



**THE PUZZLE OF EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA'S
PERSISTENT SMALLHOLDER
东亚和东南亚小土地持有者顽强存续之谜**

Jonathan Rigg

*Department of Geography and Asia
Research Institute*

National University of Singapore

乔纳森·里格

新加坡国立大学地理系、亚洲研究所

‘The land is the only thing in the world worth working for, worth fighting for, worth dying for, because it’s the only thing that lasts...’ “土地是世界上唯一值得你为之去劳动，为之战斗，为之牺牲的东西，因为它是唯一永恒的东西。”

Gerald O’Hara in *Gone with the Wind* 杰拉尔德·奥哈拉 《飘》

(See <https://youtu.be/YSOYTFw0JaA?t=2m6s>)





The puzzle 谜团

Farming is becoming progressively less important for sustaining rural livelihoods yet a surprising proportion of households maintain ownership of their land. 农耕在农村生计的维系中日益失去其重要性，但仍有相当比例的农户不放弃土地。

- People are becoming less dependent on land and farming for their livelihoods; 人们渐渐不再依赖土地和农耕维持生计
- they are engaging more deeply and significantly with non-farm activities and non-rural spaces; 他们更多地在非农领域从事非农业活动
- they are often farming with less intensity and, seemingly, less enthusiasm; 耕作的密集程度在下降，耕作的热情也减少了。
- they are spending longer away from their rural homes. 他们离开农村的时间变长。
- And yet they appear stubbornly to cling to their small farms. 但他们仍顽固地不肯放弃土地。

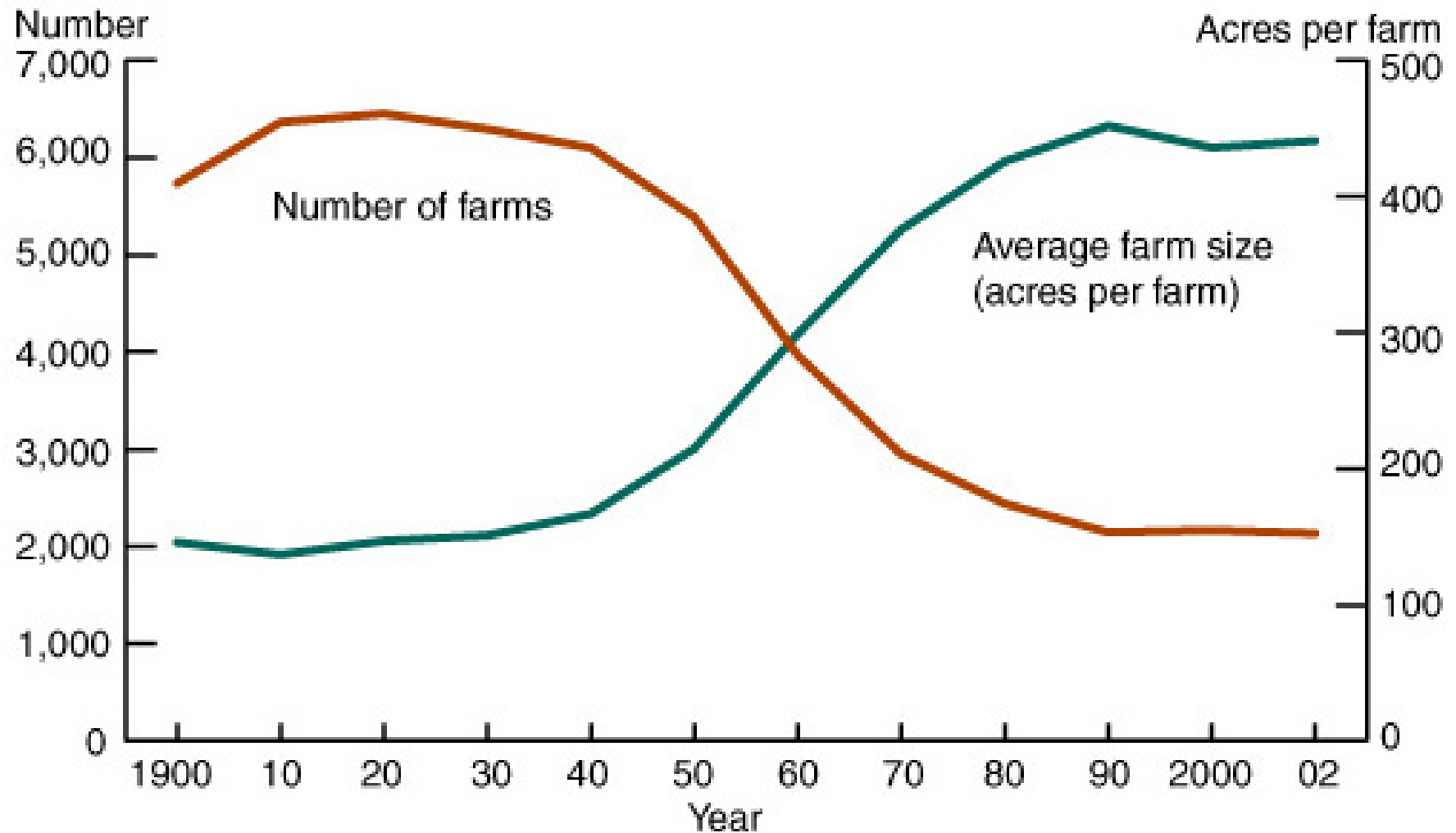


The farm-size transition 农场规模的转变

“As per capita income rises, economies diversify and workers leave agriculture, rural wages go up, and capital becomes cheaper relative to land and labour. It then becomes more efficient to have progressively larger farms. Economies of scale in mechanized farming eventually kick in, accelerating this trend. The result is a natural economic transition towards larger farms over the development process, but one that depends critically on the rate of rural–urban migration, and hence on the growth of the non-agricultural sector” (Hazell and Rahman, 2014b: 3).

随着人均收入的增长，多种形态的经济出现了，农业雇工退出农业生产，农村雇工工资上升，相对于土地和劳动力而言资本变得廉价。因此，农场规模变大会更有效率。机械化耕作的规模经济应运而生，加速了这一趋势的转变。最终将自然而然地过渡到大规模农场，但这一过程极度依赖于农村-城市的人口迁移，依赖于非农部门的发展。

As the number of farms declined, their average size increased

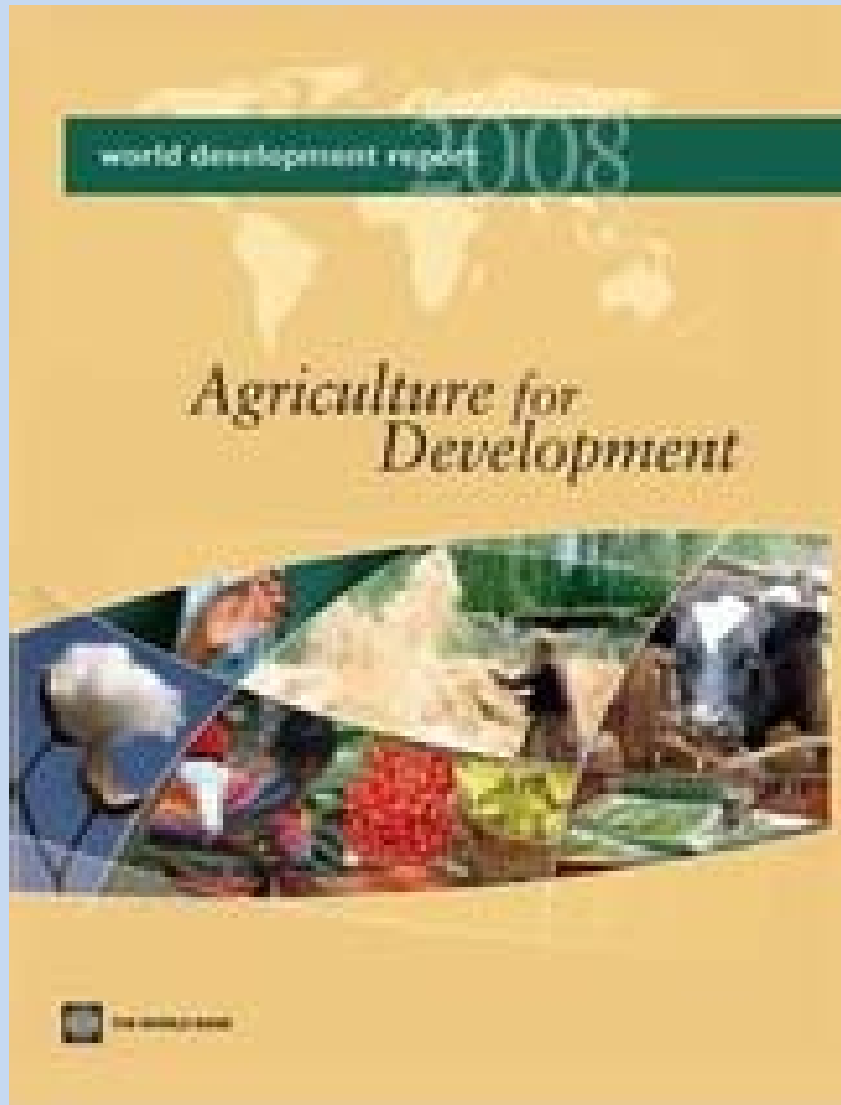


Source: Compiled by Economic Research Service, USDA, using data from *Census of Agriculture*, *Census of Population*, and *Census of the United States*.

Why? 为什么?

1. Asia is a continent of smallholdings and smallholders and that this is an invariant condition and has an inviolable cultural value. 亚洲大陆上遍布着小块农田和小土地持有者，它亘古如此，具有不可侵犯的文化价值。
2. That smallholder-based development has a disproportionate effect on poverty reduction and thus, for many development planners, policy-makers, practitioners and scholars, investment in and the sustaining of smallholder agriculture is taken as the best means to promote rural development, sustain rural livelihoods, and ameliorate rural poverty. 以小土地持有者为基础的发展对减贫有非同寻常的作用，因此，很多发展规划者、政策制定者、实践者和学者将投资和维持小规模农业视为促进农村发展、维持生计、减轻贫困的最佳途径。

But – is (1) an accurate reading of smallholders today; and does (2) still apply?
但是：时至今日，第一个论断还正确吗？第二个论断还适用吗？



This need to push through the farm-size transition in the global South is a key theme of the World Bank's *Agriculture for development* (2007) report. 推动南半球农场规模的转变是2007年世行报告《以农业促发展》的关键主题。

For 'transforming [East Asian] countries', concerns are focused on widening rural-urban disparities, persistent rural poverty, and declining farm sizes. 对东亚“转型”国家而言，焦点在于扩大的城乡差距、农村长期贫困以及农场规模缩减。

The World Bank is fearful that landholdings might become “so minute that they [will] compromise survival if off-farm income opportunities are not available” (World Bank, 2007: 21). 世行担心农场规模变得“过小，以至于没有非农收入，农民就不能维持生活。”

Three explanatory lenses 三个解释的视角

To account for the persistence of the East Asian smallholder I want to use three explanatory lenses: 我想用三个视角来解释东亚小土地持有者的顽强存续

- the economics of smallholder farming; 小规模农耕的经济学
- the political economy of agriculture; 农业的政治经济学
- and the grounded logics underpinning smallholder livelihoods 小土地持有者维持生计的合理逻辑

But first: what is a smallholder and what has been the role of the smallholder in Asia's growth? 但首先：什么是小土地持有者，其在亚洲发展过程中起到了怎样的作用？

Delineating the smallholder

界定小土地持有者

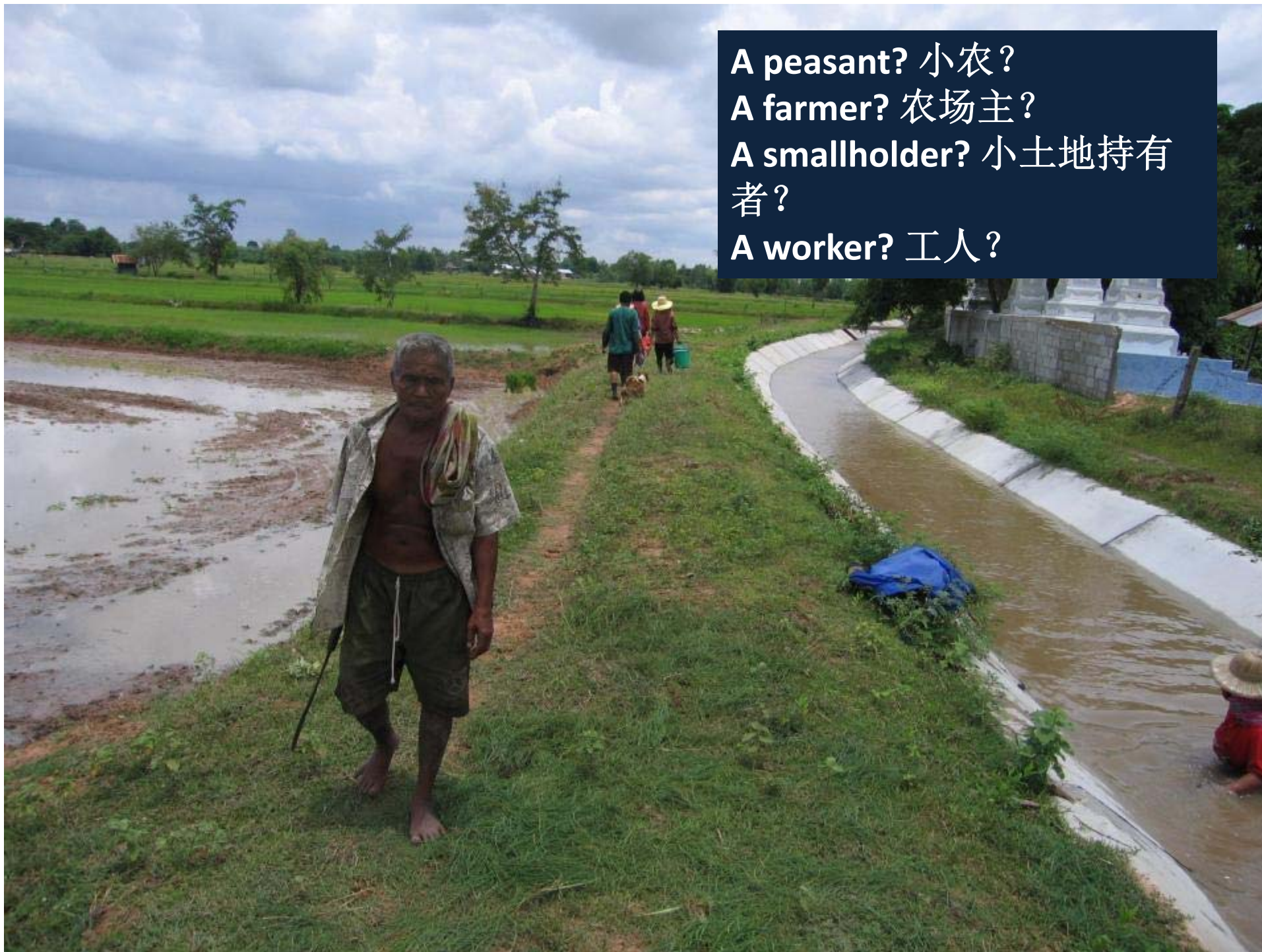
Delineating the smallholder 界定小土地持有者

Term 术语	Focus 重点	Definition 定义
Family farm and family farmer 家庭农场和家庭农民	Ownership and source of labour 土地所有权和劳动力来源	This term pays attention to the fact that the bulk of labour is provided by family members; the farm, in this instance, maps quite neatly onto a social unit, namely the 'family' or, often, 'household'. 这一术语强调劳动力主要由家庭成员提供，农场相当于一个社会单位，即“家庭”或常常是“家户”
Peasant farm and peasant cultivator 小农农场和农夫	Motive (subsistence) 动机 (生存)	'Peasants' and the 'peasantry' are a farming class who produce largely to meet their own subsistence needs. A subsistence ethic is said to shape their decisions. There is also a political gloss to the notion of the peasantry; they are a subordinate class “小农”和“小农阶级”是一个靠农业满足基本生存需求的阶级。生存伦理影响着他们的决定。小农阶级这一概念有政治的含义，他们是从属阶级。

Delineating the smallholder 界定小土地持有者

Term 术语	Focus 重点	Definition 定义
<i>Small farm and small farmer</i> 小农场和小农场主	Size of landholding and motive (profit) 土地规模和动机（利润）	Small farms are usually defined, in the literature, as those farms with less than 2 hectares of crop land. A challenge here is the application of this definition across very different agro-ecological contexts. 小农场的定义一般是指2公顷以下的耕地。但这一定义难以应用于迥异的农业生态背景。
<i>Smallholding and smallholder</i> 小规模土地和小土地持有者	Size of landholding 土地规模	Like the small farmer, the smallholder operates a limited land area, usually less than 2 ha. In this case, however, farming for sale and farming for subsistence are combined and most labour is provided by the family (or household). 小土地持有者和小农场主类似，他们的耕地面积也有限，一般低于2公顷。但为生存和为市场而耕作的动机并存，绝大多数的劳动由家庭（或家户）成员提供。

A peasant? 小农?
A farmer? 农场主?
A smallholder? 小土地持有者?
A worker? 工人?



**The smallholder in East and Southeast Asia's
modernisation**

东亚和东南亚现代化进程中的小土地持有者

Development in Southeast Asia: “...has emerged not primarily from the ‘trickling down’ of wealth derived from the rising incomes of an already prosperous few, but rather from simultaneous improvements in the productive and earning capacity of very large numbers of poor people. In an underdeveloped economy dominated by peasant agriculture, simple arithmetic dictates that the most effective way to achieve this is by making investments which enable smallholder farmers to raise their productivity and sell more of what they produce” (Henley, 2012: S41-S42).

东南亚的发展“并不是少数富裕者增长的财富‘涓流而下’惠及大众，而是因为众多穷人的生产和增收能力同时得到提升。简单计算一下就当明白，在小农农业为主导的欠发达经济体内，实现发展的最有效的途径是让小土地持有者提高生产率，有余力出售更多的产品。”



But... 但是

1. Is the delineation of rural and urban classes and conditions possible given the depth and degree of rural-urban relations and interactions? 这种城市阶级和农村阶级的区分能否为我们分析城乡关系和城乡互动提供足够的深度与解释力？

Bangkok and peasants in the city 曼谷，城市中的农民



First rural 第一状态的农村



First rural 第一形态的农村	Second rural	Third rural
Visually rural – the countryside 农村景观-乡村	Social norms and behaviour	Mobile living
Low population density 人口密度低	Consumptions patterns and processes	Multi-sited livelihoods
Farming (primary production) 农耕 (初级生产)	Social interactions	Hybrid/hermap hrodite spaces
Nature 自然	Aspirations and preferences	Occupational multiplicity
Non-urban 非城市	Baan nok (บ้านนอก)	(Peasant cosmopolitan)
Chonnabot (ชนบท)	Political and cultural identities	
(Peasant) 小农	(Middle class peasant)	

First rural



Second rural 第二形态的农村



First rural	Second rural 第二形态的农村	Third rural
Visually rural – the countryside	Social norms and behaviour 社会规则和行为	Mobile living
Low population density	Consumptions patterns and processes 消费模式和过程	Multi-sited livelihoods
Farming (primary production)	Social interactions 社会互动	Hybrid/hermap hrodite spaces
Nature	Aspirations and preferences 渴望和偏好	Occupational multiplicity
Non-urban	Baan nok (บ้านนอก)	(Peasant cosmopolitan)
Chonnabot (ชนบท)	Political and cultural identities	
(Peasant)	(Middle class peasant) 政治和文化身份 (中农)	

First rural



Second rural



Third rural 第三形态的农村



First rural	Second rural	Third rural 第三形态的农村
Visually rural – the countryside	Social norms and behaviour	Mobile living 生活流动
Low population density	Consumptions patterns and processes	Multi-sited livelihoods 生计多样
Farming (primary production)	Social interactions	Hybrid/hermap hrodite spaces 混杂/并存的空间
Nature	Aspirations and preferences	Occupational multiplicity
	Baan nok (บ้านนอก)	(Peasant cosmopolitan) 多职业 (世界农民)
	(ชนบท)	
	Political and cultural identities (Middle class peasant)	

Nepali migrants getting ready to depart for Malaysia 准备去马来西亚的尼泊尔务工者



But...

1. Is the delineation of rural and urban classes and conditions possible given the depth and degree of rural-urban relations and interactions? 这种城市阶级和农村阶级的区分能否为我们分析城乡关系和城乡互动提供足够的深度与解释力？
2. Can this historical role of the smallholder be sustained? 小土地持有者的历史角色能否延续？

For middle-income countries, the question is how smallholders will negotiate a set of intersecting processes, namely: 对中等收入的国家而言，问题是小土地持有者如何处理相互交错的一系列过程，即：

- The declining size of smallholdings; 持有土地的规模趋于减少
- the persistent and in some cases growing income gap between farm and non-farm activities; 农业与非农收入的差距一直存在，（有些情况下还）不断扩大
- the declining competitiveness of smallholdings compared to larger units; 与大规模生产单位相比小规模生产的竞争力持续下降
- the growing political pressure exerted by the rural population for governments to protect and subsidize smallholders; and 农村居民不断向政府施压，寻求对小土地持有者的保护和补贴
- the opposing need to reduce transfers to farmers to be in accord with international agreements. 另一方面，遵从国际协议则有必要减少对农民的转移支付。

Rural, urban and national poverty rates for selected countries of developing East Asia, earliest and latest years 东亚一些发展中国家在早年和近年的农村贫困率、城市贫困率和全国贫困率

	% population living in poverty 贫困人口百分比				Rural poverty rate as ratio of urban poverty rate 农村贫困率与城市贫困率之比
	Rural 农村	Urban 城市	National 全国	Year 年份	
East Asia and Pacific 东亚和太平洋地区	67.5	24.4	-	1990	2.8
	20.4	4.3	-	2008	4.7
Cambodia 柬埔寨	54.2	28.5	50.2	2004	1.9
	23.6	8.7	20.5	2011	2.7
China 中国	39.1	3.3	29.1	1993	11.8
	22.4	0.8	14.0	2002	28.0
Indonesia 印尼	19.8	13.6	17.6	1996	1.5
	14.3	8.4	11.4	2013	1.7
Malaysia 马来西亚	45.7	15.4	37.7	1976	3.0
	3.4	1	1.7	2012	3.4
Thailand 泰国	74.1	43.4	65.3	1988	1.7
	16.7	9	13.2	2011	1.9
Vietnam 越南	26.9	6	20.7	2010	4.5
	22.1	5.4	17.2	2012	4.1

**The role, place and persistence of the smallholding
and smallholder in developing East Asia**

**东亚发展中国家小规模土地和小土地持有者的作用、
地位与存续**

Mean farm size and proportion of landholdings of <2 ha, by world region (1990s) 农场规模均值与少于2公顷土地的比例，世界各地区（20世纪90年代）

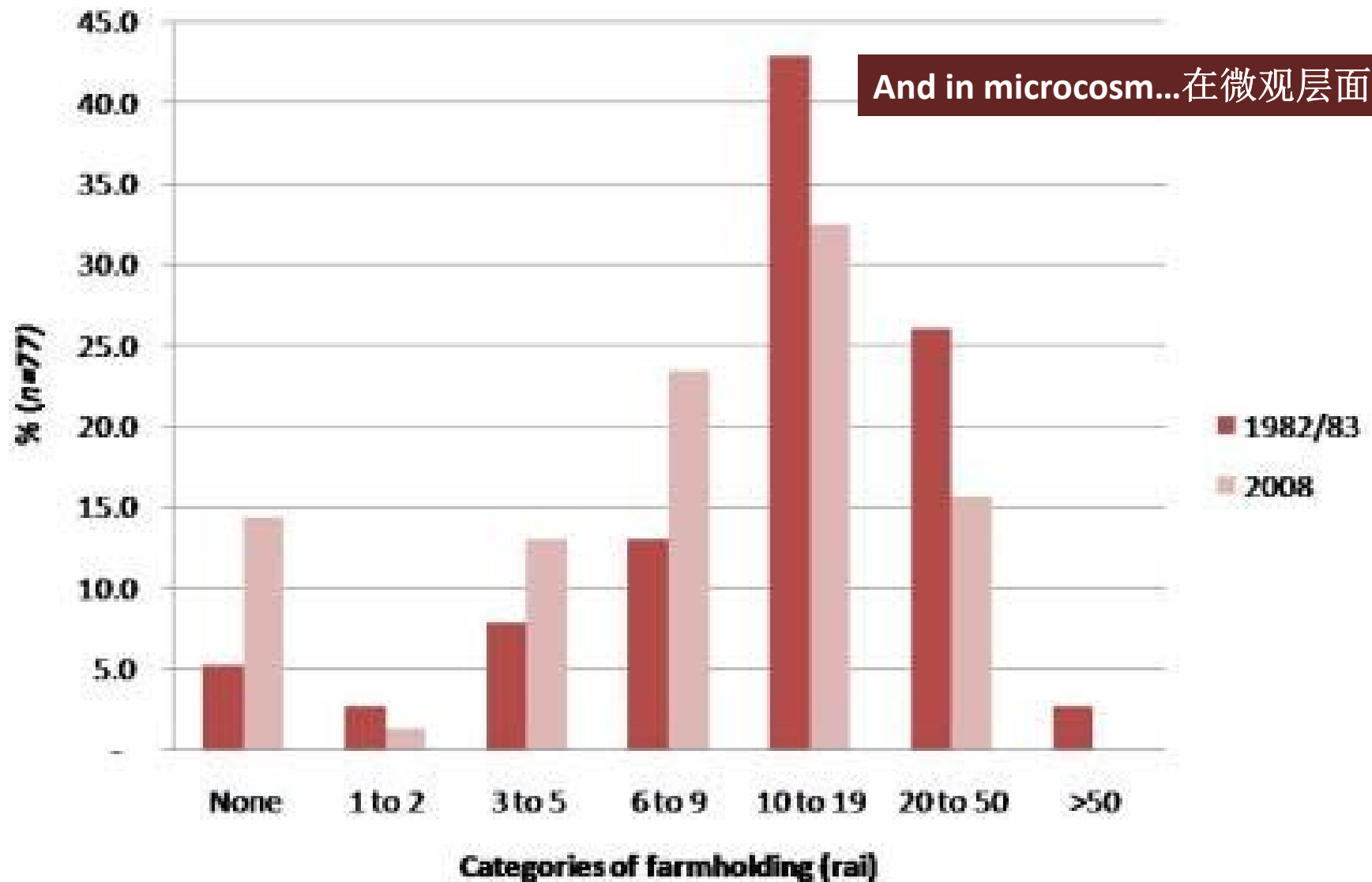
	Mean size (ha) 均值（公顷）	% landholdings < 2 ha 2公顷以下土地持有者的百分比	% area < 2 ha 2公顷以下的耕作面积的百分比
US 美国	178.4	4	0.0
South America 南美洲	111.6	36	0.9
Europe 欧洲	32.3	30	3.8
Central America and Caribbean 中美洲和加勒比海地区	10.7	63	12.4
West Asia/North Africa 西亚/北非	4.9	65	24.7
Sub-Saharan Africa 撒哈拉沙漠以南的非洲	2.4	69	32.0
Southeast Asia 东南亚	1.8	57	23.6
South Asia 南亚	1.4	78	40.1
East Asia 东亚	1.0	92	59.0

Trends in mean farm size (ha)
农场规模均值的变化趋势 (公顷)

	Date 年份	Mean farm size 农场规模均值
China 中国	1980	0.56
	1985	0.51
	1990	0.43
	1995	0.41
	1999	0.40
Indonesia 印尼	1960	1.0
	1973	1.1
	1993	0.9
	2003	0.8
Philippines 菲律宾	1960	3.6
	1971	3.6
	1991	2.2
	2002	2.0
Thailand 泰国	1960	3.5
	1978	3.7
	1980	3.7
	1993	3.4

Distribution of households according to their farmholdings, Maharakham, Thailand (1982/83 and 2008) 泰国玛哈沙拉堪府农户分布图，按农场规模大小

小



Looking at the small farm sector across Asia: 看看遍布亚洲的小农场

- **Productivity in agriculture** seems to have fallen, relatively speaking, to that in non-agriculture, at least until the early to mid-2000s; 直至二十一世纪头十年的早期和中期，农业的生产率相对非农领域而言有所下降
- **wage rates** in farming also relatively declined until roughly the same point; 农耕的薪金水平在相同的时间段也在下降
- and **poverty rates** in rural areas have declined more slowly than they have in towns and cities such that the urban/rural poverty gap has widened 农村的贫困发生率下降的速度慢于城镇，城乡之间的贫困差距扩大

One key reason for these trends, arguably, lies in the persistence of smallholdings and smallholders. 有争议说，这些趋势发生的一个重要原因就是小规模农场和小土地持有者不肯消失

In his Presidential Address to the International Conference of Agricultural Economists in Brazil in August 2012, Keijiro Otsuka suggested that “...farm size expansion *must* be promoted in East Asia to prevent the socially and ‘globally’ excessive reliance on food imports” (2012: 4 [emphasis added]). 2012年巴西的国际农业经济会议上，大冢圭次郎在大会主席致辞中指出“东亚的农场规模必须扩大，以防止社会和‘全球’对粮食进口的过度依赖。”



**EXPLAINING THE PERSISTENCE OF THE
SMALLHOLDER**

解释小土地持有者的顽强存续

The format of the discussion 讨论的框架

1. The changing economic logics of the smallholder and the smallholding 小土地持有者和小规模土地的经济逻辑的变化
2. The political-economy of farming in East Asia 东亚农耕的政治经济学
3. The livelihoods of East Asian smallholders. 东亚小土地持有者的生计

In each instance, the central question reflects these different starting points: 在以上各方面，核心问题都反映了出发点的差异

- i. What are the economic forces and logics that have permitted the smallholder to survive, if not to prosper, in conditions of deep socio-economic transformation? 在社会经济的深刻转型中，小土地持有者不能致富但能够生存的经济因素与逻辑是什么？
- ii. What have been the policies, and the policy contexts, that may have retarded the 'natural' progression of the farm-size transition? 有哪些政策因素，或政策背景阻碍了农场规模转变的“自然过程”？
- iii. From a smallholder perspective, what are the attractions of remaining *with* the farm, if not necessarily *on* the farm and why have smallholdings persisted, seemingly against the economic odds? 在小土地持有者看来，农场的吸引力在哪里？如果不一定非得靠农场为生，为什么小块土地的经营模式在经济困难的情况下仍然能够存续？

The format of the discussion 讨论的框架

1. The changing economic logics of the smallholder and the smallholding 小土地持有者和小规模土地的变化经济逻辑
2. The political-economy of farming in East Asia 东亚农耕的政治经济学
- 3. The livelihoods of East Asian smallholders. 东亚小土地持有者的生计**

In each instance, the central question reflects these different starting points: 在每个方面，中心问题都反映了出发点的差异

- i. What are the economic forces and logics that have permitted the smallholder to survive, if not to prosper, in conditions of deep socio-economic transformation? 在社会经济的深刻转型中，小土地持有者不能致富但能够生存的经济因素与逻辑是什么？
- ii. What have been the policies, and the policy contexts, that may have retarded the 'natural' progression of the farm-size transition? 有哪些政策因素，或政策背景阻碍了农场规模转变的“自然过程”？
- iii. From a smallholder perspective, what are the attractions of remaining with the farm, if not necessarily on the farm and why have smallholdings persisted, seemingly against the economic odds? 在小土地持有者看来，农场的吸引力在哪里？如果不一定非得靠农场为生，为什么小块土地的经营模式在经济困难的情况下仍然能够存续？**

The Economics of the Smallholding

小规模土地的经济学

The competitiveness of the small family farm (especially in rice farming) 小型家庭农场的竞争力 (尤其在水稻种植方面)

Small farms: 小农场：

- Generate higher yields 产量更高
- Family labour does not need to be supervised, it rarely shirks, cannot hide, and it does not need to be paid 家庭劳动力无需监督，不会逃避生产，不会偷懒，不需付工资
- Children and the elderly can also be called on to contribute to farm tasks 儿童和老人也能参加农事活动
- Wet rice farming (it is often said) is not conducive to easy mechanisation (人们常说) 水稻种植不便使用机器
- Large farm experiments in the global South have often failed 南半球的大规模农场的实验通常失败了。

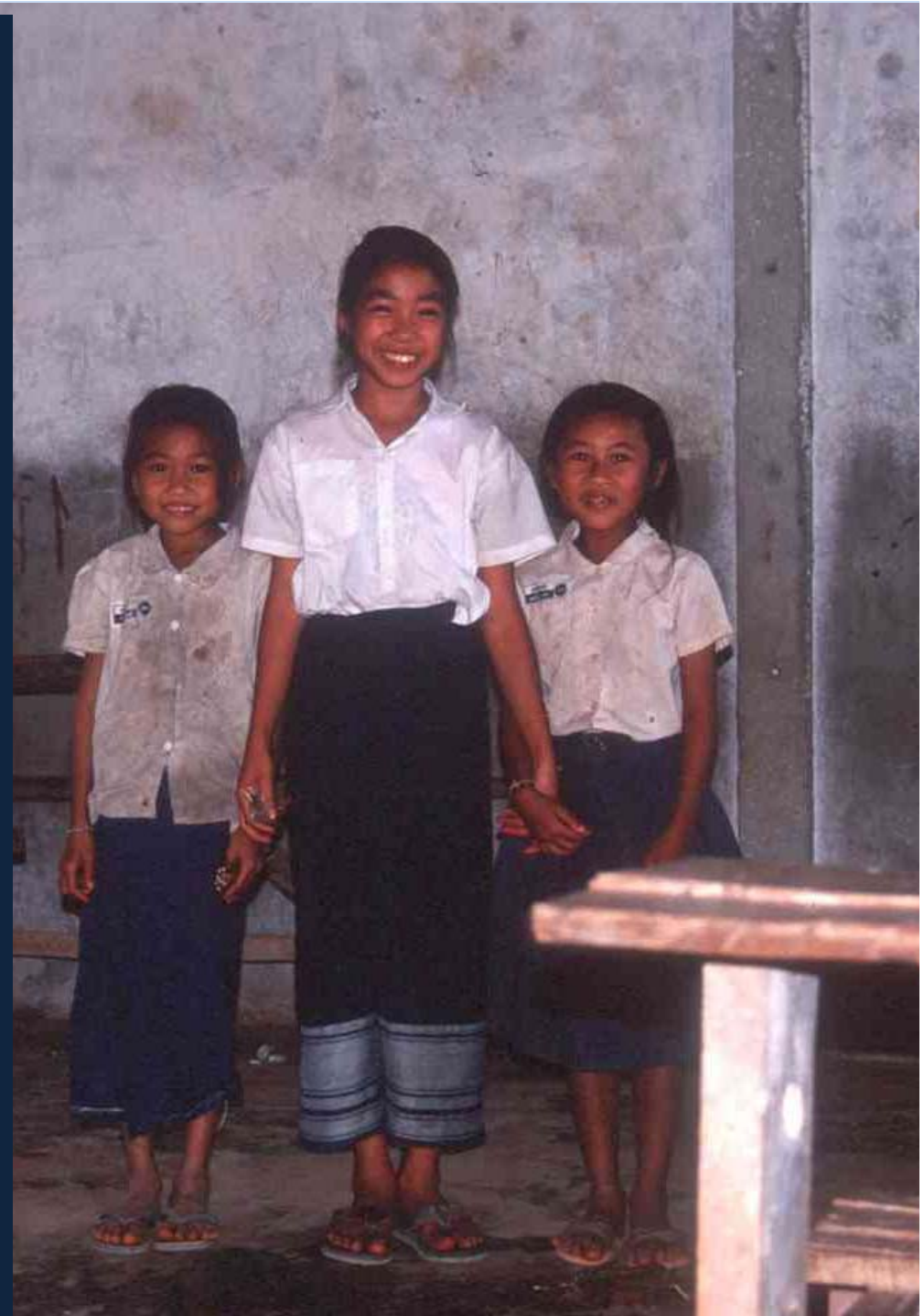


The competitiveness of the small family farm (especially in rice farming) 小型家庭农场的竞争力 (尤其在水稻种植方面)

But: are the economic logics of smallholder farming losing their purchase? 但是，小土地持有者的经济逻辑是否正在失效？

- The education imperative and the extension of childhood 教育的必要性和童年的延长
- Heightened levels of mobility coupled with a degree of rural industrialisation have accentuated the opportunity costs of remaining on the land and in farming 流动性与农村工业化程度的提高增加了从事农业的机会成本。
- The real costs of devoting family labour to family farms have grown 将家庭劳动力用于经营家庭农场的真正成本上升
- Returns to farming and farm work have, across East Asia, generally declined relative to non-farm work. 相比于非农工作，东亚地区农业和农场劳动的回报率普遍降低。

For many smallholders, it is a daily struggle to survive on farming alone. 对很多小土地持有者而言，单靠农场为生每天都会面临生存危机。



The economics of the small farm 小农场的经济学

1. The family-owned smallholding often remains productive in land terms relative to large units; this applies particularly to wet rice-based smallholdings in East Asia. 家庭所有的小土地相比于大农场而言土地生产率通常较高，在主要生产水稻的东亚尤其如此。
2. Small-scale or micro-mechanisation, along with the emergence of machine rental markets, has enabled even small units to mechanise production and to glean some of the benefits of such new technologies in terms of boosting labour productivity. 小规模或微型机械以及机器租赁市场的出现让小农场也能在生产中使用机器，从新技术中获益，提高劳动生产率。

But: 但是：

3. Wages in agriculture, although they have generally increased in real terms, remain significantly lower than in non-agriculture, and this gap has widened over time. 尽管农业雇工的实际工资一直在上涨，但与非农部门相较还是低得多，而且两者之间的差距不断扩大。
4. Many farms in East Asia are now sub-livelihood in extent and are unable, on their own, to deliver a reasonable standard of living for rural households even with yield-enhancing new technologies. 东亚的许多农场如今已低于生计水平之下，哪怕运用高产的新技术，农村家庭也无法单独依靠农场维持一定的生活水准。

The Political Economy of the Smallholder

小土地持有者的政治经济学

Perhaps the answer to the persistence of (inefficient) small farms in rapidly growing economies lies not in any hidden economic factor at work but in the political economy of agriculture and farming. The political-economy of the small farm, in other words, gets in the way and disrupts the economics of the farm-size transition.

在快速增长的经济体中, (低效率的) 小农场顽强存续或许并非因为有某个隐秘的经济因素在起作用, 而是因为农业和农耕的政治经济学。易言之, 小农场的政治经济学阻碍、打断了农场规模转型的经济过程。

- 1960s and 1970s: urban bias through a variety of policies, taxes and price twists 20世纪60、70年代: 通过一系列政策、税收和价格的扭转机制实现了对城市的偏向。
- 1980s onwards: increasing rural bias 20世纪80年代至今: 城市偏向持续扩大。

The World Bank report (1959) that set out the parameters for Thailand's first *National Economic Development Plan* (1961-1966)
1959年世行报告为泰国第一个《国民经济发展计划》(1961-1966) 设定了参数标准。



Elements of rural bias 农村偏向的因素

In Japan –massive price support but also the support and protection of rice as the key crop, the role of the bureaucratic ‘pilot organisation’, the use of a whole range of more-or-less direct methods of guiding the market and the mobilisation of the network of producers’ organisations 日本：实行大规模的价格补贴，支持和保护水稻作为主要作物，政府“试点机构”发挥作用，采用各种直接的手段引导市场，动员生产者组织构建网络。

Elsewhere rural bias is less evident but nonetheless present. The Philippines for example has imposed a ceiling on farm size (5 ha) and there are restrictions on the land rental market 其他地区的农村偏向没有那么明显，但是也有。例如菲律宾规定农场面积最多不能超过5公顷，同时对土地租赁市场进行限制。

Elements of rural bias 农村偏向的因素

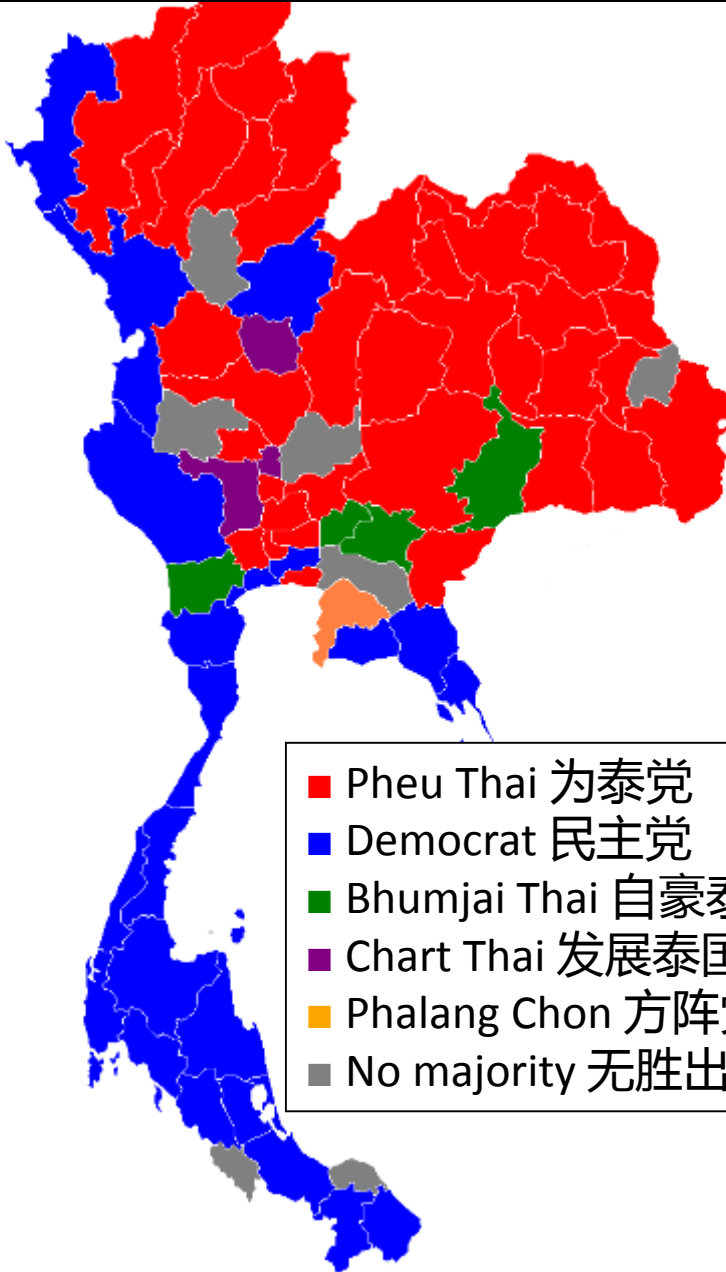
In Japan –massive price support but also the support and protection of rice as the key crop, the role of the bureaucratic ‘pilot organisation’, the use of a whole range of more-or-less direct methods of guiding the market and the mobilisation of the network of producers’ organisations 日本：实行大规模的价格补贴，支持和保护水稻作为主要作物，政府“试点机构”发挥作用，采用各种直接的手段引导市场，动员生产者组织构建网络。

Elsewhere rural bias is less evident but nonetheless present. The Philippines for example has imposed a ceiling on farm size (5 ha) and there are restrictions on the land rental market 其他地区的农村偏向没有那么明显，但是也有。例如菲律宾规定农场面积最多不能超过5公顷，同时对土地租赁市场进行限制。



Bangkok.
Monday-Friday:
Let vehicles flow.
Saturday-
Sunday: Let
buffalos march'
曼谷的“道路使用体系”：周一到周五：行驶机动车
周六到周日：水牛拥有路权

A rural class? The results of the 2011 Thai general elections 一个农村阶级？2011年泰国大选的结果



- Pheu Thai 为泰党
- Democrat 民主党
- Bhumjai Thai 自豪泰党
- Chart Thai 发展泰国党
- Phalang Chon 方阵党
- No majority 无胜出政党



Note: the colour represents the party that won the majority of the seats in each province. 注：颜色代表每个省赢得多数席位的政党
Source: '2011 Thai general election results per region' by Howard the Duck. Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2011_Thai_general_election_results_per_region.png#/media/File:2011_Thai_general_election_results_per_region.png
数据来源：‘泰国2011年各地区大选结果’

**A rural class?
一个农村阶级？**



We can make the following broad observations about the contribution of the political-economy perspective to our overall aim of understanding the persistence of the smallholder and smallholdings in East Asia: 对于东亚小土地持有者和小规模农场的顽强存续，从政治经济学视角我们有如下大致发现：

1. Urban bias has shifted, especially in many middle-income East Asian countries, to rural bias as farming is increasingly subsidized through a range of measures that have supported smallholder farm production. 在许多中等收入的东亚国家，城市偏向已转为农村偏向，国家通过各种措施给予小规模农业生产更多补贴。
2. To add to this, in some countries of East Asia restrictions on land sales and the land rental market as well as the natural 'stickiness' of land ownership have acted as a brake on the farm-size transition, impeding the 'rational' operation of the farm economy. 此外，东亚一些国家限制土地买卖和土地租赁市场的发展，土地权属体系的固定性也遏制了农场规模扩大的趋势，阻碍了农场经济的“理性”运行。

But: 但是：

3. These interventions have not counteracted the productivity and therefore income gap between farm and non-farm work. 这些干预并没有抵消农业和非农业之间的生产率以及收入的差距
4. With the result that smallholdings alone cannot deliver a sustainable livelihood given the growing pressure to earn cash and the ever rising level of needs required to achieve Adam Smith's 'creditable' existence. 结果是小规模土地不能维持可持续生计，人们对现金的需求以及活得“无欠账、有信誉”（语出自亚当·斯密）的压力增大了。

The Livelihoods of the East Asian Smallholder

东亚小土地持有者的生计

Asking the wrong question 问了一个错误的问题

Rather than expecting the smallholder to conform to economic logic or their decisions to be shaped by the exigencies of government policy, should we look to the livelihood strategies that farm households have devised? 我们是否不应该期待小土地持有者根据经济的逻辑或根据政府政策的迫切需求而做出决策，而应该考察农户所发明的生计策略？

In other words, rather than asking: 易言之，不问

- **‘Why aren’t smallholders doing what they should!’ “为什么小土地持有者不做他们该做的事情”**

Instead ask: 而问：

- **‘What explanatory elements does a smallholder-focused assessment introduce that are overlooked taking an economic or political-economic approach?’ “如果用经济或政治经济学的视角，我们忽视了哪些可以解释小土地持有者的判断和决策的因素？”**

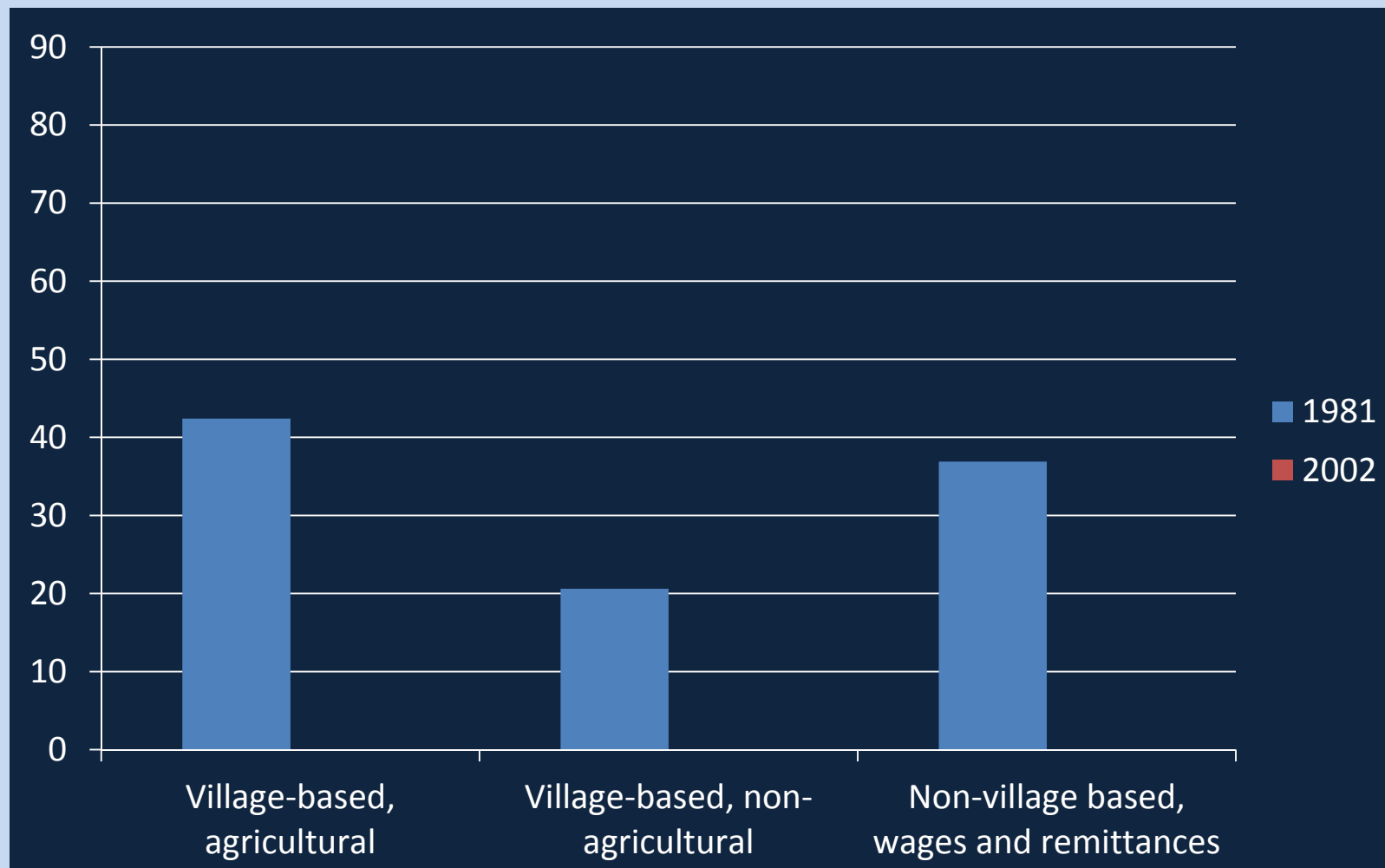
The key first characteristic of the smallholder is that their livelihoods are not met only – or even mainly – from farming. 小土地持有者的首要特征是他们的生计并不仅仅（甚或不主要）依靠农耕。

This means that the economics of farming and the economics of the smallholder are not the same thing. 这意味着农耕的经济学和小土地持有者的经济学不是一回事。

Terms used: occupational diversity or multiplicity, pluriactivity, diverse and multi-sited livelihoods, and diversification-for-survival 所使用的术语：多职业性、兼业性，多样以及多点的生计活动，为生存而多样化

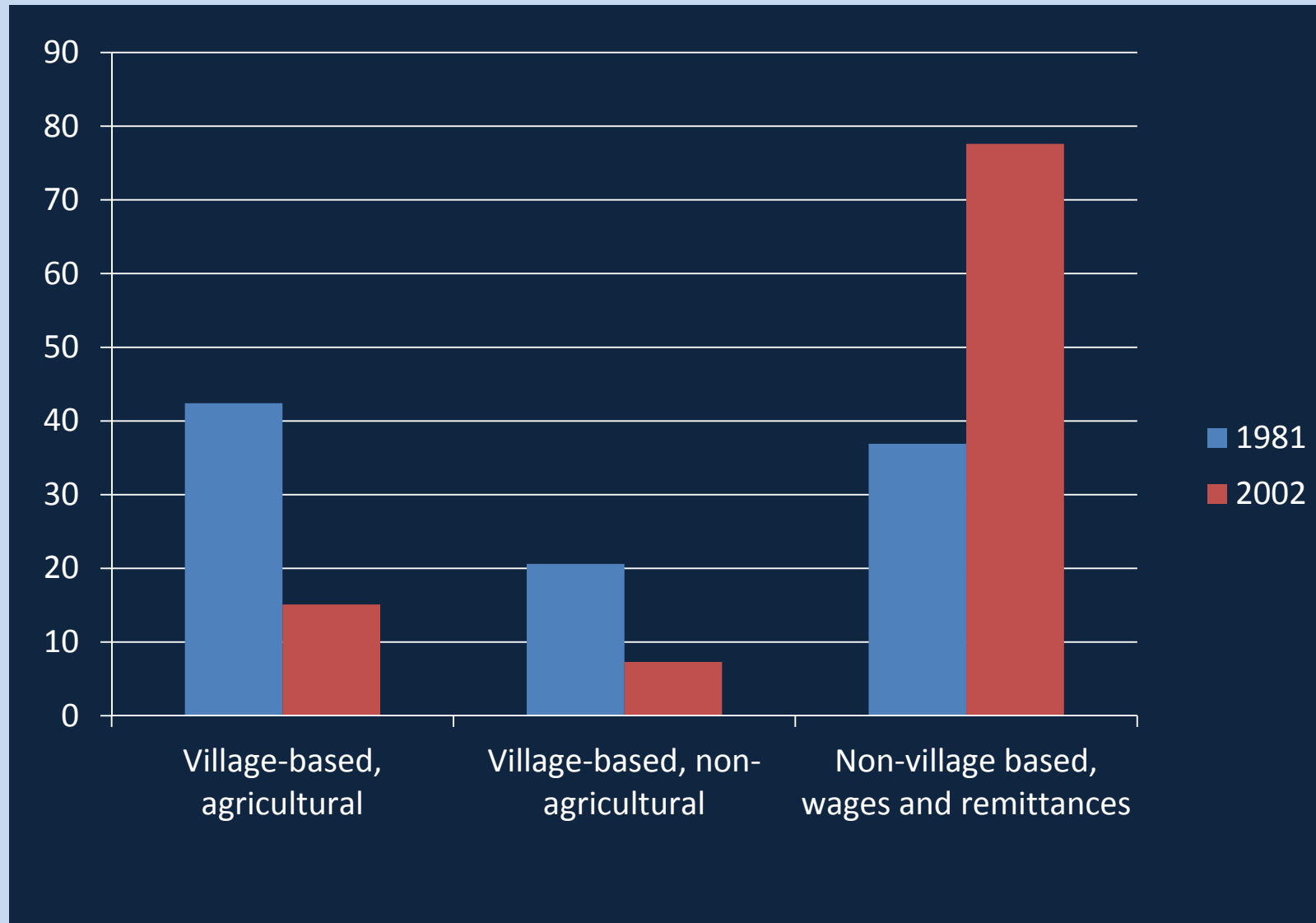


Income sources, Ban Dong Daeng, Northeast Thailand: 1981 and 2002 (per cent) 泰国东北部唐登邦的收入来源（百分比）：1981和2002年



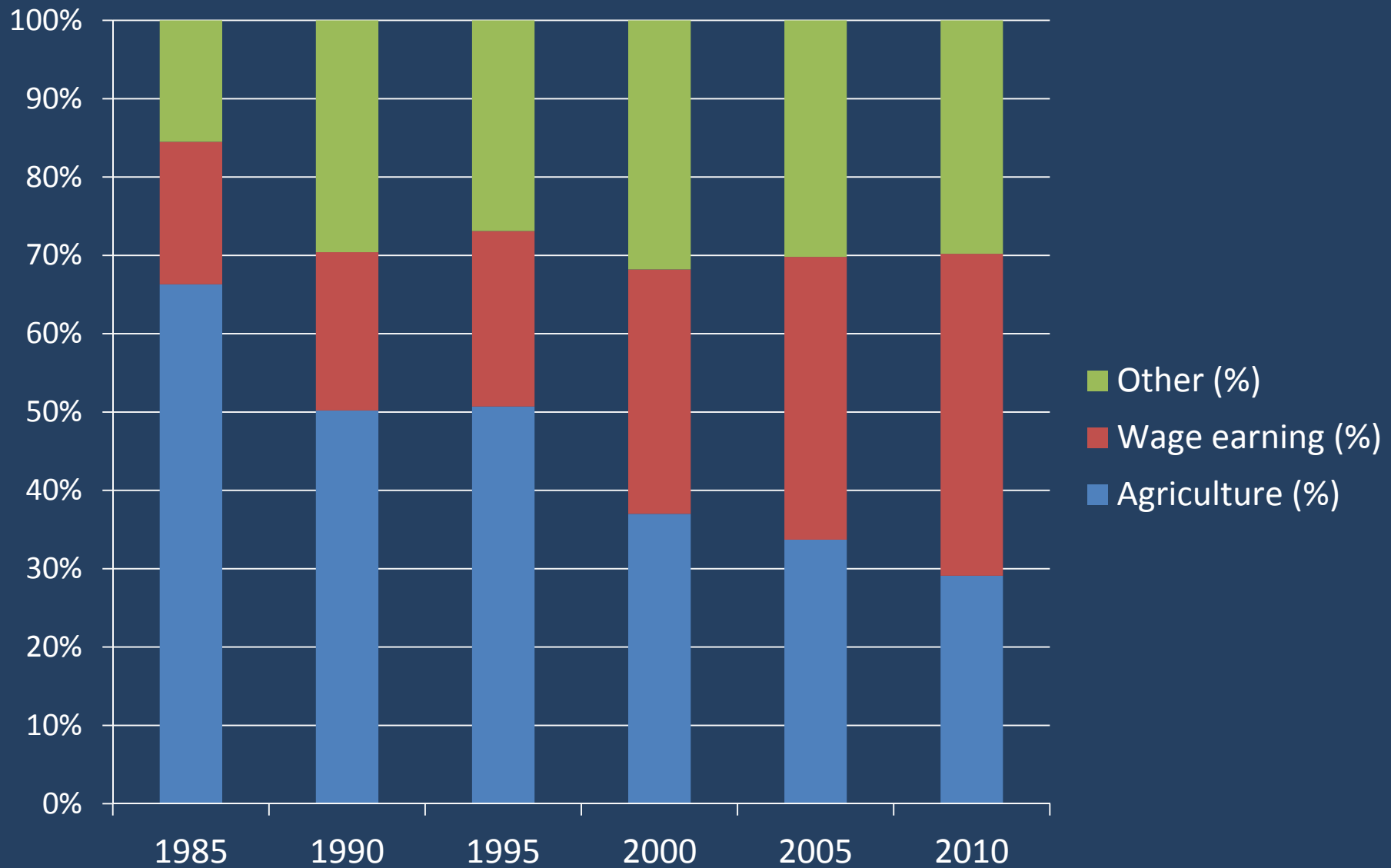
Source: data extracted from Funahashi 2009: 3.
数据来源：节选自Funahashi 2009: 3

Income sources, Ban Dong Daeng, Northeast Thailand: 1981 and 2002 (per cent) 泰国东北部唐登邦的收入来源（百分比）：1981和2002年



Source: data extracted from Funahashi 2009: 3.
数据来源：节选自Funahashi 2009: 3

Income share of Chinese rural households, 1985-2010 中国农村居民收入百分比，1985-2010年



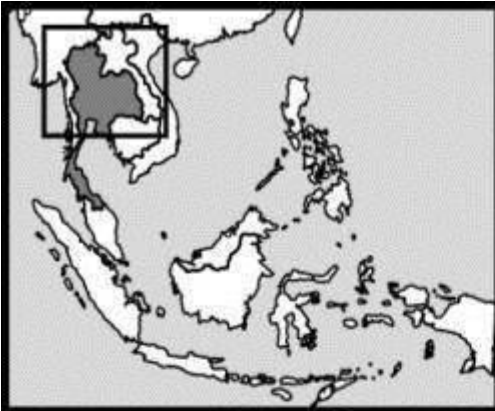
Source: data extracted from Huang et al 2012: 17 数据来源：节选自Huang et al 2012: 17

Occupational multiplicity or livelihood diversification is particularly prevalent in East Asia because of: 多职业性或生计多样化

- rapid industrialization and the working opportunities that have arisen; 快速工业化，工作机会增多；
- dramatic improvements in physical infrastructure and attendant mobility; and 基础设施显著改善，流动性随之增强；
- the large numbers of rural households struggling to meet their escalating needs from farming ever smaller land holdings 大量农村居民在日益缩小的土地规模上挣扎，尽力满足不断增长的需求。

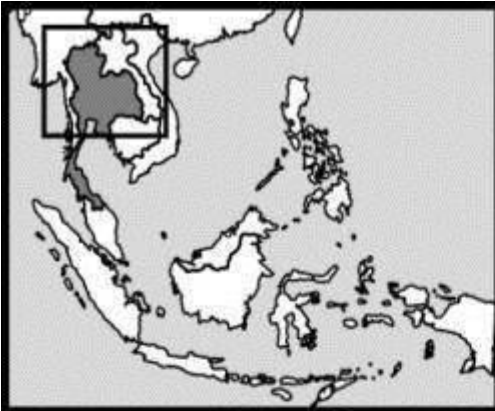
Declines in smallholder poverty rates are tied to the engagement of smallholders with non-farm work. 小土地持有者贫困率下降，与他们从事非农工作有关。





“In a usual panel data survey, that aimed to study rural poverty changes, a huge underestimation of poverty declines of those living in rural areas at baseline would have taken place [if we did not take account of migration]. **Surely, studying these movements must be at the core of understanding rural poverty and policies to reduce it?**” (Dercon 2006: 7-8) “（如果不考虑外出务工），研究农村贫困状况变化的面板数据调查一般都大大低估了农村贫困人口贫困发生率的减少程度。**显然，对农村人口流动的研究应当成为理解农村贫困及减贫政策的核心。**”





“In a usual panel data survey, that aimed to study rural poverty changes, a huge underestimation of poverty declines of those living in rural areas at baseline would have taken place [if we did not take account of migration]. **Surely, studying these movements must be at the core of understanding rural poverty and policies to reduce it?**” (Dercon 2006: 7-8) “（如果不考虑外出务工），研究农村贫困状况变化的面板数据调查一般都大大低估了农村贫困人口贫困发生率的减少程度。**显然，对农村人口流动的研究应当成为理解农村贫困及减贫政策的核心。**”



Ban Khokmayom 阔美邦

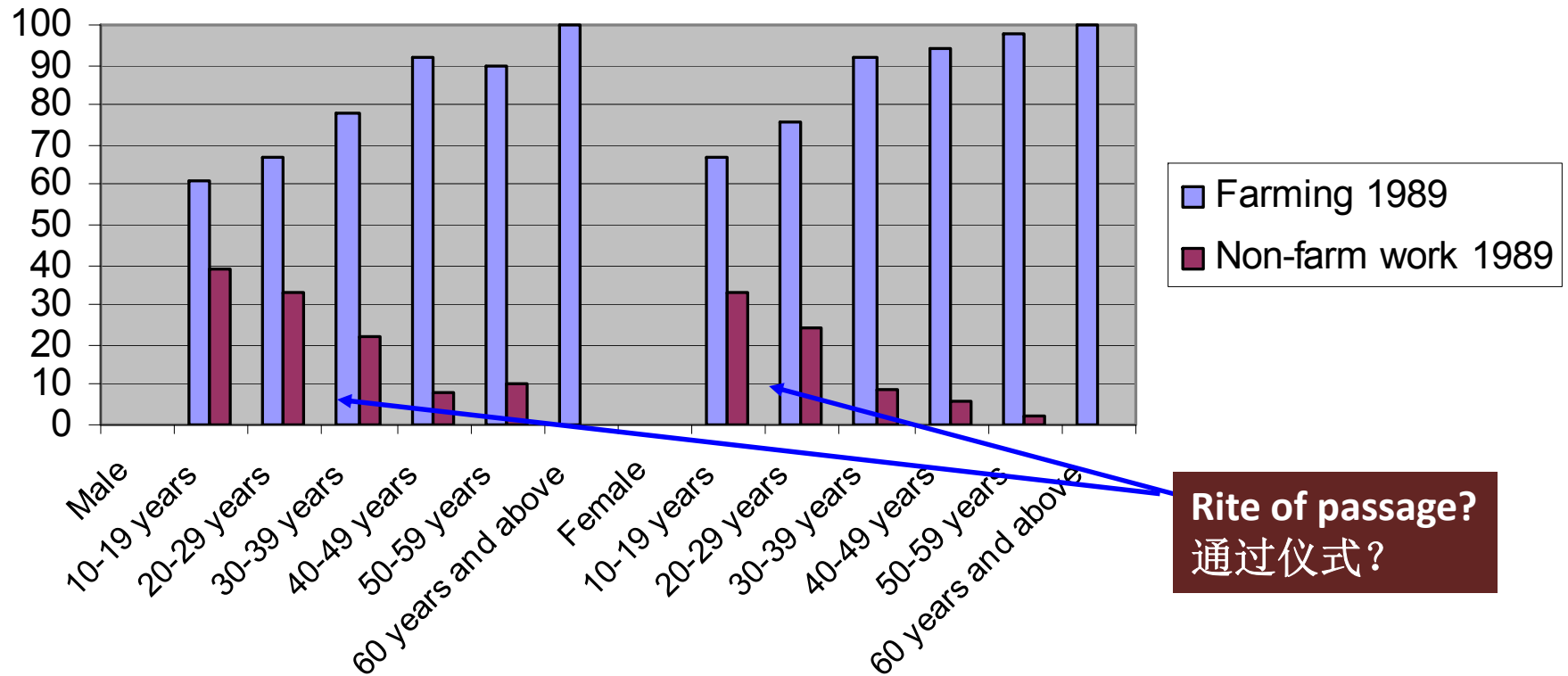


What does East Asia's mobility revolution mean for farming and farm productivity? 东亚的人口流动性革命对农耕和农场生产率意味着什么？

- Dis-intensification of production (transplanting to direct seeding) 生产的非集约化（从育秧移栽到直接播种）
- Land abandonment 弃耕
- Land use change 土地使用变化
- Greying or geriatrification of farming 农业老龄化
- Emergence of remittance landscapes 汇款蔚然成风

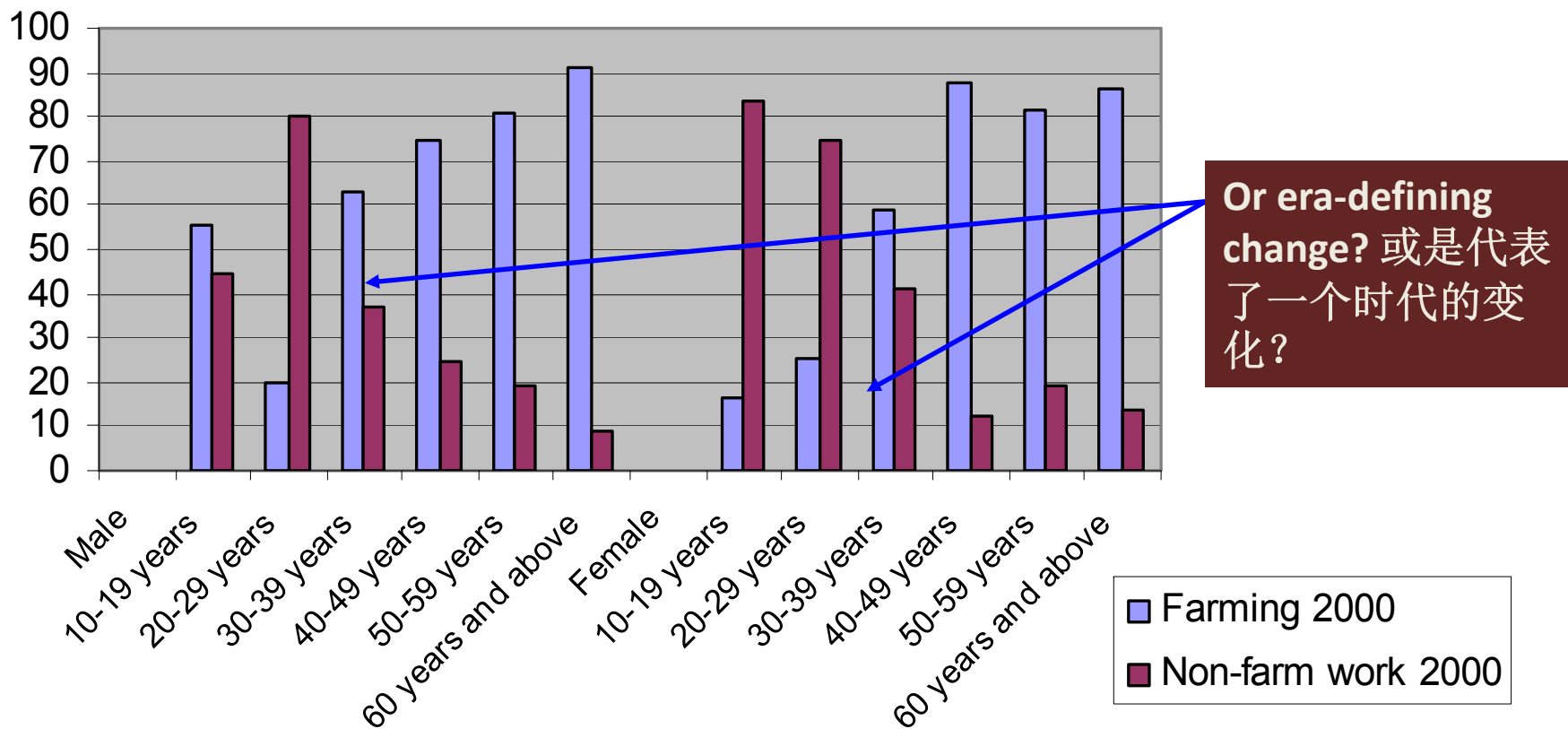
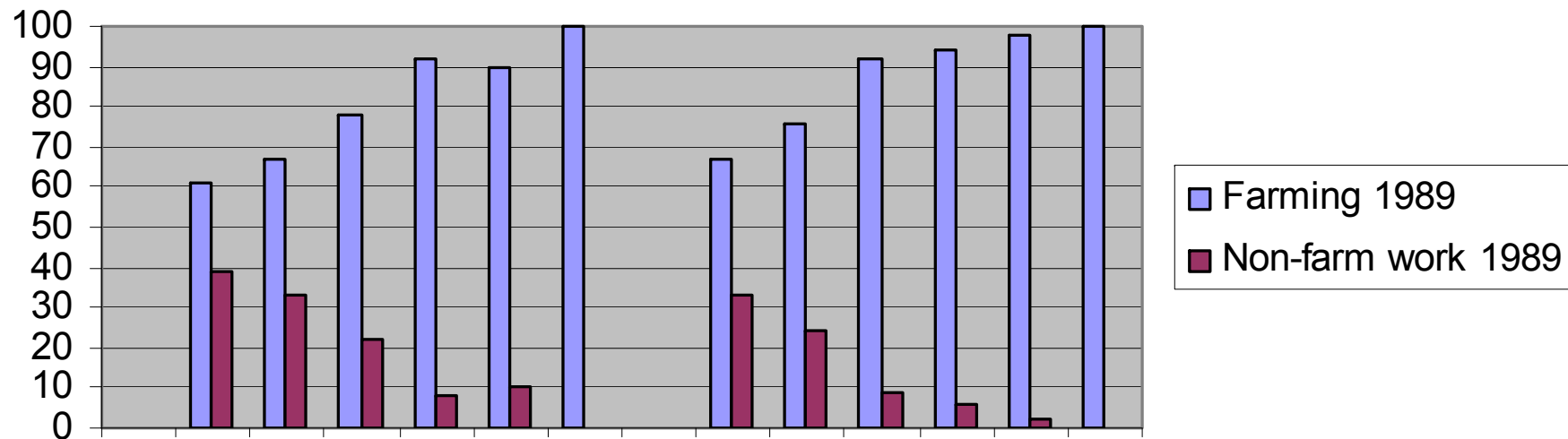
Four particular issues that would seem to be at work. 四个现行的特别问题：

1. Migration has left some households, even some villages, in labour deficit 外出务工让农户甚至一些村庄都出现了劳动力短缺
2. Farm households have become relatively cash rich (as well as labour poor). The driving logic of cultivating sufficient rice (or other staple) to meet subsistence does not operate in the way that it once did. The subsistence ethic of the smallholder has been eroded （在缺少劳动力的同时）农村家庭的现金相对较丰。种植家庭所需的稻米（或其他主要粮食作物）的动力机制与之前不同。小土地持有者的生存第一的伦理遭到破坏。
3. Migrants are often young women and men who then leave households not only short of labour, but short of the labour needed for many of the more physically taxing farm tasks 外出务工者多为年轻男女，农户因此不仅缺少生产所需的劳动力，也缺少从事其他体力活的劳动力
4. Migration has the effect, although it is also a cause, of making agriculture a low status occupation to be avoided 农业成了需要逃避的低等职业，人们因此外出务工，而外出务工又使这一现象益发严重。

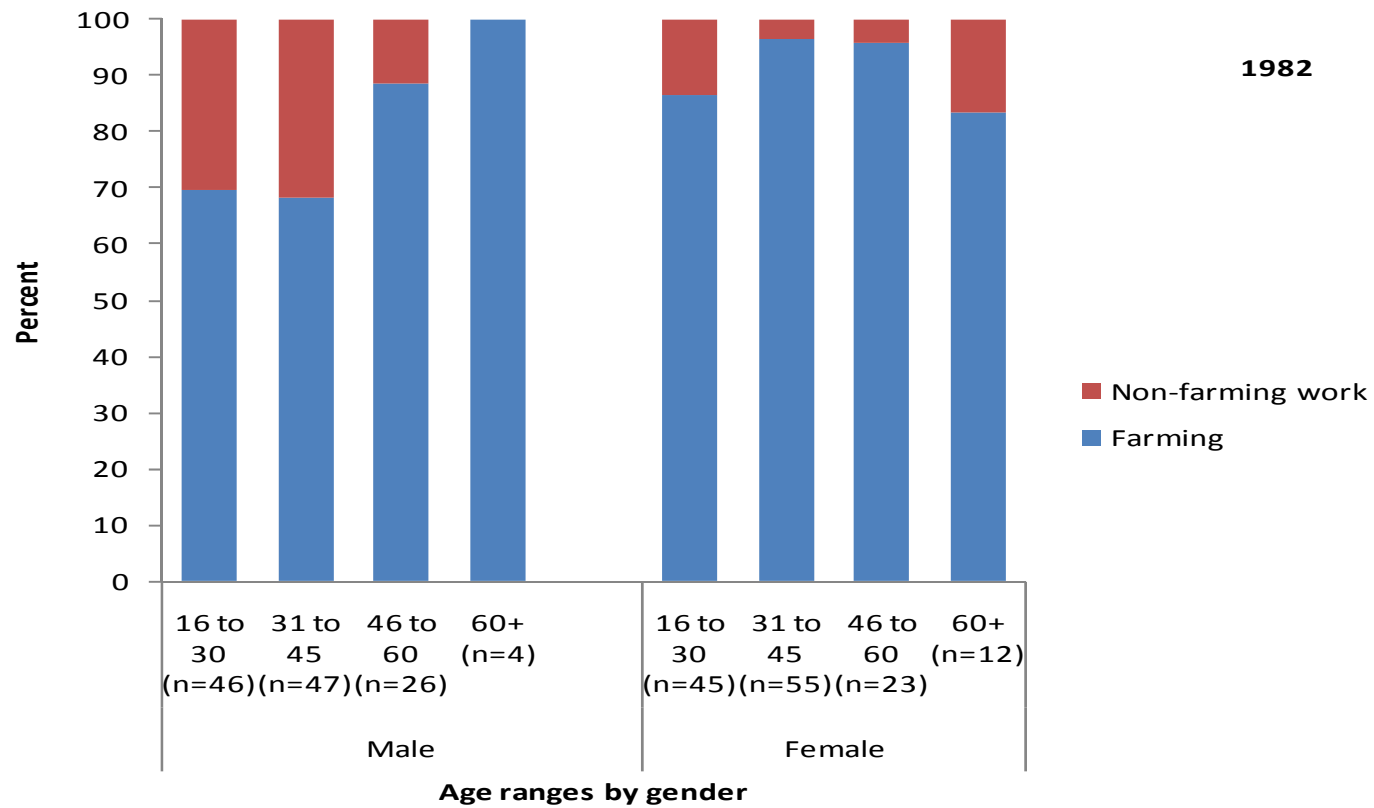


Rite of passage?
通过仪式?

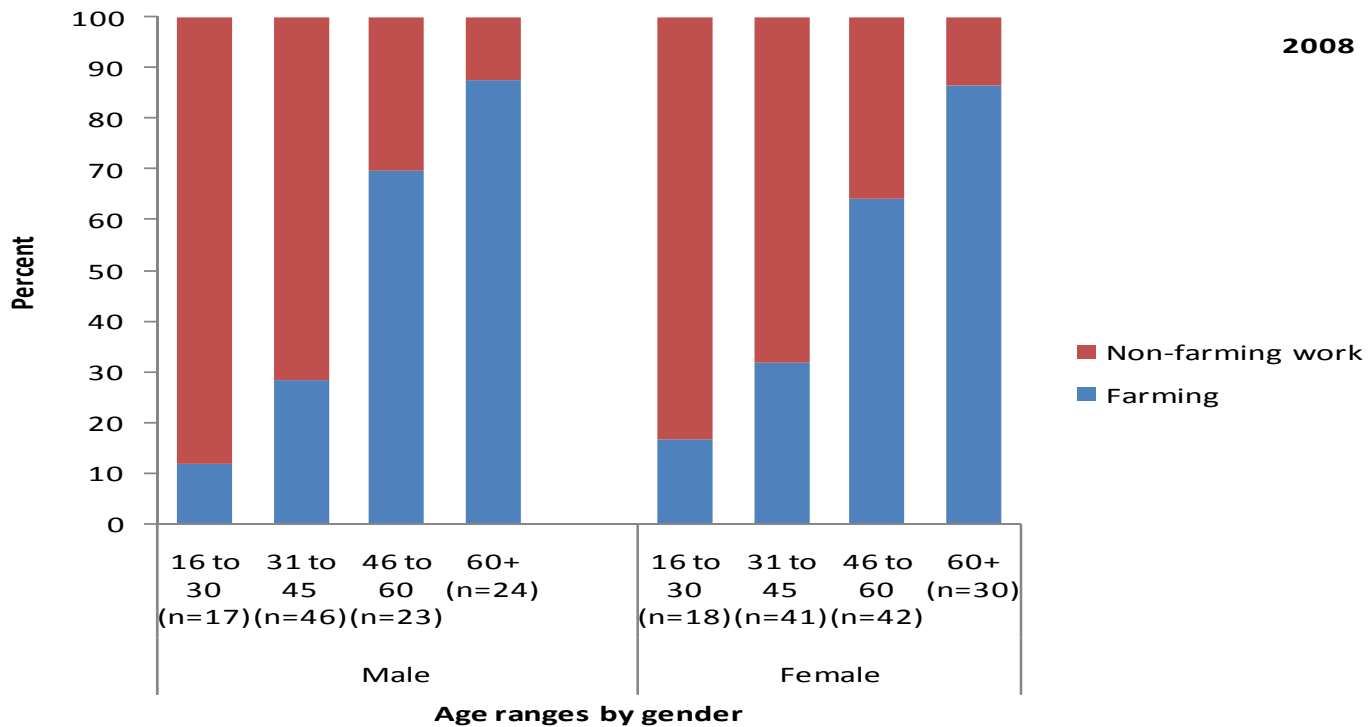
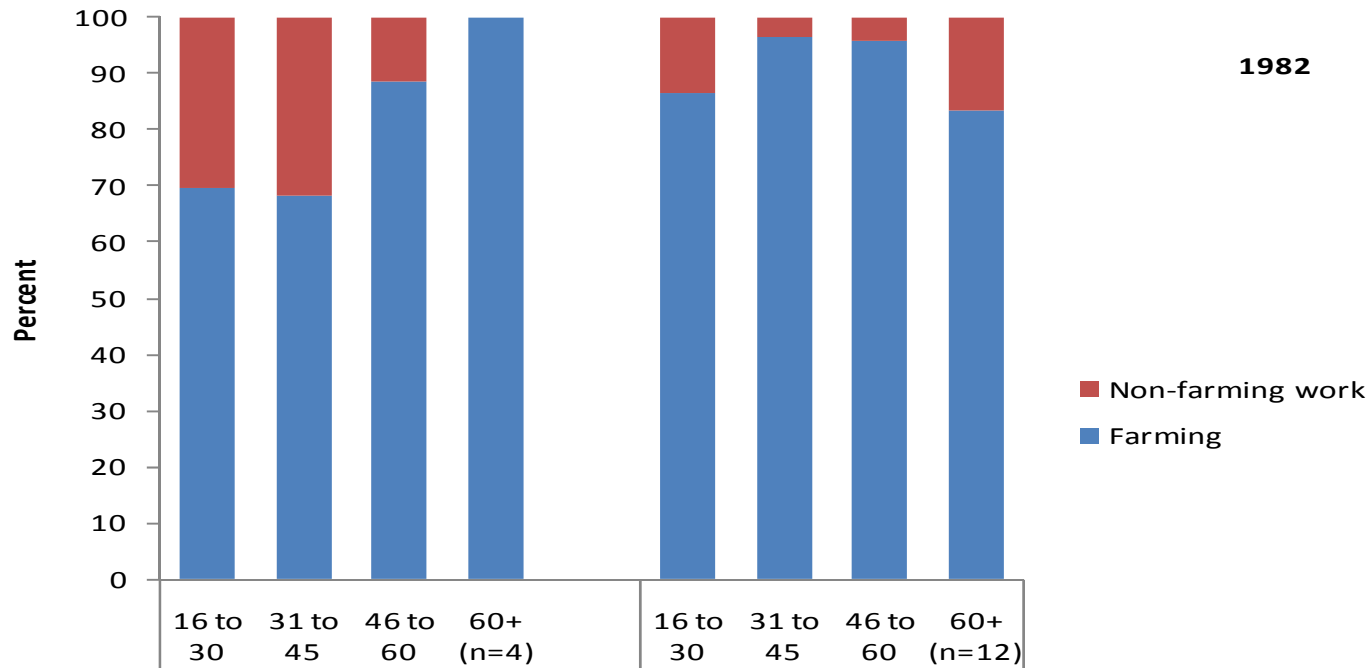
Teasing out era, life course and generational changes:
 Gender, generation and occupation in a Northeastern Thai village
 年代、生命历程和代际变化：泰国农村的性别、年龄和职业



Or era-defining change? 或是代表了一个时代的变化?



Farm and non-farm work, Ban Non Tae and Ban Tha Song Korn, 1982 and 2008 农业与非农劳动，非佩邦和宋塔辉邦，1982年、2008年



Farm and non-farm work, Ban Non Tae and Ban Tha Song Korn, 1982 and 2008 农业与非农劳动, 非佩邦和宋塔辉邦, 1982年、2008年



Country 国家	Average age 平均年龄	Date of survey 调查时间
Japan 日本	70	2013
South Korea 韩国	56% of farm workers >60 years 56%的农场劳动者年龄60岁以上	2010
Philippines 菲律宾	54	2012
Thailand 泰国	55	2008
Malaysia 马来西亚	53	2005
Indonesia	80% >45 years old 80%在45岁以上	2011

**Villages sustained through absence
(here, Thanh Hoa, Vietnam, 2010) 农民
不在，村庄仍存（2010年越南清化省）**



Livelihoods and the smallholder, general statements 生计和小土地持有者，一般论断

1. Farming no longer occupies the central position it once did for many smallholders in Asia. 对亚洲很多小土地持有者而言农耕不再占据中心地位
2. This is because smallholders construct multi-stranded livelihoods on the basis of multi-sited households and engage with a wide array of activities, many extra-local. 因为小土地持有者的生计已经多样化，在不同地方从事多种生产活动，很多活动已不在本地开展。
3. Smallholders have not, in consequence, had to sell or abandon their farms even when they are sub-livelihood in size. 因此哪怕农场规模已经小到不能维持生计，小土地持有者也不会被迫出卖或放弃农场

But: 但是：

4. This still leaves only partially resolved the question of why smallholders do not abandon their smallholdings and exit farming altogether. 这只能部分解释为什么小土地持有者不放弃土地，不离开农业

More specifically: If farming is often marginal, if returns are unattractive (in remunerative terms) relative to the alternatives, and if for the young farming is becoming a low status occupation to be avoided, why do we not see smallholders selling their land thus permitting the farm-size transition to take place? To understand this, it is necessary to leave the farm and the field and venture into the factories and streets of East Asia. 特别是：如果农耕边缘化了，如果相比于其他选择（从盈利方面而言）农业收入不再有吸引力，如果年轻人眼中农业是一个需要逃离的低等职业，那么为什么小土地持有者不出让土地，让农场规模扩大的趋势得以发生？要理解这一点，就有必要将关注点从东亚地区的农场和土地转到工厂和街道。

**Land, smallholders and the precarity of late
capitalism**

土地，小土地持有者与后发资本主义的不确定性

Why hang onto land? 为什么要保住土地？

1. One possibility is that land is valued over-and-above its economic value alone. It has a cultural value in its social transfer value to the next generation which usurps its sheer economic value. 可能是因为土地的价值远不止于它的经济价值。土地代代相传的文化价值取代了其纯粹的经济价值。
2. With rapidly rising land values, it makes good financial sense. Land owners are speculating that over time the value will continue to rise. 土地价格飙升，土地具有了投资理财的意义。土地所有者推测土地价值会继续上涨。
3. With little in the way of savings and few other assets, land is the one form of collateral available to farmers who need to borrow money to fund, for example, the education of their children. 没有其他储蓄途径和资产，土地成为农民需要借贷时的抵押品，比如用于孩子的教育。
4. Even though returns to smallholder farming may be low, there is security in continuing to have a foothold on the land. And, parallel to this, the non-farm work that has become such a feature of rural livelihoods is inherently precarious. 哪怕小规模农业的回报率低，继续持有土地也能带来安全感。同时，作为农村生计的一个特征的非农工作其实隐含着风险。

**Precarious living in the informal economy,
migrants in Bangkok circa 1990 在不稳定的
非正规经济中谋生的务工者（曼谷，1990
年前后）**



**Precarious living in the informal sector,
migrants in Bangkok circa 1990** 在不稳定的
非正规部门谋生的务工者（曼谷，1990年
前后）



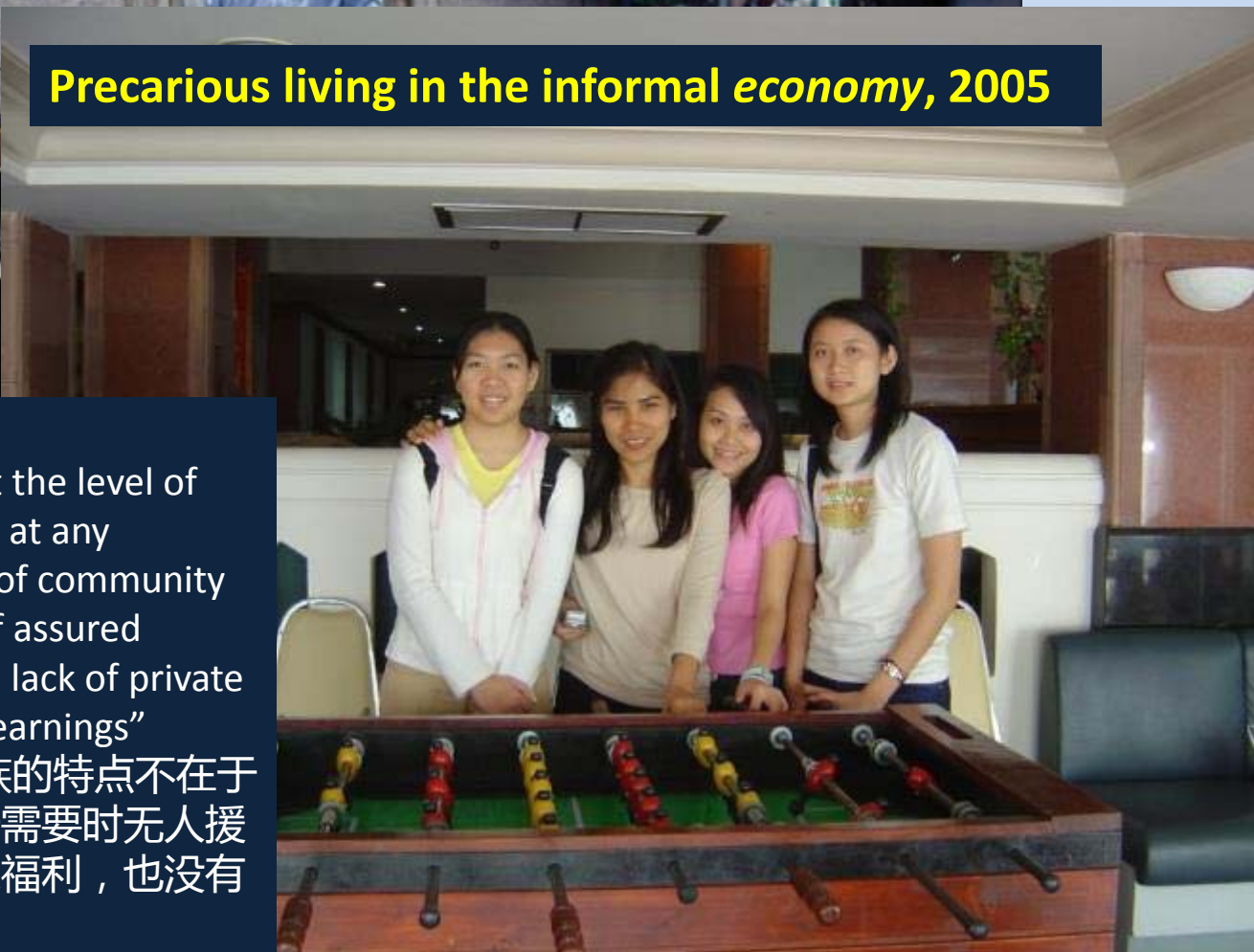
Precarious living in the informal economy, 2005
在不稳定的非正规经济中谋生，2005年



**Precarious living in the informal sector,
migrants in Bangkok circa 1990**



Precarious living in the informal economy, 2005



Precarity 不稳定性

“A feature of the precariat is not the level of money wages or income earned at any particular moment but the lack of community support in times of need, lack of assured enterprise or state benefits, and lack of private benefits to supplement money earnings” (Standing 2013: 5). “朝不保夕族的特点不在于某个时刻的薪金高低，而在于需要时无人援手，身无长物，既不享受国家福利，也没有私人收益贴补收入”。

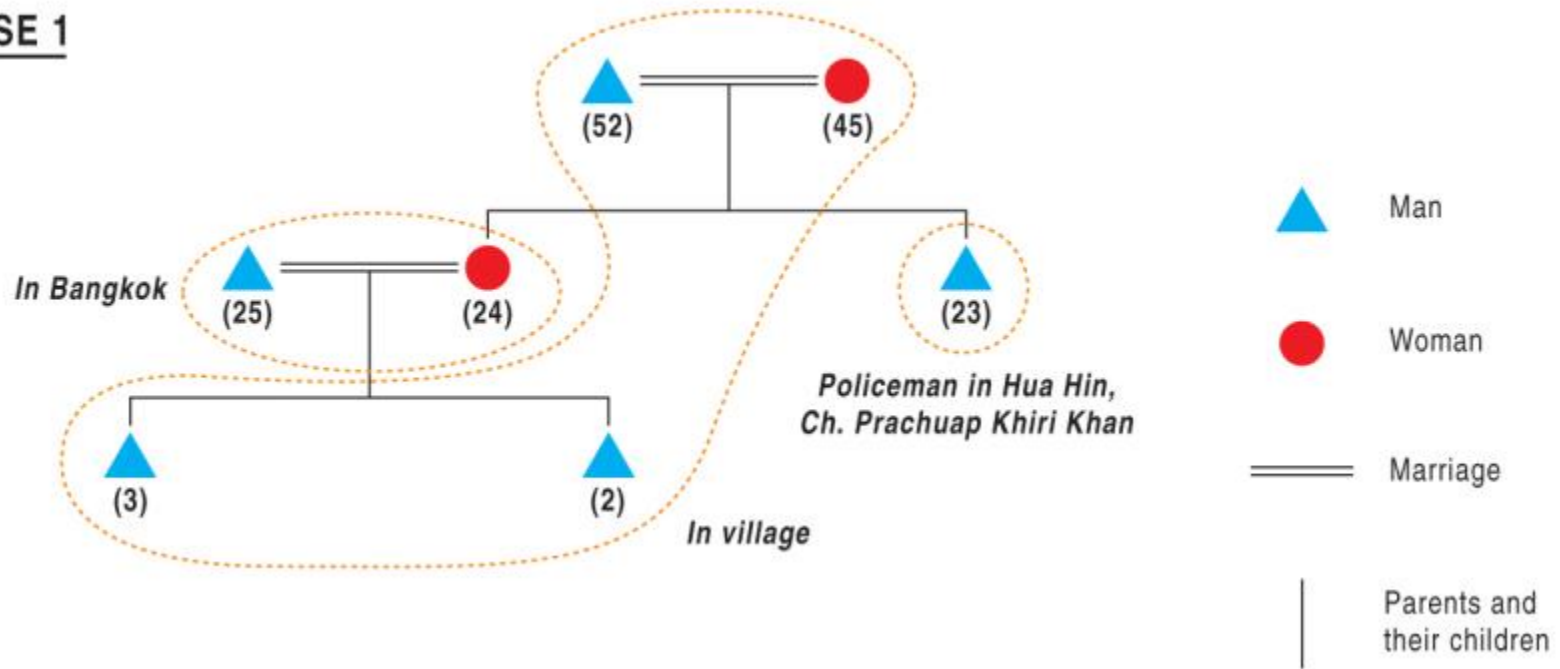
Drawing a line between vulnerability and precarity 区分脆弱性和不稳定性

	Roots causes of exposure 面临风险的主要原因	
	Vulnerability 脆弱性	Precarity 不稳定性
Environmental 环境的	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exposure to natural hazards 面临自然灾害 - Living in marginal environments 生活环境边缘化 - Absence of irrigation technologies 缺少灌溉技术 	
Economic 经济的	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of income 缺少收入 - Lack of access to credit 缺少信贷 - Lack of access to markets 缺少市场 	
Political and socio-cultural 政治和社会文化的	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gender divisions in society 社会性别分工 - Participatory exclusions 被排斥，不能参与 - Minority groups' marginalisation 少数群体被边缘化 - Lack of empowerment 缺少赋权 	
Poverty 贫穷	Old poverty 旧有的贫困	New poverty 新近的贫困

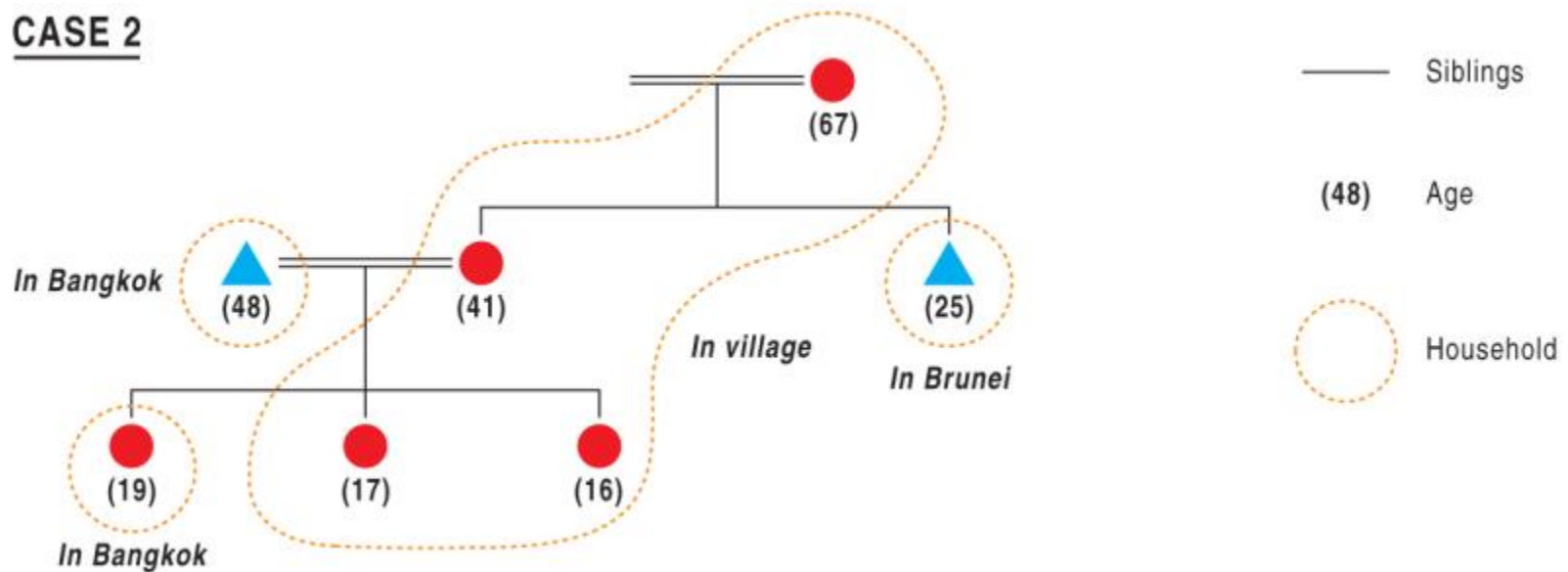
Drawing a line between vulnerability and precarity 区分脆弱性和不稳定性

Roots causes of exposure 面临风险的主要原因		
	Vulnerability 脆弱性	Precarity 不确定性
Environmental 环境的		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dispossession of land 失去土地 - Commercial logging and associated soil degradation 商业伐木与随之而来的土壤退化 - Resettlement on marginal lands 被驱逐到边缘地区 - Chemicalisation of agriculture 农业化学化 - Loss of biodiversity 生态多样性丧失
Economic 经济的		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unsustainable levels of debt 负债累累 - Market dependencies 依赖市场 - Growing inequalities 扩大的不平等
Political and socio-cultural 政治和社会文化的		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Erosion of the community covenant (moral economy) 乡规民约（道义经济）遭到破坏 - Falling fertility rates, ageing population 生育率下降，人口老龄化 - Out-migration 人口流出
Poverty 贫穷	Old poverty 旧有的贫困	New poverty 新近的贫困

CASE 1



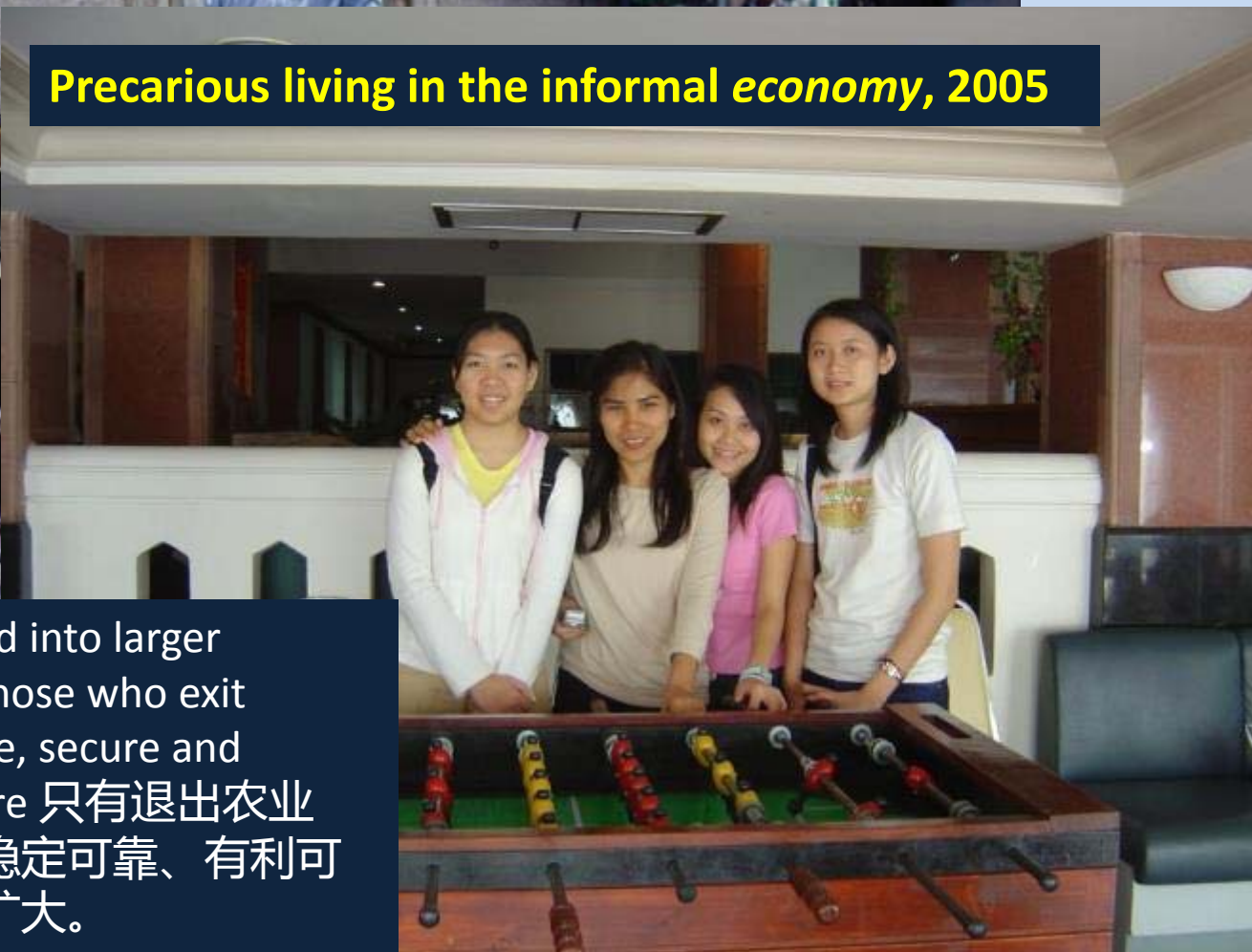
CASE 2



**Precarious living in the informal sector,
migrants in Bangkok circa 1990**



Precarious living in the informal economy, 2005



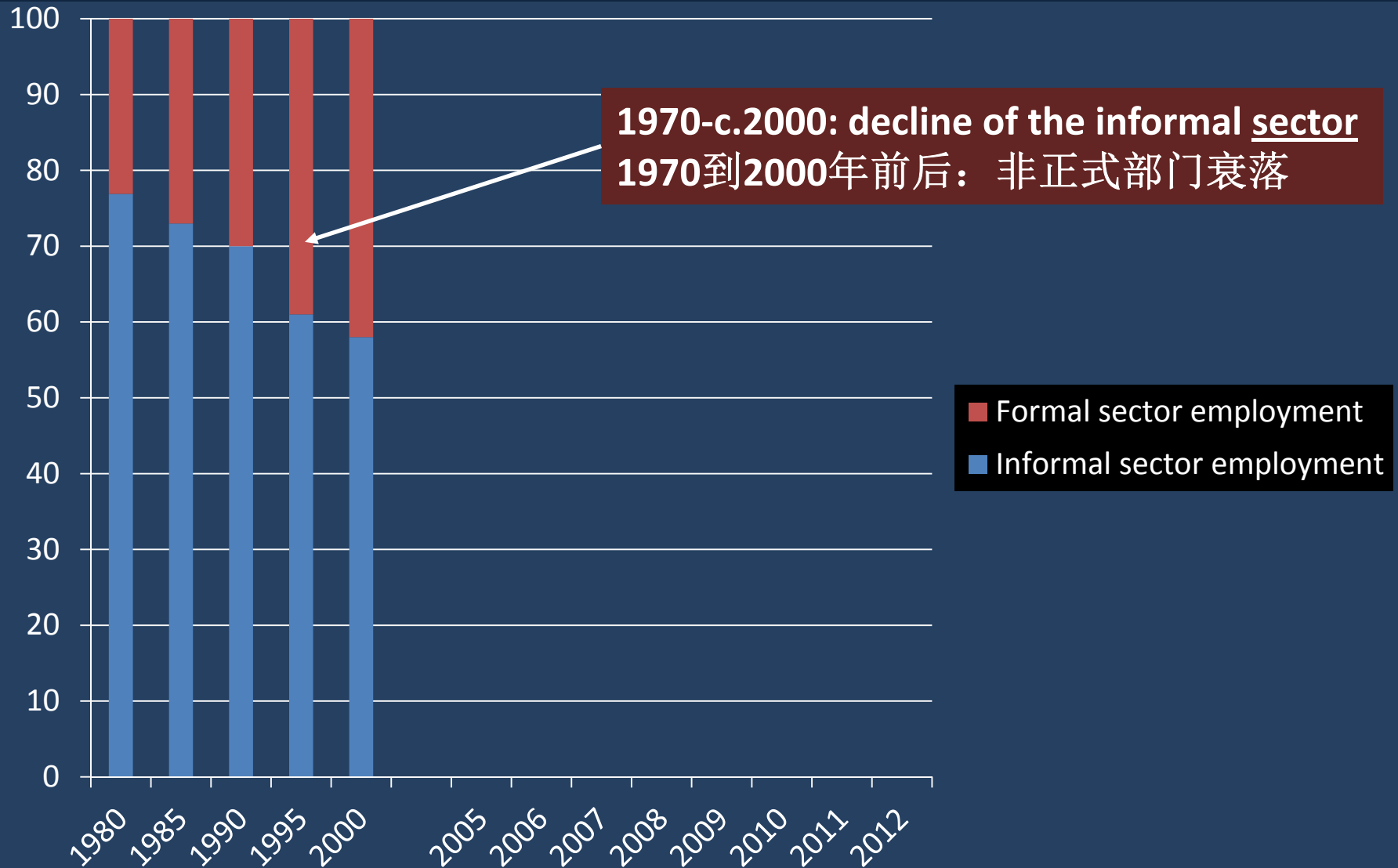
For farms to be amalgamated into larger holdings it is necessary for those who exit agriculture to find productive, secure and remunerative work elsewhere 只有退出农业的人能够找到产出颇丰、稳定可靠、有利可图的工作，农场规模才能扩大。

Supporting the elderly: a generalised regional typology of resource flows 赡 养老人：各区域资源流向的一般类型

	Public transfers 公共转移支付	Asset-based reallocations 以资产为基础的再分配	Familial transfers 家庭转移支付
Europe and the US 欧洲和美国	High (~50+ per cent) 高 (50%以上)	Significant (~30-40 per cent) 比较高 (30-40%)	Negative or small (-10 per cent to +20 per cent) 没有甚至是攫取 (-10%到20%)
East Asia 东亚	Significant (~25-50 per cent) 比较高 (20-50%)	Significant (~25-50 per cent) 比较高 (25-50%)	Significant (~25-50 per cent) 比较高 (25-50%)
Southeast Asia 东南亚	Negative or negligible (-10 per cent to +10 per cent) 没有甚至是攫取 (±10%)	High (~50+ per cent) 高 (50%以上)	Significant (~25-50 per cent) 比较高 (25-50%)

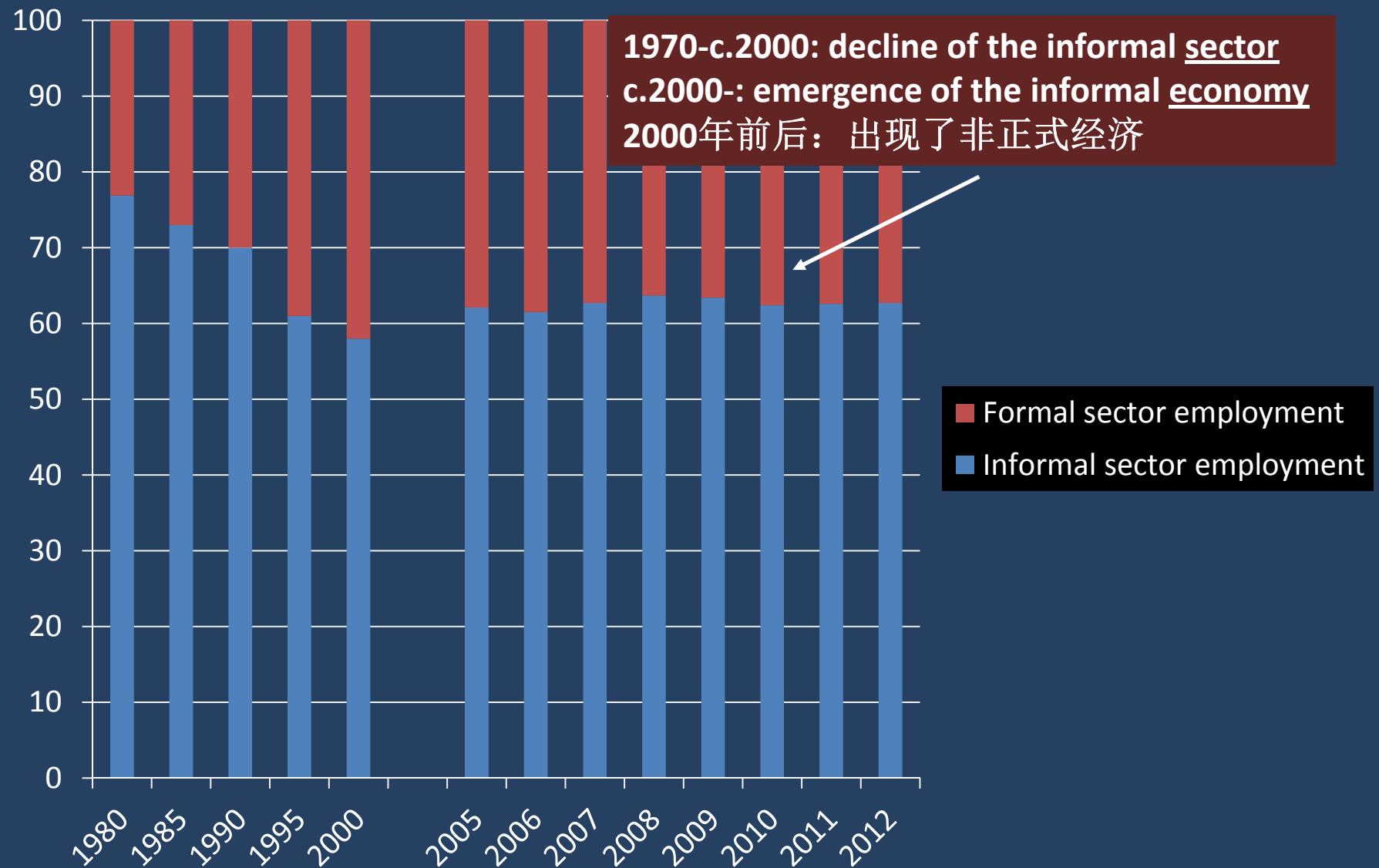
Precarity in Thailand: the formalisation of employment, 1980-2000

泰国就业的不稳定性：就业的正式化程度，1980-2000年



Precarity in Thailand: the formalisation of employment, 1980-2000

泰国就业的不稳定性：就业的正式化程度，1980-2000年



Precarity 不稳定性

All this leaves one final question to address: 所有这一切给我们带来了最后一个问题:

What possible futures offer themselves for the East Asian smallholder and, therefore, for farming? 东亚小规模生产者可能面临怎样的未来? 农业因此可能面临怎样的未来?

East Asian small farming futures

东亚小规模农业的未来



It is worthwhile noting, however, that the precarious future of the small farm and the smallholder has been on the agenda for many years: 但是需要注意：小农场和小土地持有者不稳定的未来已经被讨论了多年：

- 'The economics of small farms' (Tweeten, 1983) “小农场的经济学”
- 'Why are farms so small?' (Johnson and Ruttan, 1994) “为什么农场这么小？”
- 'Is there a future for small farms?' (Hazell, 2005) “小农场还有未来吗？”
- 'Is small beautiful? Farm size, productivity, and poverty in Asian agriculture' (Fan and Chan-Kang, 2005) “小就是美吗？农场规模、生产率与亚洲农业的贫困”
- 'The future of small farms: trajectories and policy priorities' (Hazell et al., 2010) “小农场的未来：路径与政策优先序”
- 'The future of small farms' (Wiggins et al., 2010) “小农场的未来”
- 'Is small farm led development still a relevant strategy for Africa and Asia?' (Hazell, 2013) “非洲和亚洲还能采用小农场主导的发展策略吗？”
- 'The future of small farms in Asia' (Otsuka et al., 2014) “亚洲小农场的未来”

Four farming futures 农场的四种未来

1. The farm-size transition will finally assert itself and most smallholders will sell their sub-livelihood farms and exit agriculture permitting those who stay to accumulate land and modernise agriculture. There is an assumption that governments will, to an extent, abandon the smallholder. 农场规模变大的趋势终将实现，绝大多数小土地持有者将无法维持生计的农场出让，退出农业生产，继续从事农业的生产者将扩大土地规模，实现农业现代化。政府将在一定程度上放弃小土地持有者。
2. The second scenario sees an entrenchment of pluriactive smallholders but one where economic development means that smallholdings become increasingly post-productivist. In this schema, the class position of smallholders becomes less like that of the peasant, and more akin to that of a latter-day yeoman small farmer. 第二幅图景：小土地持有者将从事多种生产活动，经济的发展让小块农田越来越成为后生产主义的。在这一方案中，小土地持有者的阶级位置不太像小农，而更类似于近代的自耕农。
3. The third scenario sees 'more of the same', at least in the medium-term. Smallholders will continue to innovate, embrace the opportunities provided by new value chains (green, organic, high value), and construct their livelihoods across spaces and sectors. 第三幅图景：至少在中期内现状无太大改变。小土地持有者继续革新，抓住新价值链（绿色、有机、高价值）提供的机遇，在多个空间和部门构建自己的生计体系。
4. A final scenario sees the political power of farming populations assert itself such that substantial support is given to farming, protecting the smallholders. 最后一幅图景：农业人口的政治力量使农业得到足够的支持，保护了小土地持有者。