



Into Their Labors A World History of Peasants

劳作之中：农民的世界史

Eric Vanhaute

埃里克·范豪特

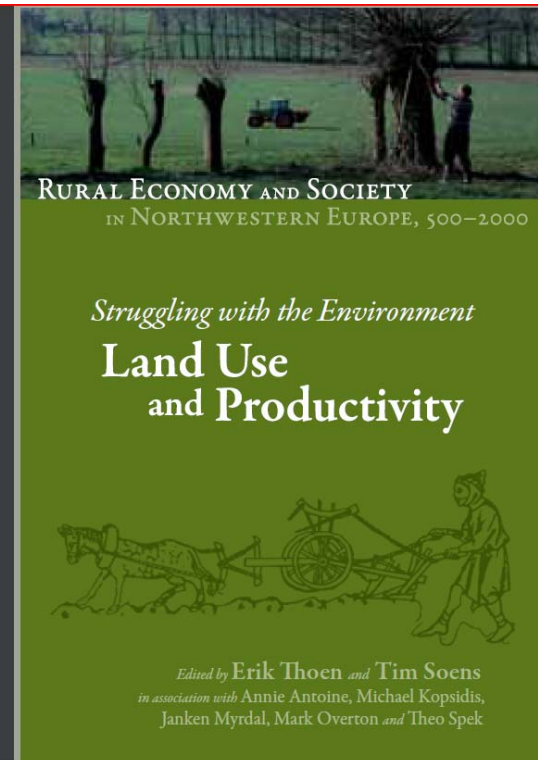
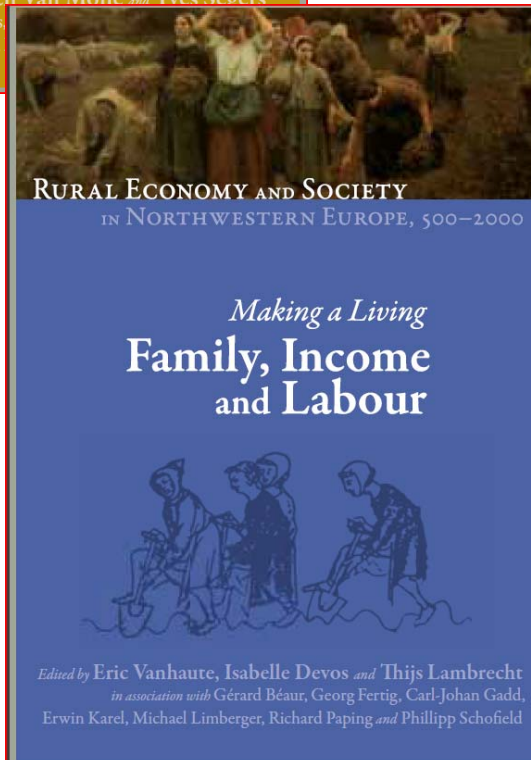
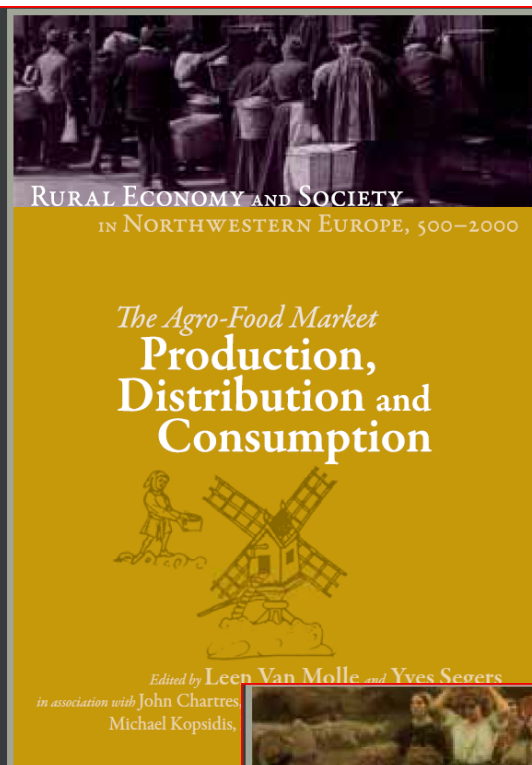
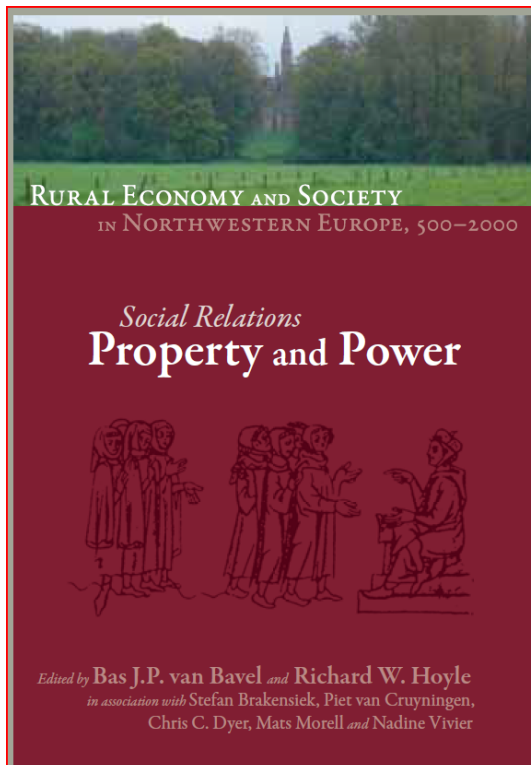
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《西北欧的农村经济与社会：公元500 - 2000/社会关系：财产和权力》

《农产品市场：生产，分配与消费》

《谋生：家庭，收入和劳动》

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WORLD HISTORY

AN INTRODUCTION

Eric Vanhaute

Themes in World History

Series Editor: **Peter N. Stearns**

The *Themes in World History* series provides exciting, new and wide-ranging surveys of the important themes of world history. Each theme is examined over a broad period of time allowing analysis of continuities and change, and introduces students to historians' methods and debates in their context.

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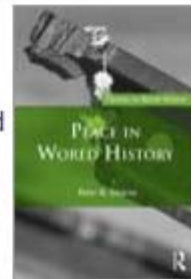
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Peace in World History

By **Peter N. Stearns**

In *Peace in World History*, Peter N. Stearns examines the ideas of peace that have existed throughout history, and how societies have sought to put them into practice. Beginning with the status of peace in early hunter-gatherer and agricultural societies, and continuing through the present day, the...

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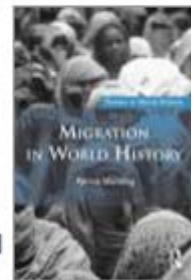
Migration in World History

2nd Edition

By **Patrick Manning**

This fully revised and updated second edition of *Migration in World History* traces the connections among regions brought about by the movement of people, diseases, crops, technology and ideas. Drawing on examples from a wide range of geographical regions and thematic areas, noted world historian...

Published September 5th 2012 by Routledge



Peasants. A World History 农民：一部世界史

1/ The Debate: Three Discussions 论争：三场讨论

2/ The Object: Peasants' Work and Peasants' Worlds 对象：农民这份工作与他们的世界

3/ The Subject: Peasant Regimes and Peasant Transformation 主体：农民体制与农民转型

4/ The Question: Incorporation, Assimilation and Resistance. Peasantries as Frontiers 问题：收编、同化与抗争；作为前沿的农民

5/ Central Focus: Peasant Land-Labour Regimes in Agrarian Empires and in Global Capitalism 焦点：农业帝国与全球资本主义中的农民、土地、劳动力体制

Land Rights, Land Access, Land Reforms (and Peasant Rebellions) 地权，土地使用权，土地改革（与农民的反抗）



1. The debate: three discussions / three paradoxes 论争：三场讨论（三个悖论）

Discussion 1: Globalization as a historical process:
towards a world without peasants?
讨论1：全球化的历史进程：走向一个没有农民的世界？

The end of peasantries? 农民的终结？

How to understand de-agrarianization? de-ruralization? de-peasantization? 如何理解去农业化？如何理解去农村化？
如何理解去小农化？

After divergence more convergence? 分歧之后更为趋同？

The urban and rural population of the world, 1950-2030

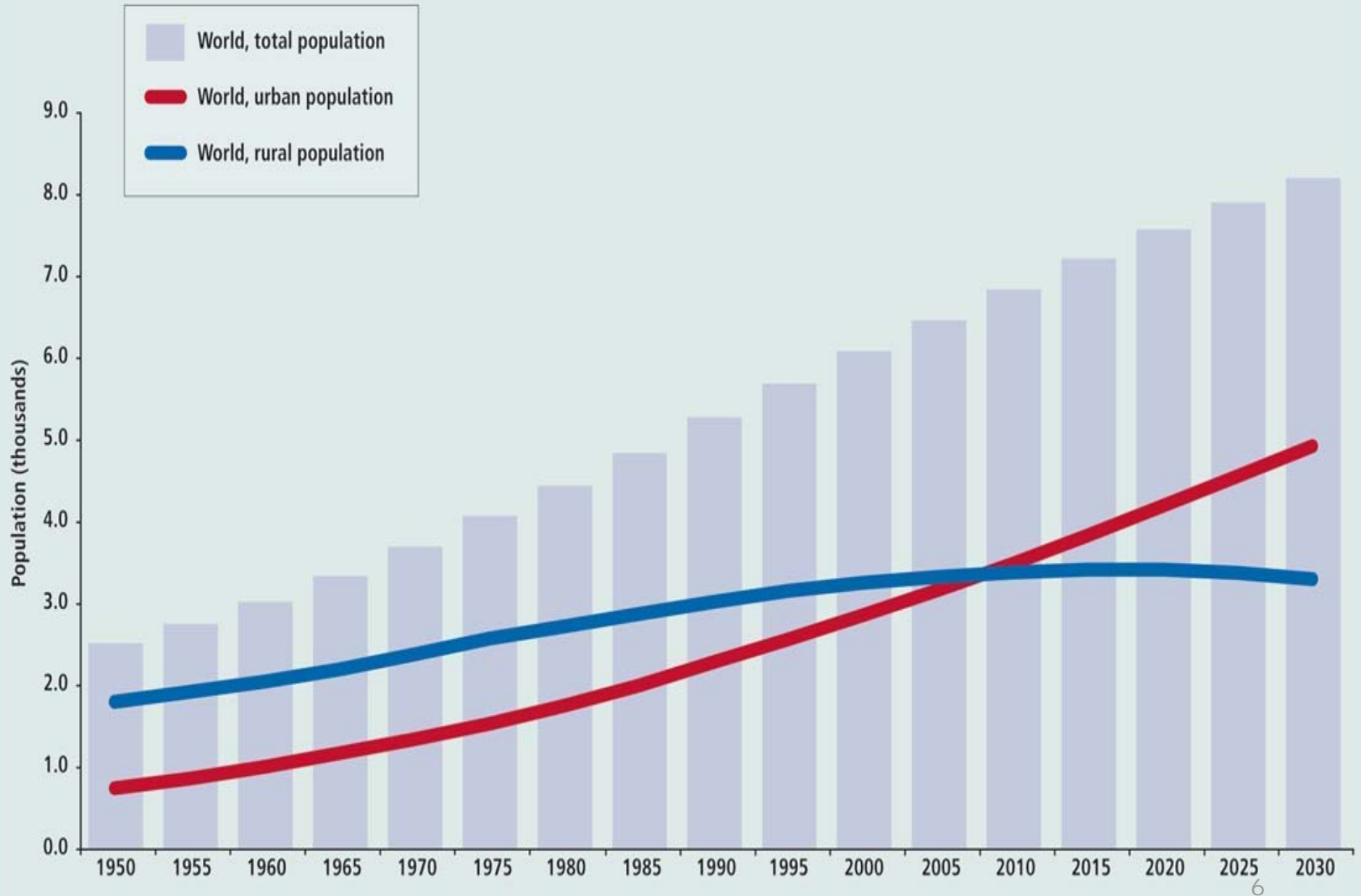


Table 4.1 Rural population between 1950 and 2030

	<i>World population</i>		<i>Proportion of rural population by region</i>				
	<i>Total (billions)</i>	<i>Rural (billions)</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Central and South America</i>	<i>North America</i>	<i>Europe</i>
1950	2.53	1.80 (71%)	86%	83%	59%	36%	49%
1970	3.69	2.35 (64%)	76%	77%	43%	26%	37%
1990	5.29	3.03 (57%)	68%	68%	30%	25%	30%
2000	6.12	3.27 (53%)	64%	63%	24%	21%	29%
2010	6.91	3.42 (49%)	60%	58%	20%	18%	27%
2030	8.31	3.41 (41%)	50%	47%	15%	13%	22%

Source: *UN World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision Population Database* (<http://esa.un.org>).



(Paradox 1): the end of peasantries? (悖论1)：农民的终结？

1950: 2/3 world population in agriculture

世界人口中有三分之二从事农业

2015: 1/3 world population in agriculture

世界人口中有三分之一从事农业

= 1.3 billion main income from land
1 - 1.5 billion additional income from land
13亿人的主要收入来自土地
10 - 15亿人的部分收入来自土地

= 2.5 billion (FAO)
95% small producers in Global South
→ 70% of total food production
25亿人（联合国粮农组织）
95%的小生产者集中在南半球，生产了全球70%的粮食



**Discussion 2: a ‘European globalization’?
de-peasantization as a part of the ‘theory of progress’
讨论2：一场“欧洲的”全球化？属于“进步理论”的去小农化**

**(Paradox 2)
(悖论2)**


1/ Economic growth + social welfare + food security 经济增长 + 社会福利 + 粮食安全

- From ‘closed’ to ‘open’ markets 市场从“封闭”走向“开放”

- From ‘informal’ to ‘formal’ protection systems 保护体系从“非正式”走向“正式”

2/ The four ‘Cheaps’: labour, energy, raw materials, food 四类廉价的物品：劳动力，能源，原材料，粮食

- Externalizing (part of) social and ecological costs (frontier expansion and green revolutions) 社会与生态代价的（部分）外部化（前沿领域的推进与绿色革命）



Discussion 3: old and new peasantries
讨论3：旧农民与新农民
(paradox 3)
(悖论3)

1/ From a foundation of agrarian empires and colonial and imperialist capitalism ? 从农业帝国、殖民资本主义与帝国资本主义的根基？

2/ To a burden in nowadays neo-liberal food regimes ? 到今天新自由主义粮食体制的负担？

- As producers of agricultural surplus 作为农业剩余的生产者
- As strategies of survival 作为生存策略
- As actors in food regimes 作为粮食体制的行动者
- As agents of change (former and new 'anti-systemic' movements) 作为导致变迁的能动者 (之前的和新兴的 “反系统” 运动)

Peasantization: 小农化：

strategies of marginalization ? 边缘化的策略？

or 抑或

strategies against marginalization ? 对抗边缘化的策略？

In the 21th century, can a strategy of peasantization be a viable answer to real marginalization? 对于真正的边缘化，21世纪的小农化策略是可行对策吗？

This includes the reinforcement of peasant production and knowledge systems, peasant land holding systems (access to land, land rights, land use), peasant food provisioning systems (food sovereignty), peasant movements and peasant forms of resistance and a mental and ideological re-peasantization. 这包括重新加强农民的生产 and 知识体系、小农的土地权属体系（土地使用权，地权，土地使用等）、小农的粮食供给体系（食物主权）、农民运动、小农的抵抗以及思想和意识形态上的再小农化

It challenges the foundation of 20th century modernization and food regimes 它挑战了20世纪现代化与粮食体制的基础





2. The Object: Peasants' Work and Peasants' Worlds 对象：农民这份工作和他们的世界

Peasants are the workers of the land. 农民是劳作于土地上的人。

They are organized in rural, agricultural households who have (at least partly) direct access to the land they work and the fruits of their labour 他们以农村、农业家庭的形式组织在一起，（至少部分）拥有所耕作的土地的使用权以及自己劳动的成果。

They are organized in family bonds, village communities and social groups, peasantries. These meet a large portion of their subsistence needs (production, exchange, credit, protection) and pool different forms of income (from land, labor, and exchange). 他们以血缘，地缘和身份等方式组织在一起。这些能满足他们大部分的生存需要（生产，交换，信贷和保护），将（来自土地，劳动和交换的）不同形式的收入汇集在一处

They are ruled by other social groups that extract a surplus either via rents, via market transfers, or through control of state power (taxation). 他们被其他集团所统治，后者通过地租、市场交换或通过控制国家权力（税收）来汲取农民的生产剩余。

Key terms are (a degree of) household and local autonomy, direct access to land and labor resources, flexible strategies of income-pooling, household-based village structures, and surplus extraction outside local control 关键是：（一定程度的）农户和地方自主性，土地和劳动力资源的使用权，有灵活的策略聚合收入来源，以家庭为基础的村庄结构，以及地方之外集团对其劳动剩余的汲取。



(1) Peasantries as a social process 农民作为一种社会过程

- Farm: the pursuit of an agricultural livelihood combining subsistence and commodity production, through direct access to land, labour and commodities 农场：以农业为本的生计，通过直接在土地上劳作和生产，将维持生活和生产商品结合起来
- Family and village society: social organizations based as the vital units of production, consumption, reproduction, socialization, welfare, credit and risk-spreading 家庭和村落社会：集生产、消费、再生产、社会化、福利、信贷、分散风险于一体的社会组织 and 基本单位
- Social group / Class: external subordination to state authorities and regional or international markets which involve surplus extraction and class differentiation 社会群体 / 阶级：臣服于外部的国家权威与地区性或国际性的市场之下，涉及到农业剩余的汲取和阶级的分化



(2) Peasantries as a social frontier 农民作为一个社会前沿

- Incorporation in overarching societal systems; Outside core decision and accumulation centers 被纳入总的社会体系；处在决策和积累中心之外
- Peasant zones central to expansion of agrarian (tributary) empires, and global (colonial and imperialist) capitalism 对农业（附属）帝国与全球（殖民和帝国主义）资本主义的扩张极为重要的农民区
- Integrated as (peripheral) spaces of production, exploitation and recreation 整合为（外围的）生产、剥削和重现的空间

No 'peasant essentialism'; no 'peasant teleology' 不要“农民本质论”，不要“农民目的论”

But historical processes of peasantization, de-peasantization, re-peasantization. Via creation, decline, adaptation and resistance: 但存在创造、衰落、适应和抵抗等形式的小农化、去小农化、再小农化的历史过程：

- diversification of systems of access to labor, land and markets 劳动力、土地和市场准入体系的多样化
- diversification of production / reproduction 生产与再生产的多样化
- diversification of survival and coping mechanisms 生存与应对机制的多样化



3. The subject : peasant regimes and peasant transformation – a global analysis

主体：农民体制与农民转型——一个全球视角的分析

'Global research' needs to be: “全球性研究” 应当是

- *integrated (peasant life)* 综合的 (农民生活)
- *multi-scaled (local and supra-local scales of action)* 多范围的 (本地以及超出本地的行动)
- *comparative* 比较的
- *interconnected and systemic (interaction within 'global' systems)* 相互关联和系统性的 (在 “全球” 体系内互动)
- *Historical* 历史性的



Peasant Regimes 农民体制

The way how peasantries in a certain time/space are (internally) organized and (externally) embedded 农民在一定的时空背景下如何实现（内部的）组织以及（外部的）嵌入？

Each regime embodies an institutionalization of economic, social, political and ecological forces that structure internal and external peasant relations. It organizes forms of production, reproduction, exchange, extraction. It defines how these relations are ordered, and represented (or legitimized), via forms of hegemony. 每个体制都代表一定的经济、社会、政治和生态力量的制度化，这决定了农民内部和外部关系的结构。它将生产、再生产、交换和汲取的形式组织起来。它以霸权的形式决定了这些关系如何有序排列，如何被代表或合法化。

Regimes are a methodological tool to specify changing relations between ‘world ordering’ and peasantries. It claims that episodes of restructuring and transition are bounded by stable periods of organization. 体制是一个方法论上的工具，用以特别指明“世界秩序”与农民之间变化着的关系。它表明：再结构化和转型等阶段受到组织的稳定时期所制约。

They may provide a global comparative-historical lens on the social, economic, political and ecological relations of agrarian empires and global capitalism 它们可能提供一种全球性的历史比较视角，用以观察农业帝国和全球资本主义的社会、经济、政治和生态关系。



Types of regimes 体制的类型

- 🌾 Peasants and village / city societies (from 7000 BCE) 农民与村落 / 城邦社会 (始于公元前7000)
- 🌾 Peasants and agrarian empires (from 3000 BCE) 农民与农业帝国 (始于公元前3000年)
- 🌾 Peasants and colonial expansion (from 1500 CE) 农民与殖民扩张 (始于1500年)
- 🌾 Peasants and imperialist expansion (from 1850 CE) 农民与帝国主义扩张 (始于1850年)
- 🌾 Peasants and neo-liberal expansion (from 1980 CE) 农民与新自由主义扩张 (始于1980年)

(examples) (事例)

- Peasantries in early village/city states (example Fertile Crescent) 早期村落 / 城邦国家的农民 (例如新月沃土) (注: 古代农业地区, 从尼罗河向东北延伸到底格里斯河, 向东南伸展至波斯湾)
- Peasantries in agrarian-imperial expansion (example China) 农业帝国扩张时期的农民 (如中国)
- Peasantries in capitalist core zone expansion (example Western Europe) 资本主义中心区扩张时期的农民 (如西欧)
- Peasantries in capitalist settler zone expansion (example Africa/North America) 资本主义殖民区扩张时期的农民 (如非洲和北美)
- Peasantries in capitalist plantation zone expansion (example Middle/South America) 资本主义种植园扩张时期的农民 (如中美洲和南美洲)
- Peasantries in capitalist peasant zone expansion (example sub-Saharan Africa) 资本主义农场区扩张时期的农民 (如撒哈拉以南的非洲)
- Peasantries in neo-liberal world order (example contemporary peasant movements) 新自由主义世界秩序下的农民 (如当代农民运动)



4. The Question: Incorporation, Assimilation and Resistance. Peasantries as Frontiers 问题：收编、同化和抗争，作为前沿的农民

Expansion of historical systems is 'nourished' by the incorporation of new spatial and social zones 通过吸纳新的空间上的和地区的区域，历史系统获得了扩张的“养分”

-> Widening external frontiers 外部前沿的扩大

Expansion of historical systems creates new spatial and social zones of action and interaction 历史系统的扩大又创造了行动与互动的空间上和地区的新区域

-> Deepening internal frontiers 内部前沿的深化



Agrarian Empires: Indirect incorporation 农业帝国：间接收编

Global Capitalism: Direct incorporation (commodification of the countryside)
全球资本主义：直接收编（对农村的商品化）

Long 16th century: regional incorporations 漫长的16世纪：区域性的收编

- (re-) peasantization around capitalist centers around North Sea (and America) 北海（和美国）附近的资本主义中心（再）小农化

1850-1950: imperialist incorporations 1850-1950年的帝国主义的收编

- (re-) peasantization in European colonies (Africa, Asia) 欧洲殖民地（非洲和亚洲）的（再）小农化

Late 20th century: neoliberal incorporations 20世纪晚期：新自由主义的收编

- (re-) peasantization as anti-systemic force ? 作为反系统力量的（再）小农化？



New peasant regimes: changing rules of the game 新农民体制：游戏规则变了

Via waves of appropriation and commodification of land and labor 通过剥夺土地和劳动力以及将其商品化

- Direct appropriation since 16th century (Americas) 从16世纪以来的直接剥夺 (各美洲)
- State induced commodification 政府诱导的商品化
 - in European core since late Middle Ages 中世纪后期的欧洲中心地区
 - in European periphery since 19th century 19世纪以来欧洲的外围地区
 - . Imperialist regime 帝国主义体制
 - . Developmentalist regime 发展主义体制
 - . Neo-liberal regime 新自由主义体制



Result 1: widening and deepening frontiers 结果1：前沿的扩大与深化

Frontiers are (shifting) processes of contact / interaction between different social spaces and systems that unleash new streams of the *four cheaps* 前沿指造就了四种廉价物品的不同社会空间和系统之间的（变化的）接触和互动过程

Incorporation: external frontiers 收编：外部前沿

Diversification: internal frontiers 多样化：内部前沿

Increasing pressure contributes to the homogenization of the global capitalist system by reducing its frontiers. It simultaneously leads to heterogenization because this pressure is answered by new forms of resistance and the (re)formulation of (new) frontiers. 压力的增加导致全球资本主义体系通过减少前沿求得同质化。它同时也导致异质化，因为为回应这种压力，出现了新的抵抗形式，（再）形成了新的前沿。



Result 2: new peasant answers 结果2：新农民的回答

Social and spatial differentiation through processes of de- and re-peasantization 因去小农化和再小农化的过程而出现社会和空间的分化

品化 - Uneven incorporation and uneven commodification 不均等的吸纳与不均等的商品化

变化 - Changing strategies of peasant livelihood diversification 农民生计多样性策略的变化

What is often regarded as de-peasantization is, in essence, part of more diversified labor and income strategies of the peasantry. 常见的去小农化，实质上是农民的劳动和收入策略更多样化了

Due to intensifying processes of economic and social uprooting, for an important portion of the world's population these survival strategies become more important than ever. 因为经济和社会的根基愈来愈受到动摇，对世界相当一部分人口而言，这种生存策略的重要性尤甚从前。

Some authors have coined these revived multi-level strategies of survival, autonomy and resistance a recreation of peasant strategies 有些学者认为，这种重新兴起的多层次的生存、自主和抵抗策略是小农策略的一种再创造



5. Central Focus: Peasant Land-Labour Regimes in Agrarian Empires and in Global Capitalism

焦点：农业帝国和全球资本主义中的农民、土地、劳动力体制

New frontiers of land and labour 土地与劳动力的新前沿

→ From appropriation to commodification 从剥夺到商品化
(= processes, never complete) (= 多个过程，从未完结)

→ Permanent Redefinition / Recreation 永远的再定义 / 再创新

Struggles: 争夺：

- Access to land (and commons) 土地 (和公用地)
- Access to household labor 家庭劳动力
- Access to capital 资本
- Access to knowledge 知识

→ Old and modern enclosures 旧式的和现代的圈地

Case: Land Rights, Land Access, Land Reforms (and Peasant Rebellions)

案例：地权，土地使用权，土地改革（和农民的反抗）

Who defines the 'rights of access'? 谁来界定“准入权”

- Peasant (families) 农民（家庭）
- Village institutions 村庄组织
- Lords 地主
- States (government) 国家（政府）
- (World) Markets （世界）市场
- Social movements 社会运动





Global Capitalism: new regime of property rights 全球资本主义：新产权体制

- The invention of private property. The commodification of the countryside (enclosure) 产权的发明：农村的商品化（圈地）
- Within capitalism each peasant regime is premised on new forms of enclosure across time and space. This dimension is critical because enclosure alters ecological relations: gradually substituting world-extractive for local-extractive processes. 在资本主义社会，任一农民体制都以不同时空下新型的圈地运动为前提基础。这一视角之所以重要，是因为圈地改变了生态关系：地区性汲取逐渐被全球性汲取所取代

- 
- ? 15th – 18th ct bourgeois land reform - city/urban/regional
 ? 15到18世纪 资产阶级的土地改革 - 城邦 / 城市 / 地区性的
 - 1750-1850 physiocratic land reform - state/national setting
 1750 - 1850 重农主义土地改革 - 国家 / 全国性的
 - 1870-1920 mercantilist land reforms - imperialism
 1870 - 1920 重商主义土地改革 - 帝国主义
 - 1940-1980 neo-physiocratic land reforms - global: developmentalism
 1940 - 1980 新重农主义土地改革 - 全球性的：发展主义
 - 1980-... neo-mercantilist land reforms - global: neo-liberal
 1980 - 新重商主义土地改革 - 全球性的：新自由主义

Waves of rural rebellions??

农村反抗的浪潮??



Running projects 正在开展的研究项目

- CORN – North Sea Area: M.A. – 20th century 北海地区：中世纪 - 20世纪
- High Andes: land reforms 20th century 安第斯高地：20世纪土地改革
- Yangzi Delta: land reforms 1950-1980's 长江三角洲：20世纪50 - 80年代的土地改革
- East China: rules access to land 20th century 中国东部：20世纪 土地使用法
- East Congo: land and labour regimes in coffee growing regions 刚果东部：咖啡种植区的土地和劳动力体制
- Comparative and global analysis of (state induced) land reforms and resultant peasant rebellions 分析和比较全球由政府主导的土地改革及其所引发的农民反抗
(workshops Lima 2015, Girona 2015, Lisbon 2016)
(2015利马研讨会、2015赫罗纳研讨会 和2016年里斯本研讨会)




Some Afterthoughts 后续思考

This research approaches the question of land control as a central point of friction between peripherally located groups and the development of a capitalist world-economy. 本研究将土地控制问题视为外围的群体与资本主义世界经济发展之间摩擦的中心。

The question of land is basically a question of rights, in the first place the right to self-determination. Rural peasant usually maintain communal rather than individual claims to land, territory and resources. 土地问题从根本上而言是权利问题，其中自决权占据首要位置。农民对土地、领地和资源的权利主张一般是集体的而非个人的。

In the context of state expansion and capitalist market integration, these rights have become undermined by commodifying pressures to delineate, endorse and extend a systematic legal basis for what is called 'title to the land'. 在国家扩张和资本主义市场整合的背景下，这些权利因商品化的压力而受到侵害，土地因此被划定界线，被签字转让，法律体系的基础也被扩展，这些被冠以“土地确权”。

This process of land rights commodification can be regarded as a concrete, and possibly the single most important frontier that has shaped the historical trajectory of capitalism expansion 地权的商品化过程可以被看作影响了资本主义扩张的历史进路的具体、也可能是最重要的前沿领地。



Land reform case studies demonstrate how the interplay of the modernizing aspirations of state elites and strong communal land claims often forced local communities, rural elites and government actors into a complex negotiation. 土地改革的案例表明了国家精英的现代化激情与公有土地的强烈诉求如何相互作用，如何常常促使当地社区、农村精英与政府行动者进行复杂的磋商。

The interaction of commodifying state initiatives and local responses drives the creation and movement of (new) frontiers of land control. Rather than following straightforward course, this frontier process covers multiple trajectories that reflect regional divergences as well as the ability of peripheral groups to extort concessions, compromises or retreats that enables them to secure a minimal margin for autonomy (process of negotiated incorporation). 政府发起的商品化运动与地方上的回应之间的互动，激发了土地控制的（新的）前沿的形成和运动。这一过程并不作线性运动，而是有多个复杂的路径，它既反映了地区性的分歧，也反映了边缘群体能够（在协商性收编的过程中）强行取得特许权，或妥协退让以得到一点点自主的空间。

The frontier perspective elaborated in this presentation can thus be instructive to the analysis of ‘peripheral agency’ in the context of incorporative processes in other temporal and spatial settings, in order to give more texture to our understanding of an ever more globalizing world. 因此，此次演讲中呈现的前沿领域的视角有助于分析其他时空背景下收编过程中“外围的能动性”，让我们更好地了解一个更加全球化了的世界的本质。



And a last question 最后一个问题

How does the 'Chinese case' fit? “中国的案例” 如何与之契合？

- Regime of agrarian empire until 19th century; impact of and on peasantries and peasant movements during disintegration of empire? 直至19世纪的农业帝国体制；帝国瓦解时期农民与农民运动的影响以及农民与农民运动所受的影响
- Regime of modernization in 20th century, since 1945 the collectivistic way; redefinition of the countryside; impact of and on peasantries and peasant movements? 20世纪的现代化体制，从1945年以来的集体化道路；对农村的再界定；农民和农民运动的影响以及农民和农民运动所受的影响？
- Regime of capitalist integration late 20th century; impact on land reforms and peasants rights? 20世纪晚期的资本主义整合体制；对土地改革和农民权利的影响？