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and **Self-exploitation**

A Research on Commodification Processes of Li Village

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李村商品化过程研究

任守云 著

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摘 要

农村商品化是改革开放以来农政变迁的主要动力。本书通过实地研究方式对李村的商品化过程进行研究，以揭示国家通过商品化机制对村庄的建构。

本书首先对研究缘起和研究设计等内容进行了介绍，接着追溯了李村从新中国成立至今的发展脉络及村民所经历的重要变革对他们的影响，认为随着计划经济的退场及市场经济的兴起，李村发生的重要变革可以概括如下：从征税到补贴、从公平优先下的土地权利获得到发展优先下的土地权利丧失、从政治社会到经济社会、从计划下的买卖艰难到市场下的买卖无奈、从农村手工业失落到外部工业品盛行、从强制下的被迫留守到自由下的被迫流动。这些都说明李村承受的结构性力量逐渐由超经济力量强制转化为经济力量的无声强制。

在生产商品化转型方面，村民逐渐以市场为导向进行生产，其对经济效益的考虑是促使生产商品化转型的关键原因。生产商品化转型的动力包括：市场诱导和影响、干预性变迁、社区变革、资本的介入及媒体对企业农业（entrepreneurial farming）^① 思路的宣扬。生产商品化转型带给农民的影响包括：自给性生产衰落给农民的消费带来负面影响、农民

① 企业农业主要建立在信贷、工业投入与技术等金融资本和工业资本的基础之上。通过大规模进行持续扩张是这种模式的一个典型特征。在这种模式下，农业生产高度专门化并完全面向市场。企业农场主主动置身于对市场的依赖之中，尤其是与农业投入相关的市场（扬·杜威·范德普勒格，2013：2）。

未必能从生产转型中获益及商品性生产给村庄的资源基础带来潜在压力等。农民为此努力寻求自给性生产，以实现消费自足。

在生产资料方面，受国家自上而下对农业科技推广的影响，生产资料商品化越发嵌入于农民的农业生产中。市场经济下的“时势造英雄”逻辑激发农民借助现代农资去追求经济效益。农民受技术依赖及利润崇拜的影响，逐渐被锁入生产资料商品化中。生产资料商品化也加大了小农风险。在生产资料商品化的背景下，农民通过绕过部分零售商去购买农资以减少开支及在自身生产和消费方面的再小农式保障等方式寻求自主性。

在销售实践方面，市场是一个场域，农民在销售产品过程中受到各种市场限制。农民面临的市场结构使他们处于不利地位，农民依托于中间商建立的销售网络，面临着市场行情的不确定性、中间商和中间人对利润空间的挤压、销售中存在的“以貌取果”逻辑等等。出于对市场结构的反抗，另类市场具有重要意义，如地方市场中的直接销售、绕过一些中间商和中间人的销售、巢状市场及因关系辐射而产生的消费质量辐射等。

接着，本书借鉴政治经济学的视角对李村的工业进行了分析，认为，李村工业的发展机会首先被权势阶层获得，权力和市场化机制的结盟给其他村民的生活带来了挤压，而且工业活动建立在对李村资源和劳力的耗费基础上；同样，通过客厅工厂形式的妇女手工业，妇女和社区获得的利润空间非常有限，这与舆论中强调工业下乡带动农民致富及为不出去打工的村民创造工作机会及福利的主流话语不相符合。

随后，本书考察了外部压力对农民消费和生活空间的挤压。这些压力使农民感到货币短缺带给自己生存的压力。它们包括：农村教育外移政策对农民造成的货币压力、生活资料货币化带来的压力、社会交往货币化带来的压力、外部政策和市场诱发农民进行商品消费的压力。同时，打工是一种结构性压力下的行为。由于靠种地无法维生、社会生活市场化、村庄土地政策变动使得一些村民失去了享受土地权利的机会等原因，打工在经济社会中越发成为必需。这也使农民的不公平感加剧。

最后，本书对李村的商品化机制进行了总结，认为国家通过商品化

机制对李村进行了建构。这些机制包括：剥削推动的商品化、自上而下强制和鼓励的商品化、生活资料的商品化、引工业下乡中权力和资本共同推动的商品化、社区公共福利等各方面进行的商品化改革及发展话语对农村落后的建构。商品化带来的影响表现在：商品化使得安全阀减少，普通村民及穷人能享受到的“大自然的赠品”越来越少，社区公共福利越来越商品化，这也使得社区提供给村民的庇护减少；商品化过程使农村社区承载的功能逐渐外移，并交由外部市场运作，这使农民传统安排生计的方式无法继续发挥功效；等等。随着商品化机制的推行，农民被一步步锁入市场关系中，生产和生活中所需要的消费越发需要通过购买获得，这也逼迫他们通过自我剥削以求得生存。这种自我剥削是一种新型的自我剥削，既包括农场层次也包括非农场层次，其背后的推动因素更加复杂，且存在隐蔽性，在主流的发展话语中不被表述。现代化发展的宏大叙事中，相信引入商品关系必然带来农民境遇改善的话语值得我们反思。发展话语的主流叙事以深化商品关系从而改善农民和农村境遇为幌子，可能使农民的地位更加边缘化，甚至侵害农民的生存伦理。最后，本书认为，市场如何嵌入社会决定了农民的福利。

关键词：商品化 市场嵌入 自我剥削

Abstract

Commodification is the main dynamic behind agrarian change in China since reform and opening-up in 1978. Based on field research, this paper aimed to investigate the process of commodification in Li Village in order to reveal how the village has been restructured by the state through the mechanism of commodification.

The first chapter is an introduction of the research questions, design and method. Then the historical development change of Li Village is presented in the second chapter. With a close look at how villagers have been influenced by rural reforms, the author found that along with the transition from a planned economy to a market economy, the historical changes of Li Village can be summarized as follows: from taxation to subsidies; from land distribution to land loss under the priority principle shifting from fairness to development; from a political society to an economic society; from restricts in trading in planned economy to helplessness in trading in market economy; from the vanishing of rural handicraft industry to the widely using of industrial products; from forbidden migration to have to migrate. The above all show that the driving forces of village change has gradually moved from the extra-economic forces to the dull compulsion of economic forces.

Upon this background, this paper in the following three chapters mainly focused on the commodification of agricultural production and found villagers'

production activities turn to be market-oriented with economic benefits as the main driving force, and others including market inducement, interventionary changes, community changes, capital involvement and the media dissemination of entrepreneurial farming. This shift has exerted great influences on villagers. With the decline of self-sufficient production, villagers' consumption has been negatively affected and rely more on market purchases. Besides, the market-oriented production does not necessarily benefit villagers but imposes potential pressure on natural resources in the village. Confronted with those influences, peasants are striving for self-sufficient survival to meet their consumption demands.

As regards means of production, the commodification of which has been more and more embedded in the peasants' agricultural production process due to the top-down promotion of agricultural science and technology by the state. Induced by the logic of "the times produce their heroes" under the market economy, peasants have continually increased their use of artificial agricultural materials like chemical fertilizer and pesticides to pursue economic profit. However, due to their dependency on technology and profit worship, peasants are gradually locked into the commodification chain of means of production and facing more risk correspondingly. To maintain their autonomy, peasants not only re-peasantize themselves both in production and consumption but also try to purchase agricultural materials directly from the producers and bypass middlemen for cost saving.

In terms of selling practices, peasants are subject to lots of restrictions in the arena of market when selling their products. In a disadvantaged position in the present market structure, peasants mainly rely on the sales network set up by middlemen, affected by market fluctuation and profit squeezing by the brokers. As a resistance to the present market, alternative markets become more significant, such as nested market, sales through social network in avoid of middlemen in the local market. But nowadays in production, peasants pursuit for profits, food of good quality is also limited for them.

In addition to agricultural production, the sixth chapter concentrates on the industrial production in the village from a political economy perspective. The author has found that the powerful class in the village has more chance to obtain development opportunities. The alliance of power and marketization mechanisms has squeezed the lives of the ordinary villagers. Besides, lots of resources and labor has been drained during the industrialization activities. This is exemplified in the handicraft activity in the village and all the women villagers working there could only get slim profit margin, which forms a contrast to the mainstream narrative that rural industry could enrich peasants and create job opportunities and welfares for the non-migrant peasants.

After that, this paper examined the external forces squeezing on farmers' consumption and living space. These forces include the external policies such as the policy of layout and adjustment of rural school causing economic pressure to peasants, the monetization of the subsistence and social interaction and market-induced commodity consumption. All those have imposed pressure on peasants' survival, putting them in the situation with more need of money. Meanwhile, migration as a compelled choice becomes necessary in that farming could not guarantee survival under the marketization of social life. Not to mention some peasants who have lost their land owing to the land policy adjustment. Along with those, peasants' sense of injustice has intensified.

Finally, this paper concludes with the mechanisms of commoditization including the commodification of subsistence and community public welfare; the commodification motivated by exploitation, up-down enforcement and inducement and the alliance of power and capital during the introduction of industry to village; the representation of village's backwardness in development discourses. The influence of commodification is manifested in the diminishing of safety valves. For instance, the gifts of nature from which the ordinary and poor villagers have benefited a lot become less and less; the public welfare in the community is continually commodified and its shelter for villagers keep shrinking. The social functions carried by rural community have been externalized to the market

during the commodification process, which result in the dysfunction of peasants' traditional means of livelihood. Pushed by those mechanisms, peasants are gradually locked in to market relations and have to purchase from the market for daily necessities, which have forced them to survive through self-exploitation both inside and outside farming. The driving forces behind are complicated and covert, but ignored in the mainstream discourse. The grand narrative of modernization which holds commodification could improve peasants' living condition should be reexamined, otherwise peasants will be marginalized with their subsistence ethic threatened. In a whole, this paper argued that the way how market is embedded into society determines the well-being of peasants.

Keywords: Commodification, Market Embeddedness, Self-exploitation

目 录

第一章 导论	/ 001
1.1 研究缘起	/ 001
1.2 文献综述	/ 004
1.3 研究设计	/ 022
1.4 辅助的理论视角	/ 036
第二章 对李村发展历史沿革的白描	/ 039
2.1 从征税到补贴	/ 039
2.2 公平优先下的土地权利获得到发展优先下的土地权利 丧失	/ 043
2.3 从政治社会到经济社会	/ 055
2.4 从计划下的买卖艰难到市场下的买卖无奈	/ 059
2.5 从农村手工业失落到外部工业品盛行	/ 063
2.6 从强制下的被迫留守到自由下的被迫流动	/ 067
2.7 小结	/ 069
第三章 生产商品化转型及其影响	/ 070
3.1 生产商品化转型	/ 071
3.2 生产商品化转型背后的动力	/ 090
3.3 生产商品化转型带来的影响	/ 100
3.4 夹缝中求自足：农民的应对	/ 112
3.5 小结	/ 116

第四章	生产资料商品化的过程和影响	/ 119
4.1	生产资料商品化的过程	/ 120
4.2	扼杀或者嵌入? ——生产资料商品化逻辑的内化	/ 133
4.3	农民如何寻求自主性	/ 144
4.4	小结	/ 151
第五章	销售实践与市场限制	/ 153
5.1	农产品的市场销售	/ 154
5.2	销售实践中的市场结构——以李子销售为例	/ 165
5.3	对市场结构的反抗——另类市场	/ 178
5.4	小结	/ 182
第六章	政治经济学视角下的农村工业	/ 185
6.1	权力与商品化	/ 186
6.2	谁的市场? ——客厅工厂与农村妇女	/ 196
6.3	小结	/ 206
第七章	外部压力下的消费和生存空间挤压	/ 208
7.1	农村教育外移政策对农民的影响	/ 208
7.2	生活资料货币化	/ 213
7.3	社会交往货币化	/ 219
7.4	被政策和市场诱发的商品消费	/ 234
7.5	经济社会中打工成为必需	/ 246
7.6	小结	/ 257
第八章	结论与讨论	/ 258
8.1	李村的商品化机制	/ 258
8.2	商品化使安全阀减少	/ 261
8.3	市场嵌入与自我剥削	/ 264
8.4	质疑主流的商品化叙事	/ 268

附录 1 主要被访对象情况简介	/ 272
附录 2 访谈时主要关注的问题	/ 276
参考文献	/ 278
后 记	/ 299

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	/ 001
1. 1 Research background	/ 001
1. 2 Literature review	/ 004
1. 3 Research design	/ 022
1. 4 Assistant theoretical perspectives	/ 036
 Chapter 2 Historical Changes of Li Village	 / 039
2. 1 From taxation to subsidies	/ 039
2. 2 From land distribution to land loss under the priority principle shifting from fairness to development	/ 043
2. 3 From a political society to an economic society	/ 055
2. 4 From restricts in trading in planned economy to helplessness in trading in market economy	/ 059
2. 5 From the vanishing of rural handicraft industry to the widely using of industrial products produced outside of Li Village	/ 063
2. 6 From migration was forbidden to migration becomes a necessary choice	/ 067
2. 7 Conclusion	/ 069
 Chapter 3 Commodification of Production and Its Influences to Consumption	 / 070
3. 1 Commodification of agricultural production	/ 071

3.2 The inducing power of commodification of agricultural variety	/ 090
3.3 Influences of commodification of agricultural production transition	/ 100
3.4 Striving for self-sufficiency: peasants' responses	/ 112
3.5 Conclusion	/ 116
 Chapter 4 Commodification of Means of Production and Its Influences	 / 119
4.1 Commodification process of means of agricultural production	/ 120
4.2 Killed or embedded in? —the logic of commodification of means of production has been internalized by peasants	/ 133
4.3 How peasants struggle for autonomy	/ 144
4.4 Conclusion	/ 151
 Chapter 5 Selling Practices and Restrictions from Market	 / 153
5.1 Selling of agricultural products to the market	/ 154
5.2 Market as an arena in selling practices——based on the study of selling plums in Li Village	/ 165
5.3 Resistance to market structure——the rise of alternative market	/ 178
5.4 Conclusion	/ 182
 Chapter 6 Rural Industries: A Political Economic Perspective	 / 185
6.1 Power and commodification	/ 186
6.2 Whose market? ——living room factory and rural women of Li Village in the context of rural industrialization	/ 196
6.3 Conclusions	/ 206
 Chapter 7 External Pressures Squeezing Peasants' Consumption and Survival Space	 / 208
7.1 The impact of removing rural education out of countryside policy on peasants	/ 208

7. 2 Monetization of the necessities of life	/ 213
7. 3 Monetization of social interaction	/ 219
7. 4 Commodity consumptions evoked by policies and market	/ 234
7. 5 Migration becomes necessary in a society centering on economic development	/ 246
7. 6 Conclusion	/ 257
Chapter 8 Conclusions and Discussions	/ 258
8. 1 Mechanisms of commodification in Li Village	/ 258
8. 2 Commodification processes results in diminishing of ‘safety valves’ for peasants	/ 261
8. 3 Market-embeddedness and self-exploitation	/ 264
8. 4 Questioning the mainstream narratives of commodification	/ 268
Appendix 1 A Brief Introduction of Interviewees	/ 272
Appendix 2 Questions Mainly Focused During Interview	/ 276
References	/ 278
Postscript	/ 299