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何国平◎著

# 中国农民专业合作社 制度变迁、影响因素研究

The Study on the Institutional Change  
And Influencing Factors of  
Chinese Farmer Cooperatives

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## 摘 要

迄今在中国农民专业合作社已经有了很大的数量,但活跃和有生命力的、规范的合作社并不多。作者2014年6月至2015年4月在对海南的调查中发现,有相当多的合作社实际没有运营;多数合作社名不副实,盈余主要按资分配;合作社服务不够,不能满足成员需求;不同合作社为成员增收的绩效存在很大差异,不少成员认为合作社对他们的收入没有影响或影响很小。

同时,中国农民合作社生存环境正在发生快速变化:市场绩效逐步提高;农业技术进步;产业化快速发展;农业就业人数减少,质量下降;专业大户、家庭农场等规模经营主体较快发展;政府扶持逐步规范(详见7.1)。

农民专业合作社能否适应以及如何适应快速变化的环境?它们的未来如何?这些问题对促进农民专业合作社发展的官员和希望建立专业合作社的社区来说是重要的。要理解这些问题,预测中国农民合作社的未来,需要对影响合作社发展及其绩效的具体因素(包括历史制约因素)、不同环境下异质性成员对服务的具体需求、合作社生存环境的变化及其影响等问题进行深入的研究。

然而,①迄今关于中国农业合作社史的文献各具特色,少有相同的理论基础贯穿其中,这不利于理解中国农业合作社史上发生的事件如何影响其后续事件。②从影响农户合作的因素的实证文献来看,样本范围有限或使用的部分数据可能不适当(详见4.1),结论的可靠性和普适性还有待进一步检验。③迄今关于农户合作动机的认识还主要停留在理论分



析的层面上,对不同环境下异质性成员对服务的具体需求的研究还很少。

④虽然合作社对成员收入的积极作用已得到证实,但对于影响成员收入的因素以及如何提高合作社为成员增收的绩效的研究还很不够,对合作社服务发展的新趋势(如产品差异化战略)对成员收入的作用还没有引起应有的重视。⑤农民专业合作社能否适应以及如何适应正在快速变化的环境,它们的未来如何这些重要的问题也还没有引起人们的重视。本书的研究试图弥补已有文献在上述方面的不足。

本书的主要内容与结构安排如下:第1章,综述合作社理论,包括合作社的概念及本质、合作社理论的演进(特别是新制度经济学方法下的合作社理论)、合作社为什么存在以及传统合作社固有的问题、影响合作社发展的因素、合作社绩效、发展趋势等。本书认为,合作社在本质上是同一类非资本要素提供者(即客户)所有和控制、主要按所有者提供的要素数量分配剩余的一种特殊企业。合作社与 IOFs 最本质的区别是:前者为同一类非资本要素提供者所有,后者为资本要素提供者所有。农业合作社是初级农产品生产阶段向上下游的一体化组织,其成员是独立的生产者。

第2章,提出分析农业合作社变迁的一个理论框架。首先简要地介绍制度变迁理论、交易费用与组织制度选择的理论。其次运用这两个理论分析农业合作社的形成,认为农业合作社是在市场(农产品生产阶段与它的上下游间)交易费用过高而失灵的情况下出现的。最后基于制度变迁理论分析了政府、文化(特别是意识形态和习惯)在合作社变迁中的作用,重申了合作社的独立性。

第3章,运用第2章提出的理论框架来分析中国农业合作社复杂的变迁过程,揭示各时期制度变迁的特点,并从合作社原则、本质及效率方面对各时期出现的合作社或所谓的合作社与现代农业合作社进行比较研究,揭示这些组织的本质与固有问题。本书将中国农业合作社复杂的变迁过程分为萌芽(20世纪初—1949年)→合作化和人民公社(1949年10

月—1970年代末)→复兴(1980年代以来)三个时期。

本书认为,萌芽时期,农业合作社的兴起是自上(政府)而下(社会运动)与自下而上相结合,属于诱致性制度变迁。这一时期兴起的合作社基本符合合作社原则。

合作化(除了合作化初期,即1952年冬以前)和人民公社化是共产党和政府通过意识形态、命令和法律自上而下推进的,目的是公有化和控制农村、农业和农民,最大限度地为工业化提供积累,属于强制性制度变迁。这一时期组建的所谓合作社都不是真正的合作社。受意识形态刚性的约束,政府长期在农村维持了一个低效率的人民公社。

1980年代以来,合作社在中国农村的复兴属于诱致性制度变迁,是一个自下而上、从局部到整体的过程。这一时期,出现的农民专业协会、专业合作社、土地股份合作社是农户自发(或一些组织发起、农户自愿参与)建立的,目的是纠正市场失灵,降低交易费用,获得(外部)规模收益。本章的分析表明,农民专业协会属于社团法人,不属于合作社。土地股份合作社与现代农业合作社存在显著区别,不属于严格意义的合作社。农民专业合作社固有的问题主要是成员异质性强、控制问题严重、影响成本大,多数专业合作社盈余主要按成员的出资额分配。这些专业合作社实际上属于股份合作组织,一些完全异化成了股份制企业。本章还分析了这一时期广泛存在的农村社区合作组织、供销社、信用社、农产品行业协会。分析表明,农村社区合作组织与现代合作社存在本质的区别,不是真正的合作社。农产品行业协会属于社团法人,不属于合作社。农村供销社基本上都改成了股份制企业。农村信用社基本上都改成了农村商业银行。

第4章,基于契约和交易费用理论,对农户加入合作社的决策的影响因素进行理论与实证分析。研究中克服了文献中样本范围有限或使用的部分数据可能不适当的问题(详见4.1),提出了促进合作社发展的措施。分析表明,总体上户主受教育程度、合作社知识教育、农户经营规模、负

债、获得信息、技术、资金的难度以及农资价格水平对农户加入合作社有显著正向影响,而户主非农或村干部等特别经历、农产品价格水平对农户加入合作社有显著负向影响。果菜种植户和养殖户相对于粮油、橡胶种植户更倾向于加入合作社。本章提出了促进合作社发展的以下措施:①加强对广大农民,特别是果菜种植户、养殖户以及经营规模较大的农户的合作社知识教育与培训;②发展农村教育,提高农民的文化素质;③改革农村土地制度,促进农村土地流转和适度集中规模经营;④农民合作必须坚持自愿原则,杜绝政府和其他组织越俎代庖和过度干预。政府对农民合作的支持主要应该是立法、教育培训以及适度的政策支持。

第5章,实证分析环境和成员异质性对成员合作具体动机的影响,了解不同环境下异质性成员对合作社服务需求的差异,为合作社业务和发展策略选择提供依据。分析表明,合作社成员的异质性与地域差异对成员合作的具体动机(即对服务的具体需求)有显著影响。一般地,女性、厌恶风险的、规模较大的、有负债的成员更期望获得农资供给、融资、产品加工、运销等服务;反之,男性、喜好风险的、规模较小的、没有负债的成员更期望获得优良品种、信息、技术、机械等服务。因此,合作社在制定业务和发展战略时,要充分了解具有不同特征和不同地域的成员对合作社服务的不同需求,为他们提供真正需要的、差异化的服务。

第6章,对影响合作社成员收入的因素、特别是对合作社服务发展的新趋势(如产品差异化战略)进行理论与实证分析,提出改善合作社为成员增收的绩效的措施。分析表明,在合作社因素中,合作社年龄、资本额、理事长为村干部或经营大户等非普通农民背景、合作社资金服务、产品差异化战略对成员产品净收入有显著正向影响;从成员经营因素来看,专业化程度、经营规模对成员产品净收入有显著正向影响;从成员个人因素来看,户主受教育程度、村干部或非农等特别经历、喜好风险的程度对成员产品净收入有显著正向影响。为提高合作社为成员增收的绩效,本章提出了以下措施:一是合作社要努力开拓筹资渠道,壮大资本规模。二是激

励经营大户、村干部、尤其是有经商和职业经理人经历的成员进入合作社管理层,发挥他们在经营管理和人力资源方面的优势。三是未来合作社要重点发展以下服务:①根据市场结构的变化,帮助成员调整产品结构。②加快发展资金、农机、农产品加工服务。③实施产品差异化战略,包括开发和引进新品种;推进标准化生产和无公害农业技术,提高农产品质量和安全标准;推进农产品认证和创建品牌等。四是加快发展农业保险,降低农业经营风险,促进农业生产者扩大经营规模。

第7章,分析中国农民合作社生存环境正在发生的变化及其影响,探讨农民合作社发展的趋势。生存环境的变化主要表现在:市场绩效逐步提高;农业技术进步;产业化快速发展;农业就业人数减少,质量下降;专业大户、家庭农场等规模经营主体较快发展;政府扶持逐步规范。本书认为,随着生存环境的快速变化和农民专业合作社固有问题(成员异质性强,控制问题严重,影响成本大)的暴露,农民专业合作社将不得不变革或清算。变革包括结构重组(演变为 IOFs、或股份合作制企业,或真正为农产品生产者所有和控制的农业合作社)和战略转移。战略转移包括筹资战略转移(如通过战略联盟建立合资企业、比例战略)、业务与竞争战略转移(如开展加工增值活动、实施产品差异化战略、积极参与农业产业化)。另外,组建新的生产者所有的农业合作社、新一代合作社(NGCs)将成为重要的趋势,土地股份合作社也将获得进一步发展。

第8章,概括本书的主要研究结论。

本书主要有以下几个方面的创新:

(1)基于制度变迁理论分析了政府、文化(特别是意识形态和习惯)在合作社变迁中的作用,重申了合作社的独立性。

(2)迄今关于中国农业合作社史的文献各具特色,少有相同的理论基础贯穿其中,不利于理解中国农业合作社史上发生的事件如何影响其后续事件。针对这一情况,本书运用交易费用和制度变迁理论分析了中国农业合作社复杂的变迁过程,揭示了各时期制度变迁的特点。



本书认为,20 世纪初—1949 年合作社在中国萌芽是自上(政府)而下(社会运动)与自下而上相结合,属于诱致性制度变迁。1949 年 10 月—1970 年代末的合作化(除了合作化初期,即 1952 年冬以前)和人民公社化是共产党和政府通过意识形态、命令和法律自上而下推进的,目的是公有化和控制农村、农业和农民,最大限度地为工业化提供积累,属于强制性制度变迁。20 世纪 80 年代以来,合作社在中国农村的复兴属于诱致性制度变迁,是一个自下而上、从局部到整体的过程。

1949 年 10 月—1970 年代末中国农业合作社运动发生了异化,这不存在异议。但对于异化发生的起始时间存在不同的看法。一般认为,异化始于 1958 年的人民公社化,也有一些人认为异化始于 1955 年下半年开始的农业合作化高潮。本书的分析表明,异化是渐进的,合作化初期就出现了异化;1955 年下半年—1970 年代末,合作化完全异化为集体化。

本书还基于制度变迁理论对中国农业合作社史的其他一些重要问题提出了解释,如政府为什么长期维持一个低效率的人民公社、20 世纪 80 年代以来农村供销社和信用社恢复合作社性质的改革为什么没有成功。本书认为,前者主要是因为意识形态刚性的约束;后者主要是由于路径依赖的锁定。

(3)迄今,关于中国农业合作社史上出现的各种合作社或所谓的合作社的分析比较零散、也不全面,本书从合作社原则、本质及效率方面对这些组织与现代农业合作社进行了全方位的比较研究,揭示了这些组织的本质与固有问题。

(4)关于影响农户加入合作社决策的因素的实证研究,本书克服了文献中样本范围有限或使用的部分数据可能不适当的问题(详见 4.1)。

(5)本书在对影响合作社成员收入的因素进行分析时,首次引入和考察了合作社的产品差异化战略。分析发现,合作社实施产品差异化战略对成员产品净收入有显著正向影响。本书还提出了合作社实施产品差异化战略的具体措施,包括开发和引进新品种;推进标准化生产和无公害

农业技术,提高农产品质量和安全标准;推进农产品认证和创建品牌。

(6)农民专业合作社能否适应以及如何适应正在快速变化的环境,它们的未来如何这些重要问题还没有引起人们的重视。本书从市场绩效、农业技术进步、产业化、农业就业人数和质量、规模经营主体的发展、政府扶持方面分析了中国农民合作社生存环境正在发生的变化及其影响,探讨了中国农民合作社发展的趋势。本书认为,随着生存环境的快速变化和农民专业合作社固有问题的暴露,农民专业合作社将不得不变革或清算。变革包括结构重组、筹资战略转移、业务与竞争战略转移。另外,组建新的真正为生产者所有和控制的农业合作社、新一代合作社(NGCs)将成为重要的趋势,土地股份合作社也将获得进一步发展。

**关键词:** 农业合作社;农民专业合作社;制度变迁;影响因素;交易费用。

## Abstract

So far, there have been a large number of farmer cooperatives, but active, thriving and normative cooperatives are less in China. In the survey in Hainan from June 2014 to April 2015, we found that a considerable number of cooperatives were not actually operational; most cooperatives were not worthy of the name, and the surplus was mainly distributed by capital; the services provided by the cooperatives were not enough to meet the needs of members; the performance of different cooperatives to increase members' income was very different, and many members believed that cooperatives had little or no impact on their income.

At the same time, the living environment of farmer cooperatives in China is changing rapidly, mainly manifested as follows: the gradual improvement of market performance, agricultural technological progress, the rapid development of industrialization, the decrease in agricultural employment and the decline in quality, the rapid development of large farmers and family farms, and the gradual regulation of government support (details in 7.1). Can farmer cooperatives in China adapt and how to adapt to the rapidly changing environment? How are their futures?

Those issues are important for the officials who want to promote the development of farmer cooperatives and for the communities which want to establish cooperatives. In order to understand those issues and predict the future of farmer cooperatives in China, further study should be going on as follows: the factors affecting the development and performance of cooperative (including historical fac-

tors), the demands of heterogeneous members in different environment for services, the change and effect of cooperatives' living environment. However, ①the literatures on the history of Chinese agricultural cooperatives are distinctive with each other, and rarely have the same theoretical basis, which is disadvantage to understanding the effect of events in Chinese agricultural cooperative history. ②According to the empirical literatures on the factors affecting farmer cooperation, some problems exist in sample, such as limitation of the range and inadequacy of data (details in 4.1), thus, the reliability and universality of some conclusions should be examined. ③Most researches on motives of farmer's cooperation stay at the level of theoretical analysis, more researches on the demands of heterogeneous members in different environment are required. ④Although the active role of cooperatives to members was verified, it is insufficient to study the factors affecting member's income and the methods for cooperatives to increase the member's income. More attention should be paid to the effect of the new trend of the cooperatives' service (such as product differentiation strategy) on the member's income. ⑤Can the farmer cooperatives in China adapt and how to adapt to the rapidly changing environment? Those issues didn't attract enough concern from the researchers. Therefore, this book tries to remedy the weaknesses of the literature for the issues above.

The structure and contents of this book are shown as follows: chapter 1 will describe the cooperative theory, including the definition and nature of cooperative, the evolution of cooperative theory (especially for the cooperative theory in New Institutional Economics), the reasons for cooperative existence, the inherent problems of traditional cooperatives, the factors affecting the development of cooperatives, performance, the tendency of cooperatives and so on. In this book, the cooperative is essentially a kind of special company owned and controlled by the same class of non-capital factor providers (i. e., customers), and the surplus is mainly allocated by the number of elements provided by the owner. The essen-

tial difference between the cooperatives and IOFs is that, the former is owned by the same class of non-capital factor providers, and the latter is owned by the capital providers. The agricultural cooperative is an integrated organization of primary agricultural product production to its upstream and downstream, whose members are independent producers.

In chapter 2, a theoretical framework is proposed to analyze the changes of agricultural cooperatives. First, the theory of institutional change, the theories of transaction cost and the organization system choice are briefly introduced. The formation of agricultural cooperatives is then analyzed by using the theories mentioned above. The conclusion is that the emergence of agricultural cooperatives stems from market failure (i. e. , the high transaction cost between agricultural production and its upstream and downstream). At last, based on the theory of institutional change, the roles of government and culture in the evolution of cooperatives are analyzed. With regard to the cooperative culture, the analysis focuses on the roles of ideology and habits in the evolution of cooperatives.

By using the theoretical framework in chapter 2, the chapter 3 analyzes the complex change process of Chinese agricultural cooperatives, revealing the characteristics of institutional change in each stage. In order to reveal the nature and inherent problems of the cooperatives or so-called cooperatives in all of stages, a comparative study is done between these organizations and modern agricultural cooperative, from the perspective of cooperative principle, nature and efficiency. In this book, the complex change process of Chinese agricultural cooperatives is divided into three stages, i. e. , the sprouting period (early 20th century—1949), the Cooperation and People's Commune period (Oct. 1949—the end of 1970s), and the revival period (since 1980s).

This book proposes that the rise of agricultural cooperatives in the sprouting period is an induced institutional change combined with the top (government)-down (social movement) and bottom-up. The cooperatives in this period are ba-



sically conformed to the cooperative principles.

The Cooperation (excluding the initial period of Cooperation, i. e. , before the winter of 1952) and the People's Commune is a mandatory institutional change that the Communist Party and the government promoted from top to bottom by means of ideology, command and law, with the aim of publicizing, controlling rural area, agriculture and peasants, maximizing the accumulation for industrialization. The so-called cooperatives in this period are not real cooperatives. The government maintained an inefficient People's Commune in rural areas for a long time under the constraints of ideological rigidity.

Since 1980s, the revival of cooperatives in China's rural areas is an induced institutional change from bottom to top, and from part to whole. The farmers' specialized associations, farmer cooperatives and land share cooperatives in this period were established spontaneously by the farmers, or initiated by some organizations, with the aim of correcting market failures, reducing transaction cost and gaining external scale returns. According to the analysis in this chapter, the farmers' specialized association is a kind of social organization, not a cooperative. The land share cooperative, in the strict sense, is not a cooperative either, which is different with modern agricultural cooperative. The membership heterogeneity, control problem, and influence cost problem are the inherent problems of farmer cooperatives in China. In most cooperatives, the surplus is mainly distributed by capital. These cooperatives actually belong to the stock cooperative organization, some completely alienated into a joint-stock enterprise. This chapter also analyzes the Rural Community Cooperative Organizations, Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, Credit Cooperatives, and Agricultural Product Industry Association in this period. The analysis shows that the Rural Community Cooperative Organization is not a real cooperative, which is essentially different from modern cooperative. The Agricultural Product Industry Association is a kind of social organization, not a cooperative. Rural Supply and Marketing Cooperatives

basically changed into joint-stock enterprises. Rural Credit Cooperatives basically changed into rural commercial banks.

In chapter 4, based on the contract theory and the transaction cost theory, a theoretical and empirical analysis is done on the factors influencing farmers' decision to join cooperatives. The study overcomes the limitation of the sample range and inadequacy of data in the literatures (details in 4.1), proposing measures to promote the development of cooperatives. According to the analysis, the education level of householders, the education on cooperative knowledge, the scale of the farmer's operation, debt, the difficulty of obtaining information, technology, capital, and the price level of agricultural inputs have a significant positive impact on the behavior of farmers to join the cooperatives. The special experience of householders (such as nonagricultural experience, village official experience), and the price level of agricultural products have a significant negative impact on the behavior of farmers to join the cooperatives. To compare with the grain, oil, and rubber growers, the vegetable, fruit, livestock, and aquaculture growers are more likely to join cooperatives. This book proposes the following measures to promote the development of cooperatives: ①to strengthen the education and training on cooperative knowledge for the farmers, especially for the vegetable, fruit, livestock, and aquaculture growers, and large scale farmers; ②to promote rural education and improve the cultural level of farmers; ③to reform the rural land system, to promote land concentration; ④in the development of cooperatives, the voluntary principle must be strictly followed to prevent excessive intervention by the government and other organizations. The government should support the development of farmer cooperatives through legislation, education, training, and modest policies.

Chapter 5 analyzes the influence of environment and membership heterogeneity on the specific motives of member cooperation to understand the differences in the demands of heterogeneous members in different environment for cooperative

service, and provides a basis for the choice of cooperative business and development strategies. The analysis shows that the heterogeneity and geographical differences of members have a significant impact on the specific motivations of the member cooperation (i. e., the specific demands for services). Generally, women, risk averse, larger farmers, debtors are more likely to receive agricultural input, financing, product processing, marketing services. Conversely, men, risk lovers, smaller farmers, farmers with no debt are more desirable to obtain excellent variety, information, technology, machinery services. Therefore, in the formulation of business and development strategies, cooperatives should fully understand the different demands of heterogeneous members in different regions for services to provide them with differentiate services they really need.

In chapter 6, this book analyzes the factors influencing the members' income, especially the new trend of cooperative services (such as product differentiation strategy), proposing the measures to improve the performance of cooperatives. The analysis shows that, in the cooperative factors, the cooperative age, capital, chairman's background (non-ordinary farmer), financial service, and the product differentiation strategy have a significant positive impact on the net income of members. From the members' operating factors, specialization and scale have a significant positive impact on the net income of members. From the individual factors, the degree of education, special experience (e. g. non-agricultural experience, village official experience), and the degree of risk preference have a significant positive impact on the net income of members. In order to increase the income of members, this book puts forward the following measures: (1) the cooperatives should develop financing channels to increase capital. (2) The cooperatives should encourage large farmers, village officials, businessmen and professional managers to act as the co-operative managers, to take advantage of their operating capacity and social resources. (3) In the future, the cooperatives should focus on the following services: ① help the members to adjust the product

structure according to the market changes. ② Accelerate the development of financial service, agricultural machinery service, and agricultural product processing. ③ Implement the product differentiation strategy, including the development of new varieties, the promotion of standardized production and pollution-free agricultural technologies, agricultural product certification, the creation of brands, and so on. (4) The government should promote the development of agricultural insurance to reduce the risk of agriculture, and encourage the agricultural producers to expand the scale.

Chapter 7 analyzes the change and impact of the living environment of Chinese farmer cooperatives, discussing the development trend of Chinese farmer cooperatives. The change in the environment are mainly manifested as follows: the improvement of market performance, agricultural technology progress, agricultural industrialization, the decrease in agricultural employment and the decline in quality, the development of large farmers and family farms, the standardization of government support. This book argues that farmer cooperatives will have to liquidate or change, as the environment changes and the inherent problems (membership heterogeneity, control problem, and influence cost problem) of farmer cooperatives are exposed. The change includes the structural reorganization (evolving into IOFs, joint-stock cooperative enterprises, cooperatives owned by agricultural producers) and strategic transfer. The strategic transfer includes the transfer of financing strategy (such as the establishment of joint ventures through strategic alliance, the proportion strategy), and the transfer of business and competitive strategies (such as the agro-processing, product differentiation strategy, participation in agricultural industrialization). In addition, the formation of agricultural cooperatives owned by producers, and NGCs will become an important tendency. The land share cooperatives will also be further developed. Chapter 8 summarizes the main conclusion in this book.

This book has the following innovations: (1) based on the theory of institu-