



ZHONGGUO NONGYE CHANYE ZUZHI
FAZHAN YANBIAN DE ZHIDU FENXI

中国农业产业组织 发展演变的 制度分析



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摘 要

农业产业组织的发展问题,是当前中国所面临的一个重要的现实问题。自从实行家庭联产承包制以来,农户成为了农业生产经营的主体。这种制度安排充分调动了广大农民的生产积极性,从而使中国亿万农民的“温饱”问题得到了基本解决。然而,这种制度安排同时也带来了一个负面的效应,使“小生产与大市场”的矛盾日益凸现出来,由此而导致了“卖粮难”、增产不增收等问题。如果不能将这些独立生产、分散经营的农户有效地组织起来,那么已经走出贫困深渊的中国农民就难以走上共同致富的道路,实现全面小康的目标也就只能是一句口号而已。历史正赋予中国农业产业组织一个艰巨而神圣的使命。

农业产业组织的发展问题,也是一个具有重大意义的理论问题。20多年来,中国农村出现了一大批农业产业组织,其发展速度之快,组织形式之多,是世界历史舞台上所罕见的。如何来解释这些组织现象?如何来指导这些组织的发展实践?现实对理论提出了迫切的要求。如果理论能揭示出这些组织内在的作用机理,如果理论能够归结出这些组织的发展规律,那么我们就能够引导其健康地发展,发挥其应有的功能。如果我们能够把当前的实践提炼和提升为具有中国特色的农业经济理论、产业组织理论或者其他新的理论,那么它对世界社会科学也将是一个巨大的贡献。这是一个令人兴奋的研究课题。

这些年,我国理论界在农业产业组织的研究方面已取得了很大的进展,一些具有重要理论价值的研究文献正在不断涌现。然而,有两个学术现象

值得我们关注和思考:一是学者们多数只侧重于某一类农业产业组织的研究,不少研究者则在极力寻找最佳的农业产业组织形式。这里引发出两个疑问:首先,不同形式的产业组织之间究竟是相互孤立还是互为联系的?如果是孤立的,我们可以分开来考察,但如果是有联系的,那我们就应该进行综合地分析;其次,理论上究竟有没有最理想的产业组织形式呢?如果有,那么现实中为什么会出现这么多的组织形式呢?是否除了最佳组织外,其他产业组织最终都会逐渐消亡?二是多数学者都仅从经济学视角来研究农业产业组织的有关问题,是不是所有的农业产业组织都只有一个效率目标呢?答案显然是否定的。可见,只从经济学一个视角来考察农业产业组织问题或许是不够的。

作者认为,任何一种产业组织的功能都有其局限性,在制度方面每种组织形式必将存在某些缺陷。只有通过不同产业组织之间的相互交叉、相互补充,形成一个系统、完善的组织体系,才能真正有效地解决中国农业生产经营中遇到的有关问题。因此,农业产业组织研究的核心问题应该是不同产业组织之间的协调互动机制,而不仅仅是单一组织形式的研究,或者是最佳组织形式的选择。同时,组织问题是一个复杂的问题,它涉及到社会、经济、文化、法律、心理等诸多方面因素的影响。所以,我们在研究中也拓宽视野,突破单一经济学视角的分析方法。当然,不同学科的理论都有其自身的假设前提,并具有不同的分析逻辑。这就是说,要把各种不同学科的理论进行完全整合是有难度的,甚至是不可能的。不过,我们可以把不同的理论放到同一个历史事实上进行比较、分析和验证,就可以对哪种理论更适用于解释哪些组织现象作出判断。这就是所谓的比较理论分析方法。

本书引入了新制度经济学和新制度社会学的有关理论和方法,试图从制度的视角对我国农业产业组织产生原因、变迁规律和互动机制等作出理论解释和比较分析。在此基础上,再进一步提出有针对性和可行性的政策建议,并构建一些富有解释力的新理论和新方法。本书由9章组成。

第1章“导论”,通过对有关农业产业组织研究文献的回顾和评述,指出理论有待深化和探讨的问题,并交代本书的研究背景和主要观点,以及研

究目标、研究内容和研究方法等。

第2章“组织理论的历史回顾:三个视角理论的比较分析”,对经济学、社会学和管理学三个视角的组织理论进行了简要地梳理。通过纵向的回顾和横向的比较,目的是为了分析它们之间的不同之处,同时探讨它们之间进行交叉融合的可行性。本章研究的另一个目的,就是为后面相关内容的分析提供一个简明扼要的理论“图谱”。

第3章“中国农业产业组织的产生原因:基于效率机制的四种解释逻辑的比较分析”,首先回顾了建国以来我国农业产业组织的发展历程及其现状,目的是以之作为一个历史事实,对效率机制和制度视角的有关组织理论的不同流派进行经验验证。接着,把基于效率机制的四种解释组织产生原因的分析逻辑(规模经济分析逻辑、交易成本分析逻辑、分工经济分析逻辑和信息处理分析逻辑)放在中国农业产业组织发展的现实平台上进行比较和验证,看看它们各自究竟有多大的解释力。虽然分析发现,没有一个分析逻辑能完美地解释我国农业产业组织产生的根本原因,但是从中我们可以进一步地了解到哪些是影响农业产业组织产生的重要因素,并且这些因素又是通过什么机理发生作用的。

第4章“中国农业产业组织演进原因的解釋:基于制度环境的四种分析方法的比较”,本书引入了制度视角的四个演变理论(新制度经济学的变迁理论,马克思主义经济学的制度变迁理论,以及组织生态学和演化经济学两个演化理论)。通过对前两个理论的比较,以及对中国农业产业组织现实变迁的解释力分析,研究得出:两个制度变迁理论在解释我国农业产业组织演变问题上都有一定的解释力,但各自都存在着一定的局限性。在比较分析的基础上,本书提出,要分析组织的变迁规律,最重要的一点就是要突破经济学的静态分析方法,构建一个动态的分析模型。而在这个方面,两个演化理论为我们提供了许多具有启发性的分析思路和研究方法。

研究组织演变及其相互关系的一个基本前提,就是要对各种形式的农业产业组织作出科学、合理的分类和定位。因此,在第5章的“中国农业产业组织的特性分析:组织分类与组织定位”中,作者比较了经济学和社会学

的几种主要分类方法,并分析了目前我国政府对社会组织的分类管理办法,以及我国理论界对农业产业组织的各种分类方法。针对当前理论界普遍将专业合作社和农产品行业协会混为一谈的现象,作者从多个层面比较了两者之间的差别,并着重讨论了农产品行业协会的组织定位问题(包括角色定位、功能定位和目标定位)。

在以上3、4、5三章的研究基础上,第6章“中国农业产业组织协调互动机制研究:一个新的交易成本理论分析框架的构建”,将进入农业产业组织制度变迁以及不同产业组织之间相互关系的具体分析。在此,作者采纳了新制度经济学的研究方法,即以交易成本作为研究的分析工具。本章首先对交易成本理论的代表人物威廉姆森的几个主要文献进行了回顾、比较和总结,并指出这一理论中四个假设前提(有限理性、机会主义、小数交易和不确定性)及其分析框架存在着严重的缺陷与不足。在充分借鉴社会学中有关组织理论的有关研究成果,并综合利用前面几章的研究成果的基础上,作者对组织内外部的重要影响因素作出了深入分析,进而提出了一个动态的交易成本理论分析框架。为了检验该理论的解释力和有效性,作者又根据这个理论分析框架,推导出一个农业产业组织协调互动的分析模型,并运用该模型来分析中国农业产业组织发展中的若干现象和现实问题。经验验证表明,这个理论分析框架,至少在农业产业组织的分析上,比威廉姆森的分析框架具有更强的解释力。

基础研究是为了更好地理解组织的本质和运行,而理论最终还是需要回到现实中去,以解决特定的现实问题。组织生态学理论指出,在组织发展初期,合法性是组织能否取得快速发展的一个最重要因素。为此,第7章“中国农业产业组织面临的危机及规制政策研究:一个基于社会学合法性视角的分析”,作者从新制度社会学的合法性视角分析了当前我国农业产业组织所面临的制度环境。分析表明,近20年我国农业产业组织之所以能取得如此迅速的发展,主要是因为具有较强的行政合法性和政府合法性。然而,抑制它们进一步发展的障碍则在于缺乏社会合法性和法律合法性。基于此,作者提出应加快农业产业组织的规则冲突救济机制建设和农业产业组

织监督体系的构建。

第8章“国外农业产业组织发展模式的比较:经验及启示”,作者深入分析和比较了美国、德国和日本这三个典型发达国家的农业产业组织发展模式。该研究不仅为理论研究提供大量的实证经验,同时也为中国农业产业组织的发展带来了若干有益的启示。

第9章“简要结论与研究展望”,作者归纳和总结了本研究的主要成果和观点,并提出了相应的政策建议,同时也指出了本研究的不足之处,以及有待进一步深入的研究方向。

在本书撰写初期,由于理论界对“公司+农户”、农业专业合作社的研究成果已经比较多,而有关农业(农产品)行业协会的研究则相对较少,因此作者曾一度专门研究了农业(农产品)行业协会的组织特性、发展战略和具体策略等问题。其中的部分研究成果已融入以上内容,但考虑到行文的紧凑和内容的平衡,本书把两个专题研究成果放在附录当中。附录一根据美国著名社会学家 Scott 教授在《组织理论》一书中所归纳的组织研究最为关注的三个分析层次,即社会心理层次、结构分析层次和生态层次,对我国农产品行业协会发展状况进行了实证研究。附录二在全面阐述当前加快培育和发展我国农业行业协会的重要性和必要性基础上,充分借鉴美、德、日、韩等发达国家的成功经验,并结合我国国情,从六个方面提出了建立农业行业协会的基本思路 and 具体方案。

关键词:农业产业组织;制度变迁;交易成本理论;合法性机制;理论解释;比较分析

Abstract

The development of agricultural industry organizations is an important practical issue facing contemporary China. Since the introduction of the household contract responsibility system, farm households have become the actors of agricultural production and operation. Such system fully motivates farmers' enthusiasm of production and ensures the basic food and clothing supply for the majority of farmers in China. However, the system arrangement also brings about a negative effect which exacerbates the conflicts between 'the small production and the big market' and consequently leads to the difficult sale of agricultural products and stagnant incomes despite the increasing yield. If farm households with independent production and separate operation cannot be organized effectively, it will be very difficult for farmers who have just shaken off poverty to get rich. The goal of 'building a well-off society in an all round way' will be just a slogan. History is endowing the agricultural industry organizations with a tough but sacred mission.

The development of agricultural industry organizations in China is also a significant theoretical issue. Over the past two decades, the agricultural industry organizations in China have been developing at a remarkable rate and in vast diversity, which is quite rare in the world. How to explain these organizational phenomena? How to guide the practices of these organizations? The reality has an urgent requirement for the theoretical explanation and guide. If theories can reveal

the internal mechanism of the organizational development, or if theories can summarize the rules of the organizational development, the organizations will be led to a healthy development and play their due roles. If we can abstract and upgrade the practices into theories of agricultural economics, industrial organizations or other new theories with Chinese features, it will be a great contribution to the social sciences in the world. It's really an exciting research topic.

In recent years, Chinese academia has made great progresses in the theories of China's agricultural industry organizations. Research literatures with important theoretical values are emerging in large numbers. However, there're two academic phenomena need our attention and reflection. One is that most scholars focus only on the research of a certain type of agricultural industry organizations, trying to find out the best agricultural industry organizations. It brings two questions. First, are different types of industrial organizations independent of each other or mutually related? If independent, they should be studied separately; if mutually related, they should be studied comprehensively. Second, are there the most ideal industrial organization forms? If yes, why there are so many organizational forms in reality? Will all the other industrial organizations other than the most ideal ones gradually die out? The other remarkable phenomenon is that most scholars study the issues on the agricultural industry organizations from the economic perspectives. Is the efficiency the exclusive goal for all the agricultural industry organizations? The answer is definitely 'no'. Therefore, it's may not be enough to study the issues on the agricultural industry organizations from the economic perspective.

The author points out that any industrial organization has some limitations in its functions and some deficiencies in its institution. Through intercrossing and complementing, different types of industrial organizations can form a systematic and complete organizational system, effectively solving various problems in the production and operation of agriculture in China. Therefore, the core of research

on the agricultural industry organization issues should be the interactive mechanism within different types of organizations but not the single type of organizations or the most ideal type of organizations. Meanwhile, organization is a complicated issue which involves factors of society, economy, culture, laws, psychology and etc. Therefore, it's necessary to expand our research vision and break through the analysis based on the sole perspective of economics. However, theories of different disciplines have their own assumptions and analytical logics. It's difficult or even impossible to completely integrate the theories of different disciplines. But by being applied to the same historical fact, different theories can be compared, analyzed and testified, to find out which theory is more suitable to explain certain organizational phenomenon. This is so called comparative theoretical analysis.

The book introduces the theories and methodologies of neo-institutional economics and sociology, trying to make theoretical explanations and comparative analysis of the causes, transition rules and interactive mechanisms of the agricultural industry organizations in China. On this basis, the book puts forward the corresponding and feasible policy suggestions, and builds new theories and methods. The book consists of 9 chapters.

Chapter 1 "Introduction" reviews the research literature on the agricultural industry organizations, points out the issues worthy of further discussion and research, introduces the background, main viewpoints, research objectives, contents and methodologies of the book.

In Chapter 2 "Historical review of the organization theories: a comparative analysis of theories from three perspectives", the organization theories from three perspectives, namely, economics, social sciences and management sciences, are reviewed. The vertical review and the horizontal comparison are applied to analyze their differences and the possibilities of their integration. But the more important is to provide a brief theoretic atlas for the subsequent analysis.

In Chapter 3 “The causes of agricultural industry organizations in China: a comparative analysis based on the four explanatory logics of efficiency mechanism”, the author reviews the development courses of agricultural industry organizations in China which is used as a historical fact to testify the different schools of organization theories from the perspectives of efficiency mechanism and institutions. Then on the reality platform of the development of China’s agricultural industry organizations, the author compares the efficiency mechanism based four explanation logics, namely, analysis logic of scale economy, analysis logic of transaction cost, analysis logic of labor – division economy and analysis logic of information processing, to find out their respective explanation powers. Although no single analysis logic can really explain the causes of agricultural industry organizations in China, the analysis helps understand the important factors for the causes of organizations and the mechanism behind these factors.

In Chapter 4 “An explanation of the evolution causes of China’s agricultural industry organizations: a comparison of four analysis methods based on the institutional environments”, the author introduces four evolution theories from the institutional perspective, namely, theory of changes in neo – institutional economics, theory of institutional changes in Marxist economics, evolutionary theories on the organization ecology and evolutionary economics. The comparison of the former two theories and the analysis of their explanations of the reality changes of China’s agricultural industry organizations indicate that both theories are able to explain the issues to some extent, although with their own limitations. On the basis of the comparative analysis, the author argues that the most important thing for analyzing the rules of organization changes is to break through the static analysis of economics and build a dynamic analysis model. In this aspect, the two evolutionary theories have provided many inspiring implications for our analytical thoughts and research methodologies.

A basic precondition for the research on the organizational changes and their

interrelationships is to scientifically and rationally classify and define various forms of organizations. In Chapter 5 "The characteristic analysis, organizational classification and organizational orientation of China's agricultural industry organizations", the author introduces several major classification methods of economics and social sciences, and analyzes the China's governmental classification and management of social organizations and academia's theoretical classification of agricultural industry organizations in China. Based on the fact that most researchers confuse specialized cooperatives with the trade associations of agricultural products, the author compares the differences between them from various perspectives and focuses on the orientations of the trade associations of agricultural products, including role orientation, function orientation and target orientation.

Based on the research of the previous three chapters, namely, Chapter 3, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, in Chapter 6 "A study of coordination and interaction mechanism of agricultural industry organizations in China; construction of a new theoretical analysis framework of transaction cost", the author studies the changes of agricultural industry organizations and their interrelationship with the research methodologies of neo-institutional economics, using the transaction cost as the analytical tool for the research. This chapter reviews, compares and analyzes the major literature of Oliver E. Williamson who is a representative of transaction cost theory, and points out the serious deficiencies in its four assumptions (bounded rationality, opportunism, small-number transaction and uncertainty) and analytical framework. With the reference to the research findings on the organization theories in social sciences and on the basis of the research findings of the previous chapters, the author has a deep analysis of the important determinants both inside and outside of the organizations and builds a dynamic theoretical analysis framework of transaction cost. To testify the explanation power and effectiveness of the theory, an analytical model of coordination and interaction of agricultural industry organizations is developed to analyze some phenomena and practical problems in

the development of China's agricultural industry organizations. The empirical study shows that the new theoretical analysis framework explains the agricultural industry organizations better than Williamson's analytical framework does.

Fundamental research is for the better understanding of the nature and operation of the organizations. And theories have to go back to the reality to solve practical problems. According to the theories of organizational ecology, legitimacy is one of the most important factors for the rapid development of organizations in their initial stages. Therefore, in Chapter 7 "Research on crisis facing China's agricultural industry organizations and regulations and policies: an analysis from the perspective of sociological legitimacy", the author analyzes the institutional environment facing China's agricultural industry organizations from the perspective of legitimacy in the neo-institutional sociology. The analysis indicates that the rapid development of China's agricultural industry organizations over the past two decades is due to the strong administrative legitimacy and governmental legitimacy. The obstacles to the further development of these organizations are the lack of social and legal legitimacy. Therefore, the author suggests quickening the construction of the relief mechanism for the rules disputes and the supervision system of the agricultural industry organizations.

In Chapter 8 "A comparison of the development models of overseas agricultural industry organizations: experience and implications", the author has a profound analysis and comparison of the development models of agricultural industry organizations in three typical developed countries including the U. S. A., Germany and Japan. The research provides not only rich empirical experience for the theoretical study but also useful implications for the development of agricultural industry organizations in China.

In Chapter 9 "Brief conclusions and research prospects", the author summarizes the major findings and viewpoints of the research, putting forward corresponding policy suggestions, pointing out the limitations of the research and the

fields need further research.

Upon writing the book, there has already been plenty of research on the models of “company plus farmer households” and specialized agricultural cooperatives, but with comparatively little research on the agricultural (produce) industry associations. Therefore, the author specially conducted research on the organizational characteristics, developmental strategies and tactics of the agricultural (produce) industry associations. Some research findings are included in the book. However, given the limited space of the book and balance of contents, the author includes the research findings of two relevant topics in the appendices. In Appendix One, according to the three analytical hierarchies, i. e. , social psychological hierarchy, structural analytical hierarchy and ecological hierarchy, summarized by the famous American sociologist W. Richard Scott in his book “Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems”, the author has an empirical research on the development of the produce trade associations in China. And in Appendix Two, on the basis of a thorough discussion on the importance and necessity of quickening the cultivation and development of agricultural industry associations in China and with a reference to the successful experience in the developed countries such as the U. S. A. , Germany, Japan and South Korea, the author puts forward some fundamental thoughts and concrete plans for building agricultural industry associations in China from six perspectives.

Key words: Agricultural Industry Organization; Institution Transition; Theory of Transaction Cost; Legitimacy Mechanism; Theoretical Explanation; Comparative Analysis

序

20 世纪 80 年代初期,我国全面推行了农业家庭承包责任制,从而确立了农户是农业生产经营的主体。如果说建国初期的土地改革实现了“耕者有其田”,那么家庭承包责任制则实现了“耕者有其权”。从生产效率角度来看,这种制度设计具有十分明显的优越性,它大大地调动了农民的生产积极性,彻底改变了我国农产品供给长期短缺的局面。但从市场经营的视角来看,这种以一家一户为主体的经营活动,在强大而又激烈的市场竞争中就显得过于分散和弱小,以致“小生产与大市场”的矛盾日益凸现。由此表明,农户的农业家庭经营还存在一定的局限性。因此,我国农村要持续稳定地发展,真正实现“耕者有其利”,还需要在产业组织和制度方面作出进一步的创新。

20 世纪 90 年代以来,我国农村又发生了第三次制度大变革,这就是各类农业产业组织的相继出现和快速发展。从实践来看,这种制度变革有利于实现农业要素投入的集约化、资源配置的市场化、生产手段的科技化和产业经营的一体化。它是对家庭承包责任制的一种有效补充,更是为农业现代化发展创造了一个有利的条件。可以说,农业组织化的过程也是一个农业现代化的过程。

回顾我国农业组织制度变革的发展历程,其规模之庞大、影响之深远,是世界历史所罕见的,由此而引发许多理论性的问题。譬如,这些产业组织为什么会产生(发生学问题),它们是如何发生作用的(机理问题),不同形式农业产业组织之间存在怎样的关系(组织体系问题),这些产业组织制

度是如何发展变迁的(演变规律问题),等等。目前,有关中国农业产业组织的研究文献可谓汗牛充栋,在许多方面已作出了重要的贡献。不过,现有成果多数只侧重于某类农业产业组织的研究,而没有把不同形式的农业产业组织放在一个平台上进行比较分析,这就难免会使研究结论产生偏颇。同时,有关研究主要采用了经济学视角的分析,而很少引入其它学科的研究方法,使研究视野也受到一定的局限。如何改变这种研究状况,更加系统和深入地剖析农业产业组织的产生原因、作用机理和演变规律,这就是该书的写作初衷,也是该书的主要贡献。我认为,该书的特色主要体现在以下几个方面:

特点之一,采用了一个比较理论分析方法,将经济学、社会学和管理学等学科中有关组织理论或学术流派纳入一个框架中进行比较分析,并以我国农业组织发展变迁的事实来验证各种理论的解释力。这种方法不仅可以为研究提供一个清晰的理论图谱,同时也可说明现有理论在解释中国问题的局限性。更为重要的是,从中加深了对组织问题的认识 and 了解。譬如,劳动分工是组织产生的前提,交易成本的高低是组织制度演变的重要原因,而组织规模、组织行为模式、组织的可靠性和责任感,以及制度环境等可能是影响组织内外部交易成本的主要因素。这为本书的理论创新奠定了一个重要的基础。

特点之二,综合考虑了组织的内部协调控制成本和组织外部的交易成本,并且把组织三个层面(微观、中观和宏观)的因素和交易层面的因素联系在一起,创建了一个交易成本理论分析框架。这个理论框架不仅打开了组织这个“黑箱”,而且还突破了威廉姆森对交易成本概念的狭义理解,以及其分析维度难以观察的局限性。如果该理论框架能得到更多经验的证实,那么这对交易成本经济学的发展将是意义重大。

特色之三,通过交易成本分析模型,深入揭示了我国农业产业组织的产生原因、演变规律和作用机理,同时对企业一体化、企业边界等问题也作出了一些新的理论解释。这既有相当的理论价值,又有重要的现实意义。

特色之四,从组织特性视角,比较分析了农业专业合作社和农产品行业