

中共北京市委党校·北京行政学院学术文库系列丛书

产业结构 演进机理

钟勇 著

CHANYE JIEGOU

YANJIN JILI



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前 言

自威廉·配第发现产业结构随经济发展而变化的现象算起，人们对于产业结构问题的研究已经有 300 多年的历史。一直以来，产业结构研究都是基于发展中国家背景，被纳入发展经济学的范畴，其应用也主要体现为发展中国家政府制定产业政策干预本国产业结构以加快经济发展。不过，20 世纪 90 年代以来，随着经济全球化进程的加快，国家之间竞争加剧，国家在企业国际竞争中的作用日益重要，发达国家政府也开始注重通过用“有形的手”来影响本国产业结构的发展。与此相应，人们开始从提升国家竞争能力的角度来考察产业结构问题，比较有代表性的是迈克尔·波特的《国家竞争优势》一书。这种基于发达国家背景的研究与以前基于发展中国家背景的以发展为目标的研究有很大不同：后者追求与发达国家“趋同”的发展路径和结构，而前者则追求“趋异”的独特的产业优势和结构。二者在研究框架和方法上有很大不同，以至于后者通常被纳入产业组织，而不是产业结构的研究范畴。那么，一个国家在“趋同”战略和“趋异”战略之间，到底应该如何取舍呢？

其实，关于产业结构和产业组织各自研究领域的划分一直是一个令人困惑的问题。通常的观点是：产业结构研究产业之间的关系，而产业组织研究同一产业内部企业之间的关系。按照这种划分，二者的逻辑关系应该是清晰的，但是考察它们的具体研究内容，就会发现二者所说的“产业”有很大不同。“产业组织”中的产业是指具有竞争替代关系的产品或服务的企业，而“产业结构”中产业的划分则在“具有某种共同属性”的规定下灵活得多。大至第一、第

二、第三产业的划分，小至只有产品完全相同的企业才被归为同一类产业。一个产业内的企业之间有可能有竞争关系，也可能根本就没关系。不仅如此，二者更大的区别还在于研究对象的不同。虽然二者划分产业的标准不同，但都认为产业是指企业的集合。这一点对于产业组织的定义而言确是如此，但对于产业结构而言，把其“产业”定义的对象定位为产品或服务也许更为合适。这一点在投入产出表中表现得非常明显。作为分析产业结构的常用工具之一的投入产出表在进行产业结构分析时，必须假设一个企业只生产一种产品，把企业完全等同于产品，而这种假设在现实中几乎是不成立的。如果非要用一个分析产品之间关系的工具去分析企业之间的关系，那就只能如此。但是如果换一个角度，把产业结构改为产品（或服务）结构，那么一切分析就会显得切合实际、非常自然。

产业结构研究一般都是按产业进行归类分析。这种方法虽然可以得到某种结构关系，但是却无法揭示产业之间的组织关系。例如，虽然可以从不同角度，如产值、资源占用等，揭示产业之间的某种关系，但是我们却仍然无从得知这些产业是如何组织起来形成结构的。分析的结果既可以看作产业结构，但也可以看成从产业角度分析的产值结构、资源占用结构，并且其结果最多也只能刻画出一种横向的平面结构，而不是真实的有等级分层次的立体的组织结构。用这种“有结构、没组织”的研究方法指导实践时最容易产生的问题就是“知其然而不知其所以然”。政府依靠行政力量简单模仿发达国家产业结构，其结果往往“形似而神非”，难以持久。

也许正是由于这种内在缺陷，传统产业结构理论在经历了 20 世纪 30—60 年代的辉煌之后便一直发展缓慢，至今没有大的突破，而一些与产业结构相关却又看似不同的理论却成为热点，如企业网络理论、产业集聚理论等。这些理论虽然一般不被列入产业结构理论的范畴，但是它们所研究的问题却与产业结构密切相关。与传统产业结构研究相比，这些理论的最大特点就是它们所研究的是企业之间真实、复杂、多维的“立体组织结构”，而不是按产业划分的简单

的“平面结构”。从这个角度看，它们也可以视作产业结构理论的新发展。当然，这些理论也可以看作传统产业组织理论的发展，因为它们的确是在研究生产的组织问题，不过它们已经完全突破了产业的概念，只是单纯从组织的角度来研究问题。

如果把传统产业结构理论的研究对象定位为产品，那么在传统产业结构理论与组织结构理论之间也许应该存在这样一种内在逻辑关系：产品作为生产组织的产出，生产组织结构的变化会导致产品的相应变化，从而产业结构变化作为生产组织结构变化的结果而出现。这种理解的另外一层含义是，产业结构变化虽然作为一种现象可以被观察到，但是重点却不应该是直接作用于产业结构本身，而是应该通过调整生产组织结构来达到最终调整产业结构的目的。那种通过行政手段直接干预产业结构的做法，如果缺乏相应组织结构的支持，将难以维持。

基于上面的理解，窃以为只有把传统的产业结构理论、产业组织理论以及一些相关的新理论结合起来，从产品和生产组织两个层面进行剖析，才有可能对生产系统的组织结构有一个比较全面系统的理解，而本书正是基于这样目的的一种尝试。虽名为《产业结构演进机理》，但本书不过是借用了传统“产业结构”的提法，其研究内容和方法与传统产业结构研究都有很大不同。本书遵循系统进化的思想，按照从产品到组织，从系统内部到系统环境、空间发展以及发展过程的逻辑，构建了一个全面分析产业结构演进过程的理论框架，并梳理了相关理论之间的逻辑关系。作为一种理论整合的初步尝试，本书的重点在于建立一个统一的框架，以把相关理论有机结合起来，至于每部分的具体研究则在其次，因此书中的具体内容直接借用了现有比较成熟的相关成果，对此并不追求深度和创新。

本书在我的博士论文的基础上修改而成。从构思到成文，历时数年，期间得到了很多人的帮助。这里我要感谢我的导师中国人民大学李悦教授，他不但对本书从选题到篇章结构安排等方面都给予了认真指导，而且他严谨的治学态度也令我受益匪浅。我还要感谢

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由于本书涉及研究领域众多，加之作者水平有限，错漏之处在所难免，希望读者不吝指正。

Foreword

Industrial Structure has been studied for over three hundred years since William Petty turned his attention to the phenomenon that Industry Structure varies with economic development. The study of industrial structure, with the focus on developing countries, has always been considered as a part of Development Economics, and it is usually utilized to make industrial policies by governments to interfere the nation's industry structure and accelerate the nation's economic development in developing countries.

However, competition among nations intensifies with the acceleration of the economic globalization since the 1990s. A nation plays an increasingly important role in the international competition among enterprises. The governments of developed countries also start to utilize "Visible Hand" to influence the development of their nation's industrial structure. Meanwhile, Industrial structure issue is studied from the standpoint of improving national competitiveness. A representative case in point is *The Competition Advantages of Nations*, written by Michael E. Porter. The study based on the background of developed countries is greatly different from that focusing on the background of developing countries. The latter strives for a similar developing route and structure with developed countries while the former pursues an unique industrial advantage and structure. Because of the great distinction between them in study frame and research approach, the latter is usually ranged into the category of industrial organization rather than industrial structure. Then, which one should a nation chose between the assimilation strategy and the dissimilation strategy?

In fact, it has been confusing all the time to distinguish the research field of industrial structure from that of industrial organization. Usually it is regarded that the industrial structure studies relationships among industries and the industrial organization studies relationships among enterprises in a same industry. According to this kind of division, the logical relations of these two looks very clear. But considering their specific research contents, one will find that there are great differences between the concept of industry in the industrial structure and that in the industrial organization. Industry in the industrial structure refers to enterprises with products and services that have substitution relations. While industry in the industrial organization is more flexible under the definition scope of with certain common attribute.

An economic body can be either classified into the primary industry, the secondary industry and the tertiary industry macroscopically, or classified into industries with enterprises producing absolutely same products microscopically. Enterprises in the same industry may be competitors, or have no relations at all. Furthermore, the greater difference lies in their research objects. Though the criteria for categorizing industries are different, both agree that industry is the gather of enterprises.

This definition works well with the industrial organization, but for the industrial structure, it seems more suitable to define industry as product or service, which is clearly revealed in the input-output form, one of the tools in common use for analyzing industrial structure. The form only works under the presupposition that one enterprise only manufactures one product. The assumption is hardly tenable in reality, but it is the only tool that can be used, if have to, to analyze the relationships among enterprises which actually is used to analyze the relationships of products. However, if the angle of view is switched from industry structure to product structure, all the analysis will be reasonable and natural.

The industrial structure study is always based on the industrial classi-

fication. The approach can obtain certain structure but is unable to disclose the organization relationships among industries. For instance, though it can reveal some relationships between industries from different stance, such as output, resource possession, etc, it is still unknown how they are organized as a structure. The research results can be regarded not only as an industrial structure, but also an output structure or a resource possession structure from the view of industries. The structure is just planar rather than layered three-dimensional. Such research approach can easily lead to "catch the phenomenon but miss the essentiality" when it is used to guide practice. It is impossible to stand for a long time for developing countries to only copy developed countries' industrial structure by administrative power.

Probably just because of this limitation, the traditional industrial structure theory has developed slowly without any breakthrough after its prosperity in thirty years between 1930s and 1960s. Instead, theories, which are related with industrial structure but look different, become hotspots. Among them are enterprise network theory, industry gather theory, etc. The issues these theories study are closely related with industrial structure, but they are usually out of the category of the industrial structure theory. Compared with the traditional industrial structure research, the largest characteristic of them are that their object is three-dimensional Organization Structure among enterprises but not simply planar structure. From this point of view, they can be regarded as new developments of the traditional industrial structure theory. Of course, they can also be regarded as new developments of traditional industrial organization theory because the subject they study is production organization. However, they give up the concept of industry completely and do research only from the angle of view of production organization.

If the object of the traditional industrial structure studies is positioned as product, there would be an internal logic between the traditional indus-

trial structure theory and the traditional organization structure theory. Product is the output of production organization. The variation of production organization structure will lead to variation of product, and finally brings out industrial structure's variation. According to this understanding, Industrial structure variation can be observed as a phenomenon, but can not be acted on directly. Industrial structure's regulation should be done by adjusting industry organization structure.

According to what discussed above, to understand an economic body's organization and structure perfectly, it is necessary to integrate the traditional industrial structure theory, the traditional industrial organization theory and other related theories, and it should be analyzed from the angles of the product and production organization. This book is just such an experiment. Although named *On Industry Structure Evolution Mechanism*, this book is very different from the traditional industrial structure researches in contents and approaches. The author conceives a framework in this book, which follows the line of system evolution and the logic from product to organization, from system interior to system environment, then to space development and to development process. It is analyzed completely the process of industrial structure evolution and it is straightened out the relationships among the related theories in this book. As a primal attempt to integrate the related theories, the object of this book is to set up a uniform framework but not detail. Many details in this book are directly obtained from the related well-known research results and have no more innovations.

This book is based on my doctor dissertation and takes my several years for writing and modifying. I had obtained much assistance during writing.

I am especially grateful to my tutor Pro. Yue Li in People's University of China, who gave me detail guidance during my writing from topic selection to article structure arrangement. I also benefited a lot from his reli-

Foreword

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There may be some mistakes and omissions in this book due to the involvement of multitudinous research fields and author's capability limitation. I sincerely expect readers' criticisms and corrections.



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