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*I*nstitutional
Innovation and Market Growth

制度创新与市场发育

—中国农村专业批发市场的形成与发展

Formation and Development of China's Rural Specialized Wholesale Markets

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摘要

农村专业批发市场是继家庭承包经营和乡镇企业之后我国农村经济发展中出现的又一新生事物。由其内在的逻辑关系所决定，在发展进程上这三个新生事物大体上是依次推进的，而且它们分别对应着我国农村第一、第二、第三产业的改革与发展。如果说家庭承包经营重点解决了农业生产问题，乡镇企业重点解决了农村工业生产问题的话，那么农村专业批发市场则是致力于解决农产品和农村工业产品的流通和销售问题。农村专业批发市场是我国经济体制改革大背景下商品流通领域的一项制度创新，是改革开放后适应农村商品经济发展需要而形成的一种新的流通组织形式，是市场机制发挥作用的重要载体，是现阶段我国农村商品生产与大市场对接的一条重要途径。

农村专业批发市场是具有中国特色的新生事物，其本身是实践的产物。关于这一方面的文献报道虽然很多，但较少系统研究，特别是缺乏理论研究。本书在占有实践素材、强调理论与实践结合的基础上，综合运用

新制度经济学、发展经济学、商业经济学、信息经济学、博弈论和产业组织理论,对农村专业批发市场的成因、形成发展机制、组织管理模式和运行特征、发展趋势和前景等进行理论探讨,以期形成关于我国农村专业批发市场发育规律的系统性研究成果,并回答发展实践中所面临的一些疑惑和问题,指导农村专业批发市场的健康发展。

本书的主要内容和观点如下:

1. 从制度层面看,农村专业批发市场是一种诱致性制度创新。它以产权制度的基本变革和经济成分多元化为前提,以具有独立经济主权的农村商品生产者追求实现商品价值和经济利益为动力,以提高市场组织化程度和降低交易费用为内在要求,是适应农村商品经济发展需要而发展起来的。从交易属性及合约行为层面看,农村专业批发市场上的交易行为同时具有古典合约和新古典合约的行为特征,而且市场发育程度越高,新古典合约行为特征越明显。典型的、规范的农村专业批发市场可以认为是一种复合式的、不完全的三方规制结构。从交易绩效的层面看,农村专业批发市场是降低交易费用的内在要求。农村专业批发市场把众多的买者与卖者聚集在一起,可以极大地降低发现交易对象、价格搜寻和交易谈判的费用,有利于创造公平竞争的环境,从而防范机会主义行为。同时,由于交易的聚集,便于集中管理,有利于降低市场监管费用,也有利于提高商品流通的规模效益。以上三个层面理论探讨的逻辑框架是从

宏观到微观依次推进的，而其因果关系则依次是后者决定前者，即降低交易费用的要求决定合约行为，合约行为决定制度安排。

2. 总体来看，我国农村专业批发市场具有组织形态上的多层次性和市场发育的不完善特征。按组织结构和发育程度不同，农村专业批发市场可分为初级形态、中级形态和高级形态三种类型。初级形态的农村专业批发市场没有严格意义上的微观管理主体，对交易主体没有特殊规定和要求，交易设施简陋，交易行为也不规范；中级形态的农村专业批发市场，不仅具有专门的微观管理主体，而且建立了一套市场管理的规章制度，拥有一定水平的交易设施，交易主体具有专业性，交易行为较为规范；高级形态的农村专业批发市场是发育较成熟的市场组织形式，不仅管理主体、交易主体发育程度较高，交易设施完善，交易行为规范，而且在管理手段和交易手段上还具有现代化特征。

3. 农村专业批发市场的宏观管理主体是政府及有关职能部门，微观管理主体是市场的经营管理者。农村专业批发市场管理的宗旨是要做到“管而不死、活而不乱”，而实现这一目标的关键是必须坚持依法管理。目前我国农村专业批发市场的投资主体有地方政府、农村集体、企业和个人。或是一元主体兴办，或是多元主体联合兴办。市场的微观管理模式也多种多样，但大致可归纳为市场管理委员会模式和企业化经营管理模式两种。实行市场管理委员会模式管理的市场，多是由地方

政府投资兴办的，其管理主体也隶属于地方政府。这种市场主要是发挥其作为公共基础设施的公益职能，一般不以赢利为主要目的。实行企业化经营管理的市场，或者其本身就是由企业投资兴办的，或者是由政府投资兴办经改制为企业的。这种市场在发挥公益职能的同时，其本身是以赢利为主要目的的。目前我国农村专业批发市场微观管理模式改革，是以推行企业化经营管理模式为取向的。

4. 不对称信息是农村专业批发市场的一个重要特征。造成不对称信息的原因有三：第一，农村专业批发市场上的交易者多为农民出身，科技文化素质较低，把握知识和市场信息的能力不足；第二，我国特别是广大农村地区信息基础设施薄弱，影响着市场信息快速而有效地传播；第三，也是最重要的一点，农村专业批发市场上的商品以日用工业小商品和农副产品为主，生产的标准化程度较低，而且生产高度分散，不同生产者利用不同工艺生产出的产品在质量性状上差别较大，而面对纷繁复杂的产品差别，买者比卖者在占有信息上明显处于劣势。市场交换是以生产分工为前提的，不对称信息一方面是产生分工和专业化的原因，另一方面也是欺诈和机会主义行为得以实行的根源之一。通过对策论模型分析指出，农村专业批发市场的不对称信息特征导致了逆向选择行为，而逆向选择行为导致了市场商品的“低质量、低价位”特征。而且，由于目前农村居民收入水平低，在一定程度上制约着质量保证价格机制发挥作

用，因为这种机制是要靠支付价格贴水才能得到质量保证的，而大部分农村居民还没有达到这样一个较高的收入水平和消费水平，使之愿意为所需商品支付额外的价格贴水。因此，强化政府行为，加强质量监管，仍是现阶段维护市场交易秩序、提高市场交易绩效的重要手段。

5. 从产业组织理论和发展阶段理论来考察，可以说明商品流通组织形式的一般变化规律以及农村专业批发市场的发展变化规律。农村专业批发市场作为一种具有传统市场形态特征的流通组织形式，除了由商品交易属性决定市场合约行为的作用外，主要是由现阶段中国国情和农村经济特点所决定的，是与农村商品生产集中度低的特征联系在一起。随着经济发展和产业集中度的提高，大部分商品的流通组织形式将逐步向合作营销和产销一体化方向发展。但从总体来看，我国以中小企业为主的乡镇企业格局和以“小规模、大群体”为特征的农户经济还将长期存在，这一特征决定了我国农村专业批发市场的生存和发展空间。农村专业批发市场是与一定的经济发展阶段相适应的，所以必须承认其有兴有衰这一客观规律。目前我国先发地区农村专业批发市场发展趋缓，市场的作用相对弱化，但广大欠发达地区农村专业批发市场发展仍有较大潜力。由于我国区域经济发展的不平衡性，决定了农村专业批发市场发展的区域差别和梯度推进特征。无论是从区域差别，还是从产业结构的空间转移来看，我国农村专业批发市场发展正在

从较发达地区向欠发达地区依次推进。

6. 欠发达地区农村专业批发市场既具有后发优势,也具有后发劣势。欠发达地区可以学习发达地区在市场建设与发展中的经验,并吸取其教训,可以少走弯路,寻找捷径,快速发展,这是后发优势所在;但发达地区市场发育较早,已经率先抢占了较大的市场范围,而且现有市场规模较大、软硬件条件较好、竞争实力较强,因而使后发地区在形成大区域市场乃至全国性市场的竞争中明显处于劣势。另外,欠发达地区综合经济社会条件较差,也是市场发展的不利因素。从近年来发展态势看,欠发达地区农村专业批发市场发育规律具有特殊性,突出表现为政府的作用趋于加强。从市场形成来看,早期的市场主要是利用了地方产业基础、商贸传统,特别是利用了改革初期局部地区的体制落差等因素。但如今的形势已发生了较大变化,后发地区市场发展越来越需要挖掘利用新的要素,培育竞争优势。例如,更好地发挥政府的推动作用,是后发地区农村专业批发市场快速形成和发展的一个重要条件。从市场管理来看,欠发达地区经济社会环境相对较差,因而也更需要政府发挥在市场监管中的作用。

7. 迄今为止,我国批发市场体系建设始终是向着发展全国性的中心批发市场,并形成中心批发市场与地方性批发市场层层链接的梯度结构为基本取向的。研究认为,尽管这种梯度结构还会长期存在和发展,但是,从长远发展和未来统一市场的格局看,批发市场网络的

垂直梯度特征将趋于弱化，而是倾向于形成近乎平面式的“互联网”结构。也就是说，未来某一区域的专业批发市场，不一定是通过更高层次的区域性或全国性中心批发市场再与其他地区的批发市场相连，而是直接与其他各个不同区域的专业批发市场同时互连。当然，这种梯度结构弱化与平面结构加强的变化并不是绝对的，而是市场网络结构特征的一种相对变化。这种平面互连式的市场网络格局，使跨区域商品流通更为直接，避免周转，无疑能降低流通成本，提高流通效率。而这一点，是以全国信息服务体系建设和流通基础设施的改善为前提的，这也是真正意义上建设统一市场的目标要求。

关键词：农村专业批发市场、流通组织形式、
制度创新、交易费用、产业组织

Abstract

The rural specialized wholesale market is an emerging novelty in China's rural economic development, with previous novelties being the Household Responsibility System and the township enterprise. Determined by inherent logic relations, the three novelties, advancing on the whole successively, correspond to the reform and development of primary industry, secondary industry and tertiary industry in China's rural economy respectively. The Household Responsibility System focuses on agricultural production, the township enterprise on rural industrial production, and thus the rural specialized wholesale market on the circulation and distribution of agricultural products and rural industrial products. The rural specialized wholesale market is an institutional innovation in commodity circulation against the background of China's economic restructuring, a new organizational form of circulation developed in response to the need of development of rural commodity economy after the reform, and also a significant channel for connecting the scattered rural commodity production and the great market demand. Besides, it is an important carrier for market mechanism playing a role.

The rural specialized wholesale market is a novelty in practice

with Chinese characteristics. Though there are many literatures and materials concerned, systematic researches especially theoretical researches on it are found to be few. Based on facts as well as an emphasis on combination of theory and practice, this research theoretically explores the causes of formation, mechanisms of formation and development, organizational and managerial modes, operation features, development tendency and so on of the rural specialized wholesale market, by comprehensively applying new institutional economics, development economics, economics of commerce, information economics, game theory and industrial organization theory, with a view to establishing a systematic research achievement concerning the growth law of China's rural specialized wholesale market while trying to solve doubts, perplexities and problems arising in its development and thus contribute to healthy advancement of the rural specialized wholesale market.

Main contents and points of this research are as follows:

1. In respect of institution, the rural specialized wholesale market is an induced institutional innovation. Developed in response to the need of rural commodity economy, it has the basic reform of property rights and the diversification of ownership as a premise, independently-operating rural commodity producers pursuing realization of commodity value and interests as a driving force, and making transactions better organized and reducing transaction costs as an inherent requirement. In respect of transaction attribute and contracting behavior, transactions in the rural specialized wholesale market have the features of both classical contract and neoclassical contract, and as the market grows, the features of neoclassical contract become clearer. Typical and standard-

ized rural specialized wholesale market may be deemed to be a shared but incomplete Trilateral Governance Structure. In respect of transaction efficiency, the rural specialized wholesale market reflects the inherent requirement of reducing transaction costs. The rural specialized wholesale market serves as a meeting place for buyers and sellers, so the costs for finding transaction targets, price searching and transaction negotiations may be immensely reduced, and a fair competition created to prevent opportunist behaviors. Meanwhile, centralized administration resulting from congregation of transactions contributes to reducing the costs for supervision and administration, and enhancing scale benefits of commodity circulation. Logic framework of the above three theoretical explorations advances in order of from macro-analysis to micro-analysis, and in respect of causality, the latter determines the former in the given order, i.e., the requirement of reducing transaction costs determines contracting behavior, and contracting behavior does institutional arrangement.

2. As a whole, China's rural specialized wholesale market features multi-levels of organizational forms and imperfection of market growth. In accordance with different organizational structure and market growth stage, the rural specialized wholesale market may fall into the three types of primary form, intermediate form and senior form. The rural specialized wholesale market in primary form has no special managerial bodies in strict sense and no special regulations and qualification requirements for traders, with simple and crude facilities and non-standardized transaction behaviors. The rural specialized wholesale market in intermediate form has not only special managerial bodies, but also a set of market regulations, with competent transaction facili-

ties, professional traders and standardized transaction behaviors. The rural specialized wholesale market in senior form is an organizational form of market growing to a maturity with complete facilities and standardized transaction behaviors, where managerial bodies and traders grow to a high degree, and this kind of markets features up-to-date management and transaction means.

3. Administrative bodies for the rural specialized wholesale market are governments and functional authorities involved, and managerial bodies are market operators. The principle of administration and supervision for the rural specialized wholesale market is "Flexibility in Good Order", which necessitates legal means. At present, China's rural specialized wholesale market has single-investor or multi-investors involving local governments, rural collectives, enterprises and individuals. Market management modes are also diversified, largely divided into the two modes of non-commercial operation by the "Market Committee" and commercial operation by enterprises. Markets in non-commercial operation are mostly funded by local governments, and their managerial bodies are usually attached to local governments, which mainly function as public facilities instead of profit-oriented ones. Markets in commercial operation are mostly funded by enterprises, or by local governments originally but run on a commercial base, which themselves are mainly profit-oriented with a concomitant function of public facilities. Now managerial reform of China's rural specialized wholesale market is going towards a wide application of commercial operation.

4. Asymmetric information is an important feature of the rural specialized wholesale market, resulting from the followings. First,

traders engaged in the rural specialized wholesale market have farmers' background largely, with less education, no much science & technology knowledge and inadequate capacity for employing knowledge and market information. Second, influenced by weak infrastructure of information in China especially in its vast rural areas, market information usually spreads untimely and ineffectively. Third, most importantly, commodities on the rural specialized wholesale market are mostly small manufactured articles for daily use and agricultural products, low in production standardization and scattered in production, thus the qualities of commodities made with different technologies by different producers vary greatly. Buyers are clearly in a disadvantaged position in terms of an access to product information in comparison with sellers because there are numerous and complicated differences of products. Market exchange is based on production division, and asymmetric information results in division and specialization while being one of the roots of fraud and opportunist behaviors. An analysis with a game-theory model shows that asymmetric information in the rural specialized wholesale market leads to adverse selection which further results in inferior quality and low price of commodities. Moreover, low income of rural residents at present restricts the functioning of price mechanism of guaranteeing quality to a certain extent because guaranteeing quality under this mechanism relies on a price-premium. But the income level of most of rural residents has not been high enough for them to willingly pay a price-premium for commodities. Therefore, enhancing governmental behaviors to tighten quality supervision and administration remains the important means of keeping market transaction order and improving market transaction performance at current stage.

5. Industrial organization theory and development-phase theory help reveal the general change law of organizational forms of commodity circulation as well as the law of development and change of the rural specialized wholesale market. As an organizational form of circulation featuring traditional markets, the rural specialized wholesale market is mainly determined by China's specific conditions and its rural economic characteristics at current stage, coupled with low concentration of rural commodity production. With economic development and industrial concentration enhancement, organizational forms of circulation of most commodities will gradually go towards cooperative marketing and production & marketing integration. Yet as a whole, the SMEs-dominated township enterprise pattern in China and the household economy featuring "Small Scale and Large Number" will exist for long. This feature determines the potential for the existence and development of China's rural specialized wholesale market. The rural specialized wholesale market mainly corresponds to a certain economic development phase, so its rise and decline is inevitable. Nowadays the rural specialized wholesale market in China's developed regions as a whole develops at a lower speed while the market roles weaken relatively, and the rural specialized wholesale market in vast less developed regions has the potential for great development. Unbalanced development of China's regional economies determines regional disparity and terraced advancement of the rural specialized wholesale market. In terms of both regional disparity and space transfer of industrial structure, China's rural specialized wholesale market is advancing from developed regions to less developed ones in a terraced way.

6. The rural specialized wholesale market in less developed regions

has both advantages and disadvantages as a late-comer. Less developed regions may learn from experiences of developed regions in market construction and development while drawing on their lessons to seek shortcuts for rapid development, where the advantages as a late-comer lie. Whereas, as markets in developed regions grown earlier and have reached a large trade coverage while having big scales, good software & hardware facilities and strong competitiveness, less developed regions are markedly in a disadvantaged position in the competition for establishing large regional markets or even nationwide markets. Besides, inferior overall economic and social conditions in less developed regions are also unfavorable for market development. Development over the past few years has shown that the rural specialized wholesale market in less developed regions has its particularities in growth highlighted by rising governmental role. In respect of market formation, early-emerged markets mostly made use of local industrial bases and commercial traditions particularly such favorable factors as local loose institutional environment at initial stage of China's reform. However, now the situation has changed, market development in less developed regions increasingly needs seeking and employing new essential factors to develop competitive advantages. For instance, giving better play to governmental role is important for rapid formation and development of the rural specialized wholesale market in less developed regions. In respect of market administration, comparatively inferior economic and social environments in less developed regions also more necessitates governmental role in market supervision and administration.

7. So far, the construction of China's wholesale market system has been going towards nationwide central wholesale markets as well as