

公共经济与公共政策 齐鲁文库

农民

张靖会 著

专业合作社
效率研究

——基于俱乐部理论视角的分析

Members'
Cooperatives:
An Analytical Review of Club Theory



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2012 年终岁尾，山东省公共经济与公共政策重点研究基地和山东大学公共经济与公共政策研究中心推出的《公共经济与公共政策齐鲁文库》第六批专著及《中国公共经济与公共政策研究报告》第四辑付梓面世。我们以此作为献给读者的新年礼物吧！

此次入选齐鲁文库的三本专著都是青年学者的倾心之作。他们的研究选题无不指向我国经济社会改革发展的大问题、新问题，而又无不从基本理论层面进行了认真探讨，视角独到，分析系统，方法新颖，给人以耳目一新之感。王文普博士特别关注经济发展中的环境污染及其规制问题，不仅分析了环境规制的作用机制，而且主要运用实证方法，分别基于生产率、技术创新、产业竞争力的视角，运用省级数据，集中分析了环境规制对中国经济增长的影响，进行了提高环境规制经济激励效应的政策设计，由此形成了《环境规制与经济增长研究——作用机制与中国实证》。左根永博士的《我国农村地区基本药物供应保障体系研究——制度设计、运行结果和交易费用》，基于制度经济学的交易费用理论，从人性假设和行为逻辑出发，将基本药物供应保障体系交易关系整合为交易环节、

路径、机制，建立了解释该体系的制度分析新框架；以山东和安徽为例，揭示了我国农村样本地区基本药物供应保障体系的制度设计特点，分析现行制度设计下基本药物供应保障体系运行结果，模拟测算基本药物供应保障体系交易费用及其结构，探索制度设计与实际运行结果产生差距的原因及路径，提出完善基本药物供应保障体系的政策建议。张靖会博士的《农民专业合作社效率研究——基于俱乐部理论视角的分析》，着眼于我国现阶段蓬勃发展的农民专业合作社，将其视为农民自愿供给和分享公共品的组织，运用公共经济学的俱乐部产品理论，集中分析了农民专业合作社的社员构成（同质性和异质性）、信息状况（管理者占优及社员占优）以及排他成本（水平高或低）等因素如何影响合作社效率的机理，并通过样本和案例进行了实证分析。此次入选研究报告系列的《建立健全与事权相匹配的财税体制研究》则是李齐云教授主持完成的国家社科基金项目的结题报告，它凝聚了课题组成员多年来关注研究中国财政体制演化改革的成果。该课题不是仅仅关注于如何明晰各级政府的事权和如何划分财力支配权等操作层面的问题，而是把研究基点放在厘清市场与政府的关系、科学界定政府职能上，明确政府事权范围，再以公共产品的层次性和不同级次政府行为目标的差异性为理论依据，界定各个级次的政府职能，确立正确划分各级政府职责和事权的基本准则，揭示出与事权相匹配的财税体制运行的一般特点和规律性，努力构建一套财税体制模式和基本制度框架的理论体系。

我们期待着读者的评论，也期待更多的精彩之作问世。

樊丽明

2012年岁尾

人民公社制度解体以后，农民恢复了独立的决策、生产单位的地位，激发了生产积极性，在一定时期内解放和发展了生产力，但农民单门独户的生产也逐渐暴露出诸多缺陷，成为农民增收的“瓶颈”：第一，抵御自然风险和市场风险的能力弱；第二，不能形成规模经营，交易成本高，谈判能力差；第三，产品技术含量低，处于整个产业链的底端，获利微薄；第四，农业生产、经营中所需的服务面临政府供给与市场供给的同时缺位，农民只能自我提供。

为解决上述难题，早在 20 世纪 80 年代，我国农村地区就出现了以家庭联产承包经营为基础、以农户为主体的产权清晰、主体明确、自愿联合、自治互利的农业合作组织。随着 2007 年《中华人民共和国农民专业合作社法》的颁布实施，农民专业合作社取得了新的法律身份，得到了法律的保障和政策的支持。其后，农民专业合作社发展迅速，截至 2010 年年底，我国已有农民专业合作社 37.91 万家，实有入社农户 2900 万户，合作社数量过万的省份（直辖市、自治区）达到 15 个，合作社在社员规模和服务内容等方面也取得了长足进步。随着合作社的快速发展，相关研究也成为经济学界备受关注的热点。

笔者曾于 2009 年和 2011 年暑期两次参加调研，实地走访农民专业合作社，亲眼目睹了合作社在农村地区的蓬勃发展，切身感受到合作社确实是增加农民收入、带动农村地区经济发展的有效途径之一。但在调研中，笔者也发现了一些问题和现象：当前合作社发

展情况参差不齐。合作社的注册资金从几万元到几千万元不等,社员规模从几十户到几百上千户不等,合作社发起人有普通农民、龙头企业、村干部、产销大户等之分,合作社拥有的自然资源、资本资源、人力资源和社会资源存在差异;有的合作社发展较好,社员增加,生产规模扩大,有的合作社在迅速兴起之后,社员纷纷退社,快速倒闭;有的合作社规模较小,却得到了社员较高的认可,有的合作社规模较大、发展较快,却也暴露出许多问题……这些问题和现象促使笔者思考和寻找造成合作社发展的差异的原因。

笔者认为,合作社的产生、生存、壮大与消亡,归根结底在于其效率状况。现有文献对合作社在分摊成本、规模经济、降低交易成本、提高农户谈判地位、扩大市场份额、增强农户抵御自然风险和市场风险的能力、促进新技术推广和新产品开发,以及给社员带来安全感和归属感等方面体现出的生产和组织上的效率有许多富有意义的探讨和丰富的研究成果,也是笔者继续研究合作社效率问题的基础。但文献中对合作社效率的界定尚不明确,对影响合作社效率的因素的研究也尚待完善和系统化。在总结、吸收前人研究成果的基础上,笔者以有别于前人的俱乐部理论的研究视角,探讨合作社的性质、效率和影响合作社效率的因素,希望通过本书的研究,一方面,以全新的视角研究合作社的性质、效率和造成效率差异的原因,在理论上拓宽合作社问题的研究视野;另一方面,应用理论的研究成果指导实践,探讨如何提高合作社的效率,促进合作社的发展。因此,本书的研究具有重要的理论意义和现实意义。

本书采用规范分析、调查研究、统计分析与案例分析相结合的研究方法。基本思路为:首先,对农民专业合作社的性质、效率、效率影响因素进行理论分析,然后,就实地调研取得的数据和资料进行统计与案例分析,最后,依据分析结论,提出促进合作社效率提高的政策建议。

依此思路,本书共分6章。第1章为导言,介绍本书的选题、界定主要概念、说明全书的方法与结构、创新与不足。第2章为国内外相关文献综述,梳理了俱乐部理论的发展、变迁与国内农民专

业合作社的相关研究。第3~6章是本书的主体部分。其中,第3、第4章是全书分析的逻辑起点和理论基础。第3章界定农民专业合作社的性质,将其定性为向社员提供俱乐部产品的经济俱乐部,并创新性地提出合作社的效率即合作社向社员提供服务(俱乐部产品)的效率,包含结果的效率、过程的效率和横向比较的效率三个层次。第4章是农民专业合作社效率影响因素的理论分析,指出社员构成、信息状况和排他成本是合作社效率的影响因素,分析了同质性社员构成与异质性社员构成,信息对称与信息不对称(管理者信息占优、社员信息占优)、低排他成本与高排他成本对合作社效率的影响。第5章对实地调研获得的一手数据和材料进行统计与案例分析,描述合作社效率及社员构成、信息状况和排他成本的特点,分析社员构成、信息状况和排他成本对合作社效率的影响。第6章针对合作社社员构成、信息状况和排他成本的特点及其对合作社效率的影响,提出调动稀缺资源与维护社员利益相结合、引进外部人才与内部人才培养相结合、强化内部监督与增强文化凝聚相结合的政策建议,以提高合作社的效率,促进其健康、良好的发展。

本书的创新之处,体现在以下几个方面:

1. 运用俱乐部理论的分析视角研究农民专业合作社的效率问题,为合作社问题的研究提供了全新的视角和思路。合作社向社员供给服务本质上属于俱乐部产品供给的问题,应属于公共经济学的研究范畴。根据笔者的了解,目前文献中对合作社的研究侧重于法律和政策的解读、制度经济学及一般经济理论的分析,以公共经济学中俱乐部理论的视角研究合作社问题的则几乎未有。

2. 基于对合作社及其提供服务的性质的界定,将合作社的效率定义为合作社向社员提供服务(即俱乐部产品)的效率,包含结果、过程和横向比较三个层次:从结果看,合作社能够以较少的可得资源完成对社员的服务提供,实现投入产出比的最大化;从过程看,合作社能够在提供服务的各个环节节约成本;从横向比较看,合作社向社员供给服务能够比政府供给和市场供给更有效率。

3. 将合作社向社员提供服务的机制界定为具有“自主决策——

自主筹资——自主提供”等自治特征的自愿供给机制，由需求表达、供给决策、筹资机制、服务提供、激励约束五个方面组成。通过与政府供给机制的对比，发现合作社的自愿供给机制具有需求表达的简洁有效、供给决策的民主有效、筹资机制的公平有效、服务提供的均衡有效、激励约束的直接有效等特点，在向农户提供生产、经营所需的服务上，合作社的自愿供给比政府供给更有效率。

4. 以社员构成、信息状况和排他成本为合作社效率的影响因素，研究其影响机理。同质性通常被认为是实现合作社效率的前提，但需求表达、决策和筹资的“囚徒困境”使同质性合作社面临效率的损失；异质性通常被认为会带来效率损失，但在决策、筹资和社员间的学习、互补方面却促进了合作社的效率。在管理者信息占优的情况下，若管理者是合作社的投资惠顾者，则能够有效改善委托代理问题；在社员信息占优的情况下，合作社加强监督、增大处罚、制定有利于社员的收购合同和采取向惠顾倾斜的盈余分配政策等有助于减少社员的投机行为。合作社的低排他成本使它能够采取有效率的定价和排他方式。

5. 基于实地调研取得的22家农民专业合作社的数据和资料，对合作社的效率及效率影响因素进行统计与案例分析，发现合作社的异质性主要由核心社员与普通社员资源禀赋的差异造成，核心社员内部、普通社员内部同质性较高；核心社员与普通社员目标函数的差异造成核心社员对普通社员利益的侵害，合作社整体满意度高、供给决策和服务提供满足社员需求和利益的合作社通常是异质性较低的合作社；合作社的需求表达状况则与异质性程度正相关；异质性下，拥有稀缺资源的社员与缺乏相关资源的社员形成互补，若异质性对合作社效率的促进大于其对效率造成的损失，则应鼓励稀缺资源所有者加入合作社，允许一定程度的异质性的存在。

合作社内部存在信息不对称，且与发起方式存在关联。由于社员掌握的信息有限，难以对管理者实施监督，当管理者也是合作社的投资惠顾者时，能够在一定程度上缓解委托代理问题。管理者对社员的监督通过正式制度与非正式制度的约束共同完成。由于非正

式制度的约束和合作社提供的服务和产品的外溢性较小，合作社的排他成本普遍较低，能够采取有效率的定价和排他方式。

关键词 农民专业合作社；效率；俱乐部产品；俱乐部理论

ABSTRACT

After the disintegration of people's commune system, famers regained the status of independent decision-maker and producer, which stimulated their enthusiasm of production and liberate the productive forces during a certain period of time. However, this mode of production gradually revealed many defects that limited the revenue growth of famers. The defects include: first, too weak to withstand natural and market risks; second, difficult to form operation scale, high transaction costs and lack of negotiating skills; third, low technological content of products, lower end of the industry chain and meager profit; fourth, absence of government supply and market supply of services needed in agricultural production and operation, thus, famers have to serve themselves.

To solve these problems, as early as in 1980s, agricultural cooperative organizations based on household contract responsibility system have been emerged in China's rural areas, with the characteristics of clear property rights, clear membership, voluntary association, autonomy and mutual benefit. As the promulgation and implementation of the "Law of People's Republic of China on Farmers' professional cooperatives", farmers' professional cooperatives obtained new legal status, legal protection and policy support. Subsequently, the cooperative has been developed rapidly. At the end of 2010, China has had 379100 farmers' professional cooperatives with 29 million famers (households) . 15 provinces

(municipalities/autonomous regions) had over than 10 thousand cooperatives. The membership size and services of cooperative have also been improved. As the rapid development of the cooperative, correlation studies have gained lots attention of economic academia.

The author participated in researches twice in 2009 and 2011 to visit farmers' professional cooperatives, and witnessed a vigorous development of the cooperatives in rural areas. To establish cooperative does indeed an effective way to increase farmers' income and drive the economic development of rural areas. However, in the researches, I also found some problems and phenomena: the development of cooperatives was uneven. The registered capital of cooperatives ranged from a few million to tens of millions Yuan. The membership size of cooperatives ranged from dozens of households to several hundred or over than one thousand households. The sponsors of cooperatives were different; they were ordinary farmers, leading enterprises, village cadres and big producer and seller. The natural resources, capital resources, human resources and social resources the cooperatives owned were not the same. Some cooperatives developed well, and both the membership size and the production scale increased. Some cooperatives collapsed rapidly after the rapid rise because of the resignation of members. Some small-scale cooperatives gained high recognition of their members, but some large-scale and rapid-develop cooperatives exposed many problems. All these problems and phenomena urged me to think and find the causes of the differences among cooperatives.

I argue that the generation, survival, growth and demise of cooperative finally depend on its efficiency. The existing literature have lots of meaningful investigations and achievements on cooperative's production and organization efficiency, including cost-sharing, economies of scale, reducing transaction costs, enhancing farmers bargaining position, expanding market share, enhancing the ability of farmers to withstand natural and market risks, facilitating the application of new technologies and

the development of new product, and as well as bringing sense of security and belonging to famers. All these researches are the basis of my continuous study of cooperative's efficiency. However, the study of the clear definition of cooperative's efficiency and its influencing factors needs more thorough analysis to improve and systematize the existing research. Basing on the summation and absorption of what the previous have done, I use the perspective of club theory that different from the previous' to analyze the nature, efficiency of cooperative and the influencing factors of the efficiency. Through this research, I hope to, first, apply new perspective to clarify the nature, efficiency and the causes leading to differences in efficiency, thus broad the research horizons of cooperative theoretically; second, employ the theoretical research results to guide practice to investigate how to improve the efficiency and promote the development of the cooperative. Therefore, the study of this paper has important theoretical and practical significance.

The book applies the research methods of normative analysis, survey research, statistical analysis and case study. The basic idea is as follows: first, theoretical analysis of the nature, efficiency and influence factors of cooperative's efficiency; second, statistical analysis and case studies of information and data gained from field research; third, basing on the analytical conclusions, promoting efficiency-improve policy recommendations. According to this train of thought, the book is divided into six chapters.

Chapter 1 is introduction, which introduces the subject's resource, main concepts, method and structure of the book, innovation points and defects. Chapter 2 is the related literature review combing the development and vicissitude of the club theory abroad and domestic correlation studies of farmers' professional cooperatives. Chapters 3 - 6 are the main parts. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are the logical starting points and theoretical bases of the book. Chapter 3 defines the nature of farmers' profes-

sional cooperatives as a club supplying club goods to their members; and innovatively puts forward the efficiency of cooperative as the efficiency that cooperative provides services (club goods) to its members, which including three aspects: efficiency of results, process efficiency and efficiency of horizontal comparison. Chapter 4 is the theoretical analysis of factors that affect the efficiency of farmers' professional cooperatives, which mainly analyzes members' constitution, information status and exclusive cost. In detail, the influences of homogeneity members' constitution and heterogeneity members' constitution, symmetric information and asymmetric information (managers' information dominated and members' information dominated), low exclusion cost and high exclusion cost. Chapter 5 is the statistical analysis and case study of the first-hand information and data gained from field research of cooperatives to outline the features of efficiency, members' constitution, information status and exclusive cost, and analyze the influences of members' constitution, information status and exclusive cost to cooperative's efficiency. Chapter 6 puts forward the policy recommendations aiming at the features and influences of members' constitution, information status and exclusive cost to improve the efficiency of cooperative and promote its good development, including mobilizing scarce resources and protecting interests of the membership, attracting talents and members training, strengthen institutional constraints and enhancing cultural cohesion.

The main innovation points of this book are as follows:

1. The book provides new perspective and ideas for the study of cooperative by applying the perspective of club theory to analyze the efficiency of cooperative. The provision of services of cooperative to its members is essentially the problem of club goods provision, and belongs to the research areas of public economics. According to author's understanding, the current literature mainly focused on the interpretation of laws and policies, analyses of institutional economics and general economic theory; it

is rare to apply perspective of public economics, especially the perspective of club theory to analyze cooperatives.

2. Basing on the natures of cooperative and the services it supplies, the definition of cooperative's efficiency is defined as the efficiency the cooperative provides services (club goods) to its members, and it includes three aspects of connotations: first, from the efficiency of results, the cooperative can realize service provision using fewer available resources and maximize the input-output ratio; second, from process efficiency, the cooperative can save cost in all the aspects of service provision; third, from efficiency of horizontal comparison, the supply of cooperative is more efficient than the government supply and market supply.

3. The book defines the mechanism that the cooperative provide services to its members as the voluntary supply mechanism with the autonomous characteristics of self-decision-making, self-funding and self-provision. It is composed of five components: demand expression mechanism, decision-making mechanisms, financing mechanisms, service provision, and incentive and restraint mechanism. The compare between cooperative voluntary supply mechanism and government supply mechanism shows that the former has the features of simple and effective demand expression mechanism, open and democracy decision-making mechanism, fair and effective financing mechanism, balanced and effective service provision, and direct and effective incentive and restraint mechanism, thus it is more efficient in the provision of services needed in famers' production and organization.

4. The book takes members' constitution, information status and exclusive cost as the influencing factors of cooperative's efficiency and analyzes their mechanism of action. Generally, homogeneity is thought to be premise of efficiency, but the prisoner's dilemma on demand expression, decision-making and financing may diminish the efficiency; heterogeneity leads to easier decision-making and financing, co-learning and

complementary may promote the efficiency, although, it also causes efficiency loss. Under the condition of manager information dominant, the investment and patronization of managers can improve principal-agent problem effectively; under the condition of membership information dominant, strengthening supervision, increasing punishment, concluding purchasing contract in favor of members and instituting profit apportionment policy in favor of patronization can reduce opportunistic behavior of members. The cooperative can implement efficient pricing and exclusive way because of its low exclusive cost.

5. Basing on the first-hand materials and data from field research of 22 cooperatives, the book analyzes efficiency and influencing factors of efficiency via the methods of statistical analysis and case study, and finds that: the heterogeneity of cooperative is mainly caused by differences of resource endowments between core members and ordinary members, meanwhile, within the core members and within the ordinary members, there is high homogeneity; the differences of objective function between core members and ordinary members may lead to infringement of ordinary members' benefits, thus the cooperatives with high overall satisfaction and meeting needs and interests of members in decision-making and service supply are cooperatives in low heterogeneity; the status of demand expression and heterogeneity are positively correlated; under the condition of heterogeneity, members with scarce resources and members lack of relevant resources can complement each other, thus if efficiency improvement is larger than efficiency loss caused by heterogeneity, members with scarce resources should be encouraged to join cooperatives, that is to say, it is necessary to allow certain degree of heterogeneity.

There is information asymmetry in cooperative, and the information status associates with cooperative's sponsor. It is difficult for members to supervise managers because of their limited information, and the principal-agent problem can be alleviated if the managers are also investor and