行我国城乡基础教育 差异的实证分析,最后提出促进我国城乡基础教育均等化供给的政 策建议。

依此思路,全书共分7章,组织结构如下。

第1章"引言"主要介绍本书的选题来源、主要概念界定、结构框架以及创新与不足等内容。第2章"文献综述"主要是对目前国内外有关公共服务差异性、基本公共服务均等化、我国城乡基础教育差异以及完善我国城乡基础教育发展的相关研究文献进行梳理、总结和评价。第3~7章是本书的主体部分。其中,第3章"基本公共服务均等化的基本理论分析"是本书研究的理论基础,本章从公共服务与公共品的分析切入,对基本公共服务及其均等企的内涵界定、实现途径进行了详细分析。第4章"城乡基础教育差异的制度性根源"从户口登记制度和基础教育差异的制度性根源"从户口登记制度和基础教育管理体制等制度根源探讨了城乡基础教育差异的原因,并对这种"城市偏向"的制度安排提出了一种政治经济学解释。第6章"城乡基础教育差异的效应分析"主要从人力资本存量效应、收入分配效应

与社会流动效应等三个方面分析了城乡基础教育差异对我国社会经济所造成的影响和后果。第7章"城乡基础教育均等化供给的制度创新"提出了我国城乡基础教育均等化发展的基本原则,并在分析"以县为主"管理体制弊端和缺陷的基础上,设计并测算了"以中央为主"的新的基础教育管理体制,最后还就相关制度的改革提出了建议。

本书的创新之处主要体现在以下几个方面。

- 1. 基本公共服务及其均等化。基本公共服务是根据当时的社会共同价值信念,全体居民共同需要的最基本层次公共服务,具有最基本层次性、同质性和动态性三个方面的特征。基本公共服务均等化源于差异性,但不是实际消费的均等化,而是重在保证消费机会的均等化;而且,也绝不等于平均化,而是允许在全国均等基础上存在地区差异;再者,基本公共服务均等化内容和标准往往随人们对公平的认识理解和客观条件的变化而变化。
- 2. 基本公共服务均等化的途径。基本公共服务均等化的途径主要有三:其一是收入途径,指在不改变基本公共服务提供模式的前提下,通过转移支付等手段实现供给主体财力的均等化;其二是支出途径,指改变公共服务的提供模式,将供给责任上移,由更高级政府或中央政府直接供给;其三是政治途径,指通过谋求地方政府的合并来实现更大区域内基本公共服务的均等化。
- 3. 城乡基础教育差异的制度根源。城乡基础教育差异的根源在于城市偏向的制度安排。户口登记制度将城市与农村人为割裂开来,造成了中国社会发展的二元结构,与户口登记制度相伴随的教育福利政策造成了城乡居民在基础教育起点上的不公平。地方负责、分级管理的基础教育管理体制忽视了基础教育的基本公共服务属性及外溢性强的特征,固化了"谁办学谁掏钱"的原则,城乡基础教育发展不可避免地带有城乡经济发展程度差异与财力水平差异的痕迹。
- 4. 城乡基础教育差异的效应。其一是人力资本存量效应,分析 表明城乡基础教育生均经费的差异确实对城乡初中毕业升高中率的

差异有显著性影响;而且由于不同地区经济发展水平和财政收入能力存在差异,城乡人力资本存量的差异还带有地区色彩。其二是收入分配效应,回归分析表明城乡基础教育差距对城乡居民收入差距有显著性正的影响。其三是社会流动效应,城乡基础教育的差异使得能够进入初级劳动力市场的正式通道越发狭窄,大部分农民只能由非正式通道进入次级劳动力市场谋求工作。

- 5. 城乡基础教育发展的均等化原则。主要有三个方面,即免费受教育的机会均等,全国范围内保证相同的最基本的办学条件,并且允许存在一定的地区差距。
- 6. "以中央为主"的基础教育管理体制。中国基础教育发展应既要发挥中央政府的平衡均等能力和财力充足优势,又要发挥地方政府在信息、效率方面的优势,从城乡基础教育均等化发展的角度出发进行制度创新,笔者构建了一个"供给与生产主体分离、分级互补,投入以中央为主、分项分级共担,宏观管理以省为主、具体管理以县为主"的新的基础教育管理体制。根据该体制,不同级次政府承担基础教育的责任呈现出明显的"倒金字塔"状,即中央、省与县级财政的负担比例逐级降低,中央财政负担比例最高,这种趋势可以基本与财政收入的分配格局相对应。

关键词 城乡 基础教育 均等化 基本公共服务

As the human society and civilization continue to make progress, the primary education gradually shows its great importance to the social and economic development. Providing the free, equal and unified primary education to the citizens so as to guarantee everyone's opportunity to enjoy the free and unified primary education no matter what his economic and political condition, will be crucially important not only to better the society's equal condition, but also to improve the whole society's human capital and increase the economic development. So the primary education equalization is the inherent requirement of the public finance and democratic finance, as well as the important duty of modern nations.

But Chinese primary education has experienced an unfree, unequal and un-unified road before the new Law of Forced Education was brought into effect on September 1st 2006. As the household registration institution separated the society into country and city, and each has a different primary education administration institution, so the urban-rural difference in the primary education has been very large since a long time. Firstly, the nine-year forced education task has already been implemented in the cities, and now many cities even put forward the twelve-year or the fifteen-year education, but the nine-year task is still not fully achieved in the country. Even if some country areas have already

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got the nine-year goal, the criterion is very low and the outcome is very frangible. Secondly, from the point of finance, the primary education in the cities is fully born by the public finance, while in the country areas the peasants will have to take on some responsibility, which is called the peasants running the rural education. Thirdly, the rural education's conditions are much worse than the city, and some poor schools in the rural areas even don't have the least conditions of running school. Lastly, the children of the shifting population, especially the migrant workers don't have the guaranteed chance to go to school. Since these children can hard go to the nearby public schools, they have to go to the schools for the migrant workers' children with bad conditions, or go home to become the left behind children, or wander with their parents in the city to become the new illiteracy.

It is these shocking differences that urge the author to investigate Chinese urban and rural primary education development. Through this study, the author hopes to make clear the urban-rural difference condition, the degree, the causes and the effects, and also to find the urban-rural equalization in the primary education under the guideline of basic public service equalization theory on the base of these differences. So this study will do good not only to guide Chinese urban-rural equalization in the primary education, but also to enrich and develop the related basic public service equalization theory.

This book combines the normal analysis and empirical analysis. The basic idea is as follows: the author first analyzes the basic public service equalization theory, then the Chinese urban-rural primary education difference, and put forward the equalization suggestions in the end.

Under the above idea, this book has 7 chapters, which are organized as follows.

Chapter 1 is the "introduction", which mainly introduces this subject's source, the main definitions, the organization and the main

innovative points and shortcomings. Chapter 2 is the "literature reviews", which includes the literatures on the public service difference, public service equalization, Chinese urban-rural difference and the perfecting suggestions of primary education. Chapter 3 - 7 is the main body of this article. Chapter 3 "the theoretic analysis on basic public service equalization" is the basis of this study, which analyzes the definition and means of basic public service equalization on the base of the definitions of public goods and public service. Chapter 4 "the empirical analysis of urban-rural differences in primary education" systematically investigates the current difference from the point of finance institution, the availability and the running conditions. Chapter 5 "the institutional source of the urban-rural differences" studies the household registration institution and primary education administration institution, and then introduces a political economy interpretation of these urban bias phenomena. Chapter 6 "the effects of urban-rural differences" mainly analyzes the human capital stock effect, income distribution effect and the social floating effect. Chapter 7 "the institutional innovation of urban-rural equalization" puts forwards the basic principles of equalization, designs and computes the new "central government role" primary education administration institution on the base of criticizing the shortcoming of the "county governments role", and suggests the related institutional reforms in the end.

The main innovative points are as follows.

1. The basic public service and its equalization. Basic public services is the most basic level of public services of all the residents that based on the common social value beliefs, and it has three characteristics as most basic level, homogeneous and dynamics. Equalization is the necessary choice to solve the difference and guarantee the equality. The equalization doesn't mean the equal consumption, but the equal consumption opportunity; also it isn't the average distribution, but permits

the regional difference beyond the national level; and the content and the criterion of the equalization will change as the people's attitude to the equity and the circumstance change.

- 2. The ways of basic public service equalization. There are three ways. One is the revenue way, which mainly refers to the intergovernmental grants so as to make the fiscal revenue equalized with no change of the provision mode. Another is the expenditure way, which changes the provision mode and put the public service responsibility to the higher governments or the central government. The third is the political way, which means merging the local governments in order to equalize the basic public service in a larger area.
- 3. The institutional sources of the urban-rural difference in primary education. The difference stems from the urban bias institutions. The household registration institution separates the city from the country, resulting into the dualistic structure in Chinese society, and the concomitant education welfare policy leads to the unfair jumping-off point between the urban and rural people. The primary education administration institution of local responsibility and hierarchical administration omits the public service attribute and the large externality, and solidifies the principle of "whoever runs school should finance", so the urban-rural differences of economy development and fiscal revenue will inevitably reflect in the primary education development.
- 4. The effects of urban-rural difference in primary education. First is the human capital stock effect. The analysis shows that the urban-rural difference of outlay per student does have significant effect on the enrollment ratios, and also this human capital stock difference has some regional character since the different region has different economic development and fiscal revenue ability. The second is the income distribution effect. The regression analysis shows that the urban-rural difference in primary education does have significant positive effect on the urban-rural

income gap. The third is the social floating effect. The primary education difference makes the formal channel to the primary labor market becoming narrower, and most peasants have to go to the second labor markets.

- 5. The principles of urban-rural equalization in primary education. There are three points: the opportunity of getting the free primary education is equal; the basic school conditions are the same all across the country; and the regional differences beyond the national level are permitted.
- 6. The "central government role" primary education administration institution. From the view of the equalization, Chinese primary education should reform the institution, using both the central government's advantage of equalizing ability and abundant fiscal revenue, and the local governments' advantage of information and efficiency. The author designs a new administration institution, that is "separated provision and production; input mainly from central government; macro-administration responsibility in provincial governments, and micro-administration in county governments". Under the "central government role" institution, the different governments' responsibilities in primary education present the converse pyramid structure, that is, the central, provincial and county governments' ratios reduce level by level, which is corresponding to the fiscal revenue structure between different governments.

Key Words urban-rural primary education equalization basic public service

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