

对话世界顶尖学者 享受“独立之精神,自由之思想”

## “农政与发展”系列讲座

二零一一年秋季学期第二讲 (总第2讲)

COHD SEMINAR SERIES - Critical Issues in Agrarian and Development Studies (CIADS) No. 2, Autumn 2011

# 主题：农民的未来在哪里？

## Topic: Do Peasants have a future?

主讲：杨·范德普勒格

Speaker: Jan Douwe van der Ploeg

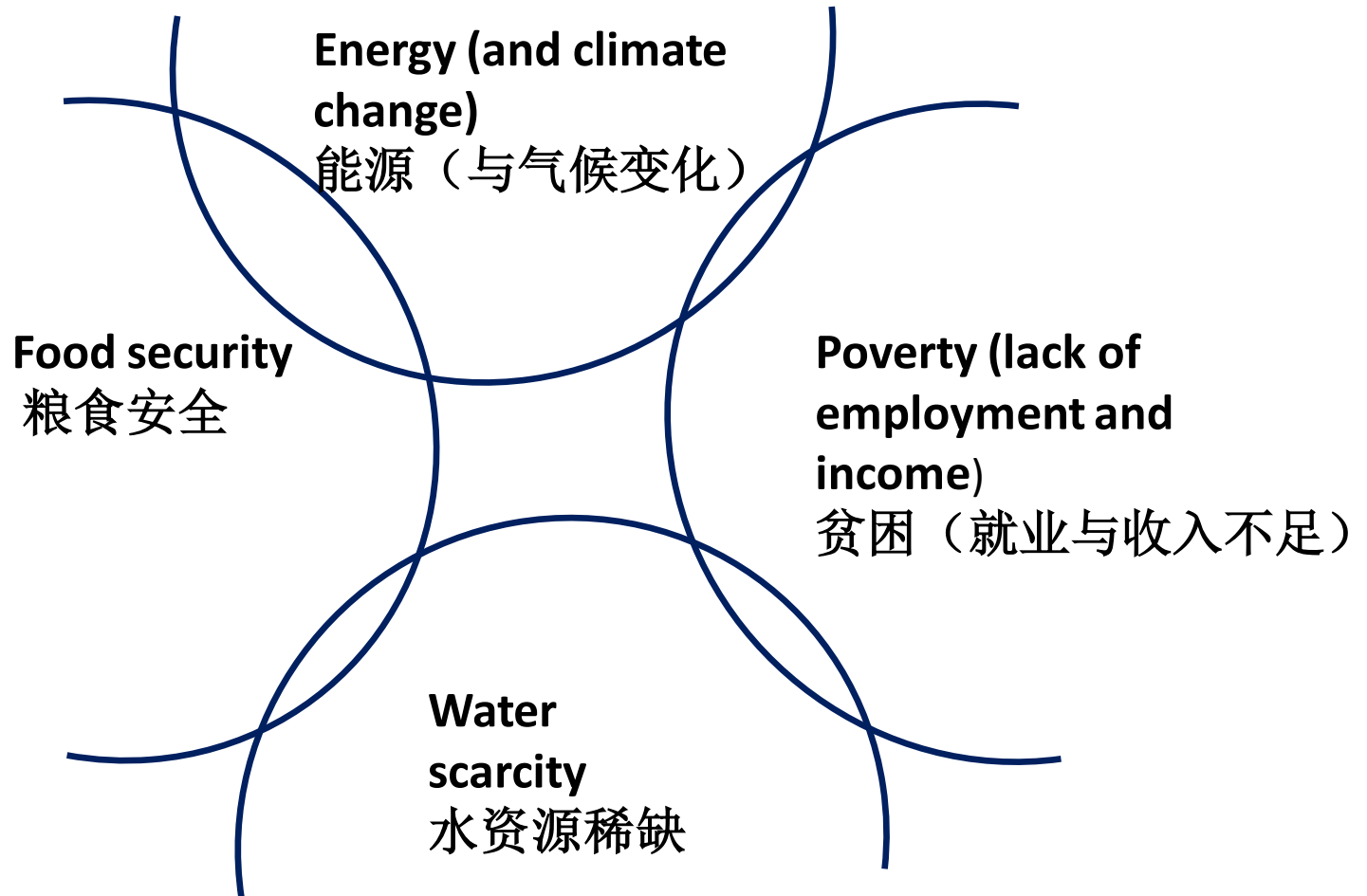


中国农业大学  
China Agricultural University

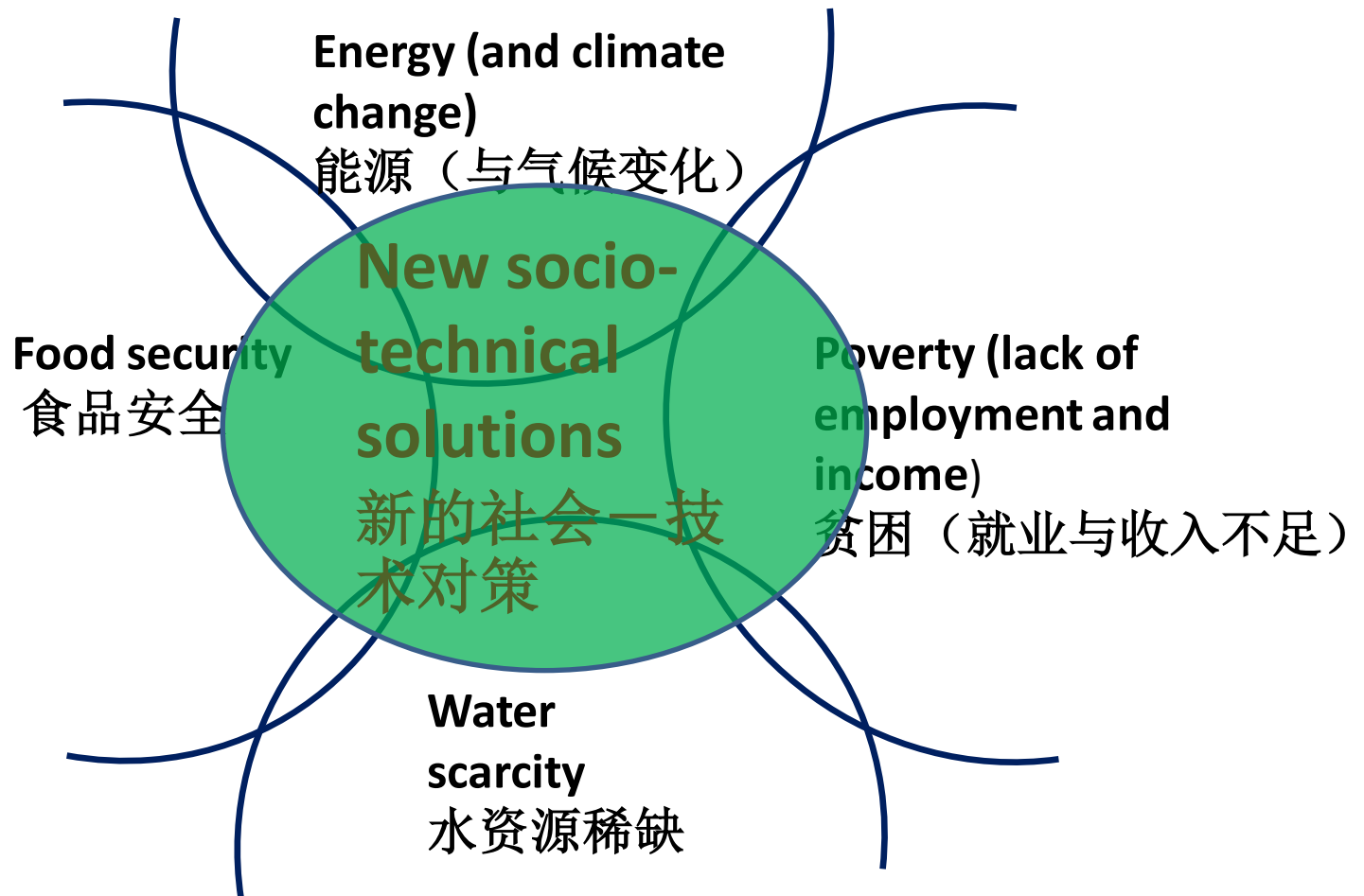


中国农业大学“985工程”支持 中国农业大学人文与发展学院主办

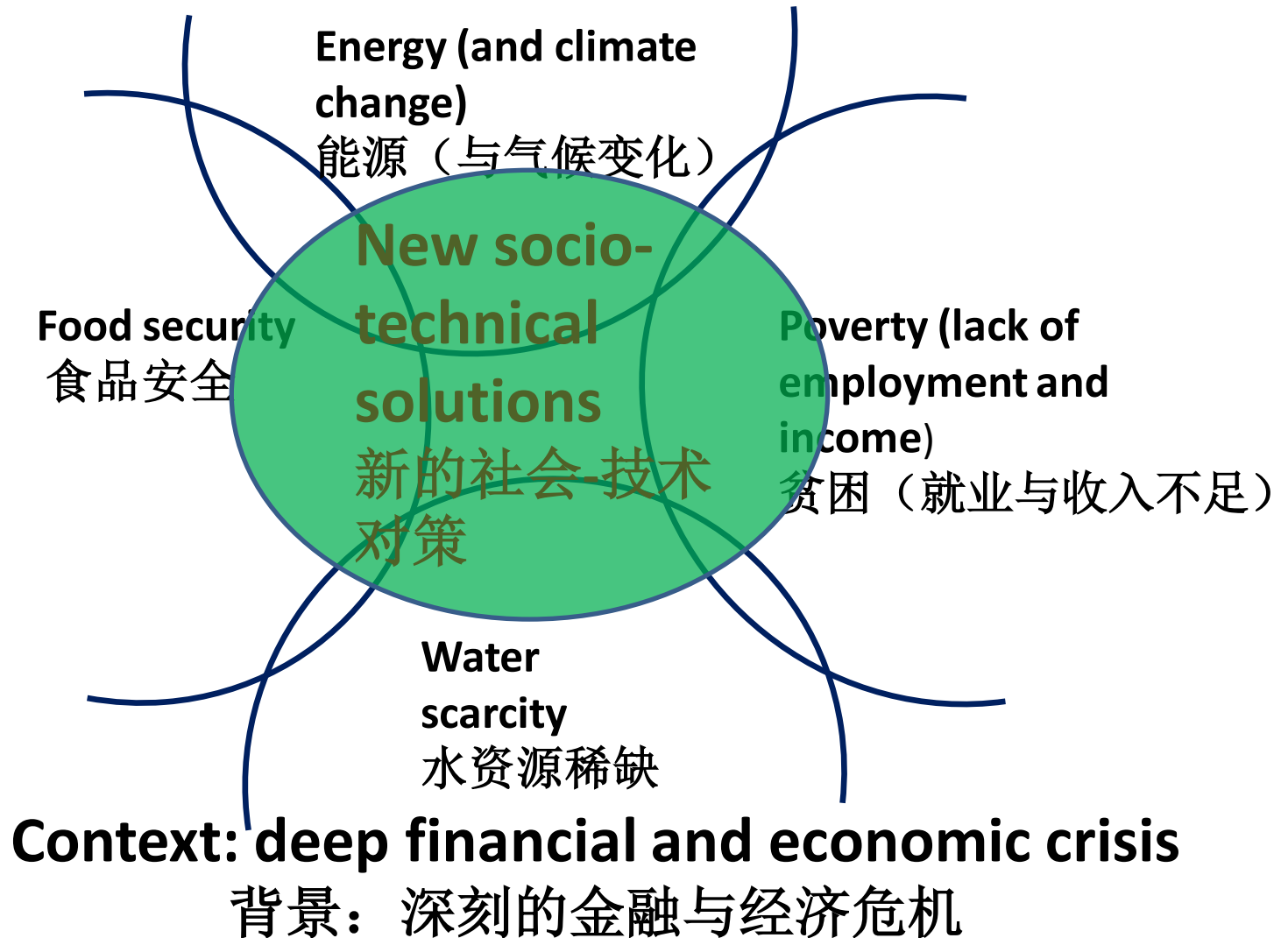
# New Scarcities 新的稀缺性



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# New Scarcities 新的稀缺性



A row of trees in a green field with cows grazing in the background. The trees are in the foreground, and the cows are in the middle ground. The background shows a line of trees and a clear sky.

**1) Highly productive**

高生产率

**2) Low in energy**

低能耗

**3) Efficient with water**

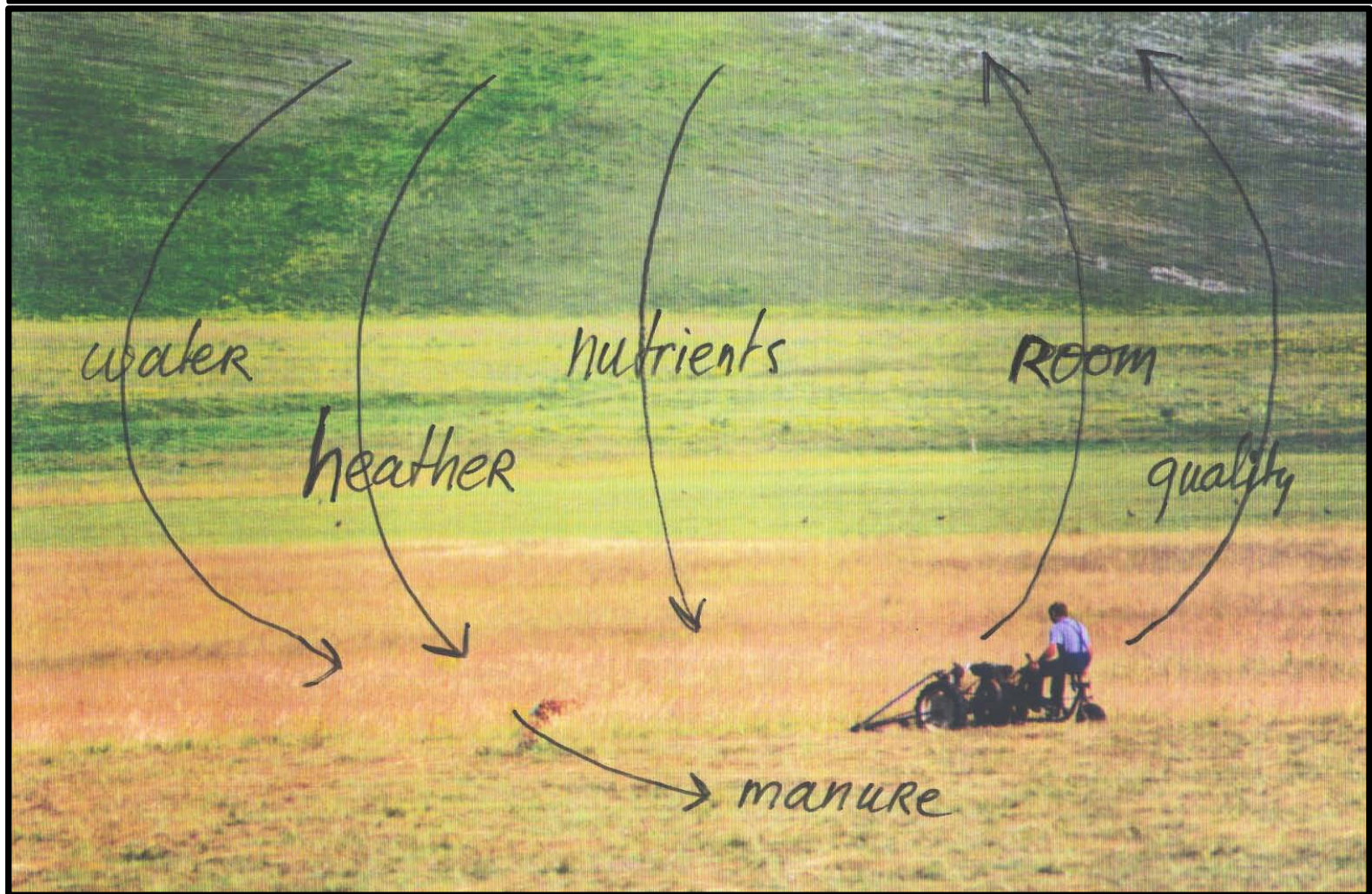
高效节水

**4) Providing employment  
and income**

提供就业机会与收入来源

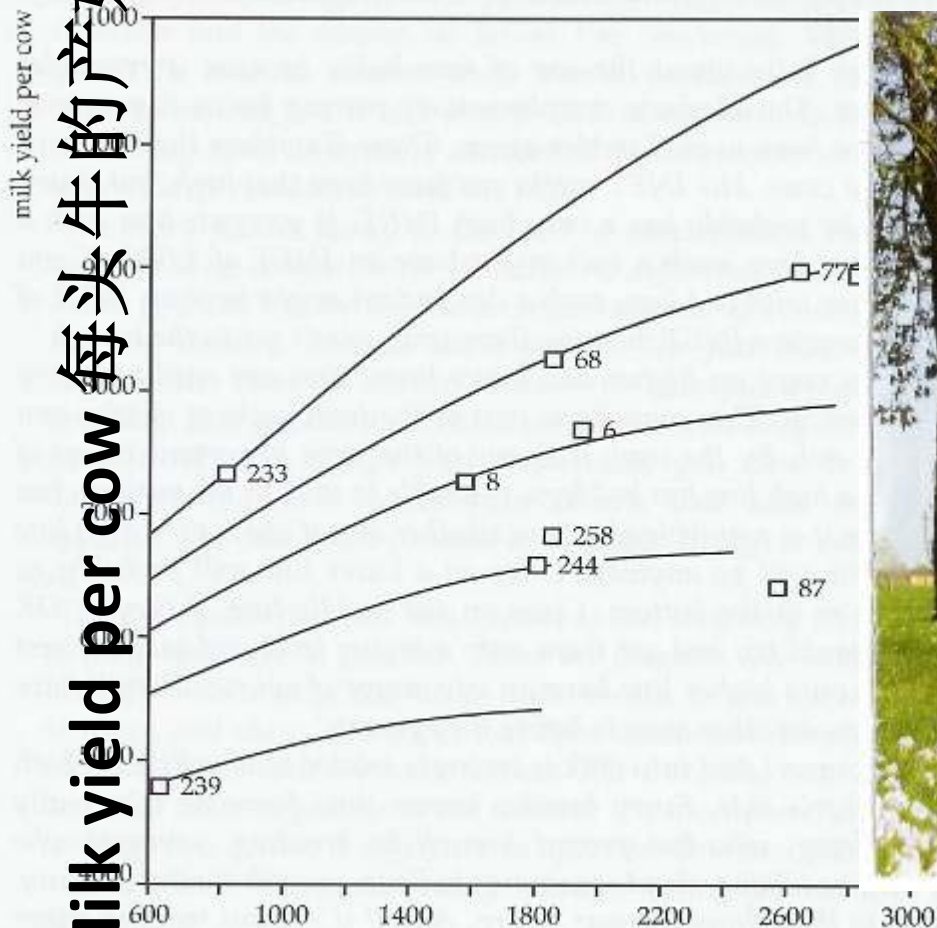
# Agriculture: not a 'machine' but a socio-technical practice

农业：并非“机器”，而是一种社会-技术实践



# Malleability 1 可塑性1

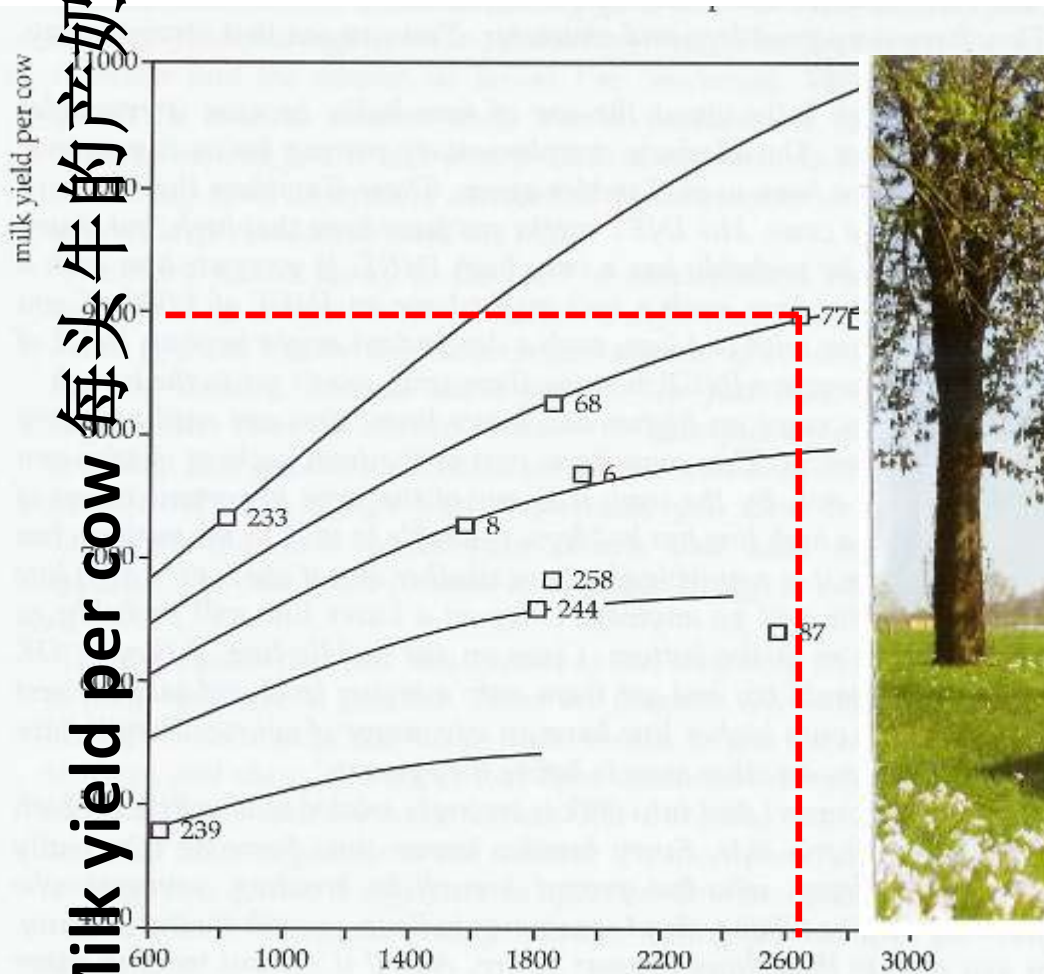
每头牛的产奶量  
Milk yield per cow



每头牛使用的饲料  
Feed per cow

# Malleability 1 可塑性1

每头牛的产奶量  
Milk yield per cow

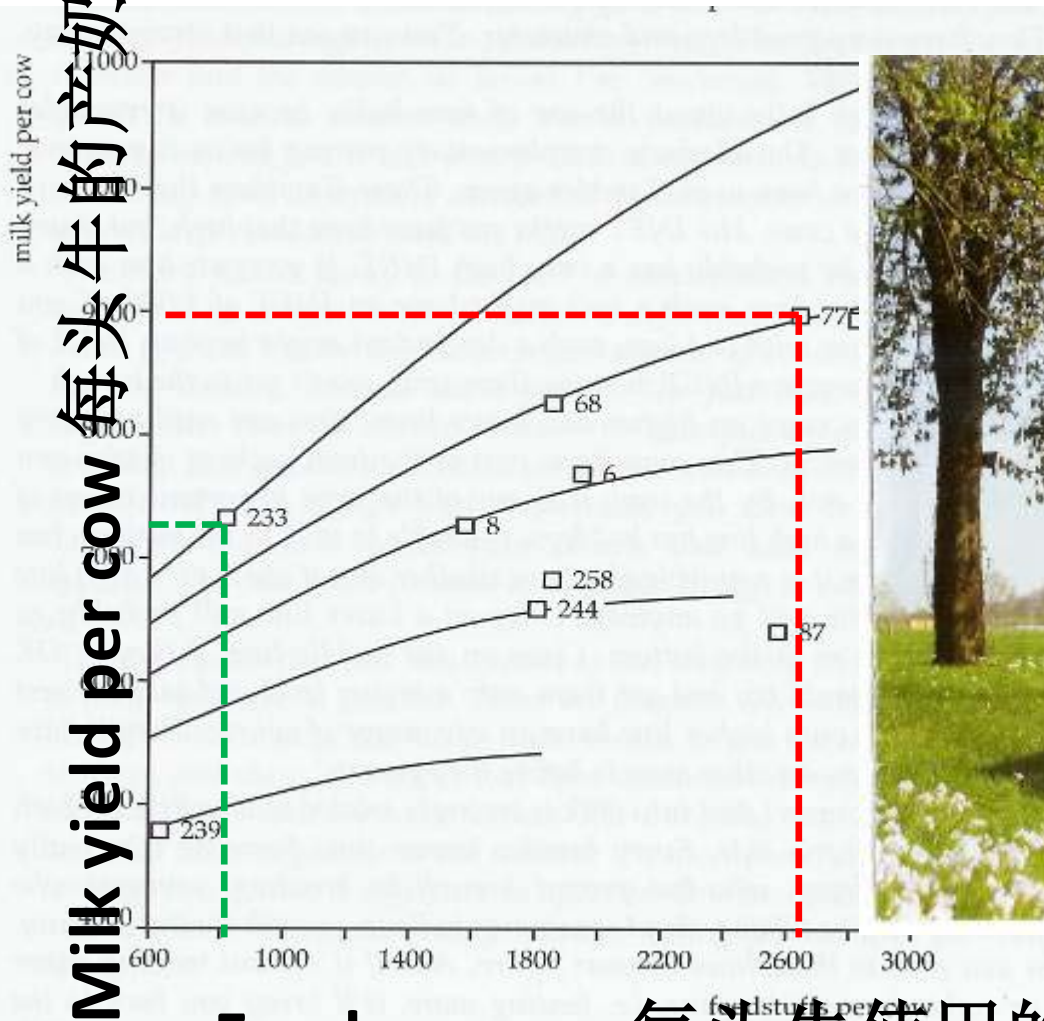


每头牛使用的饲料  
Feed per cow



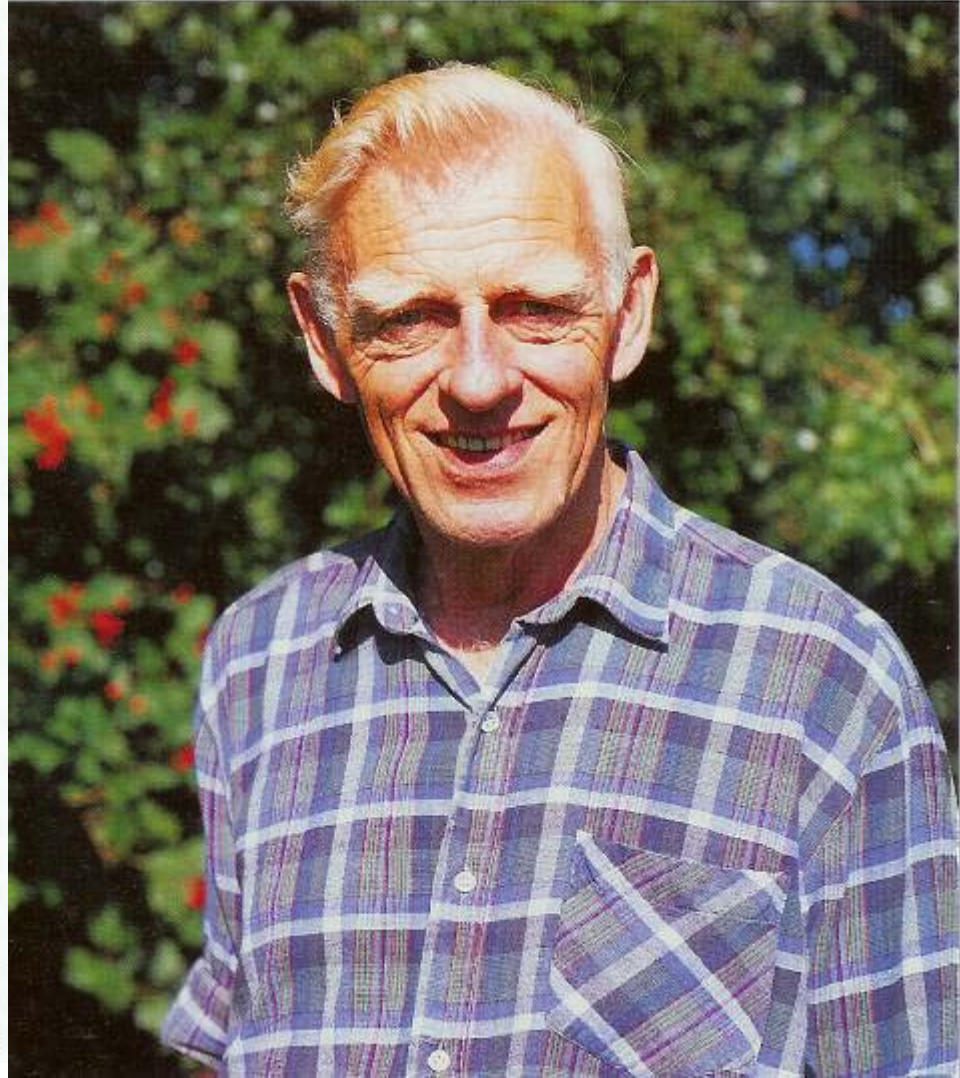
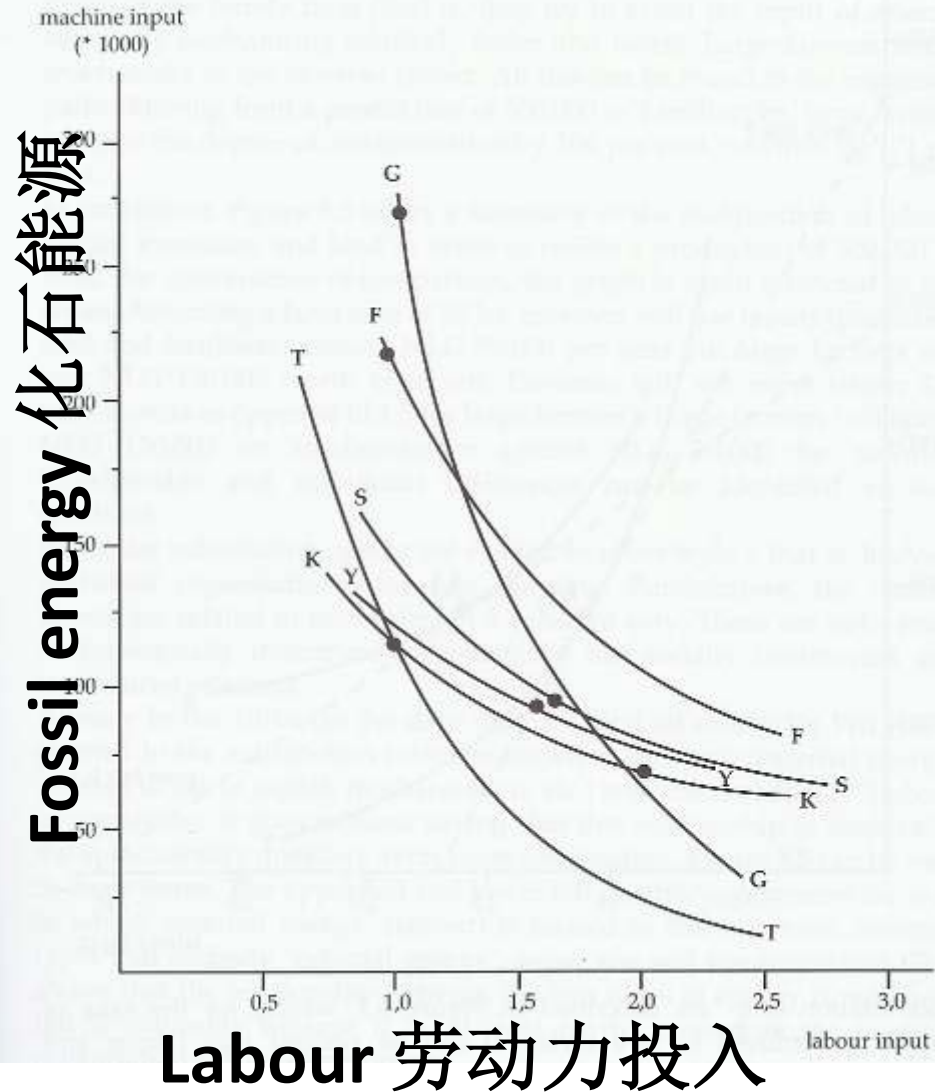
# Malleability 1 可塑性1

Milk yield per cow 每头牛的产奶量

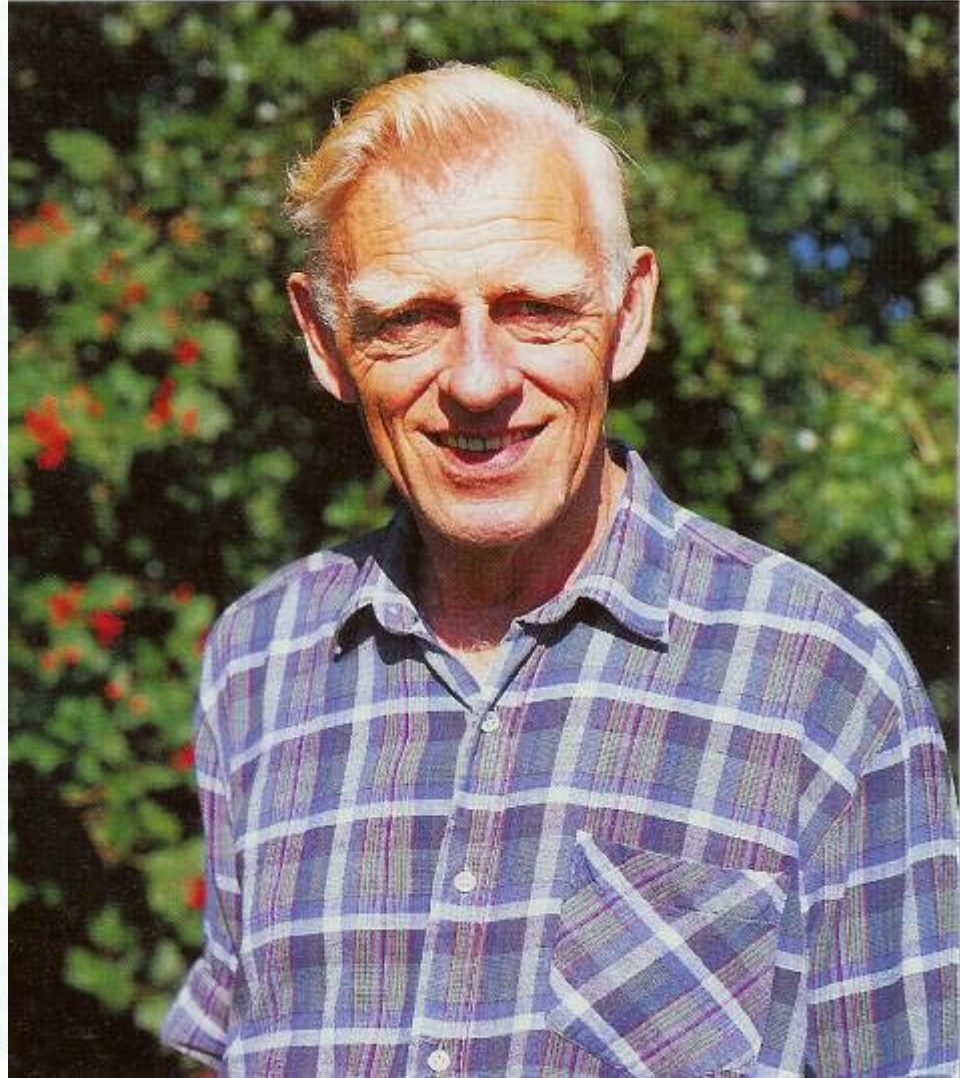
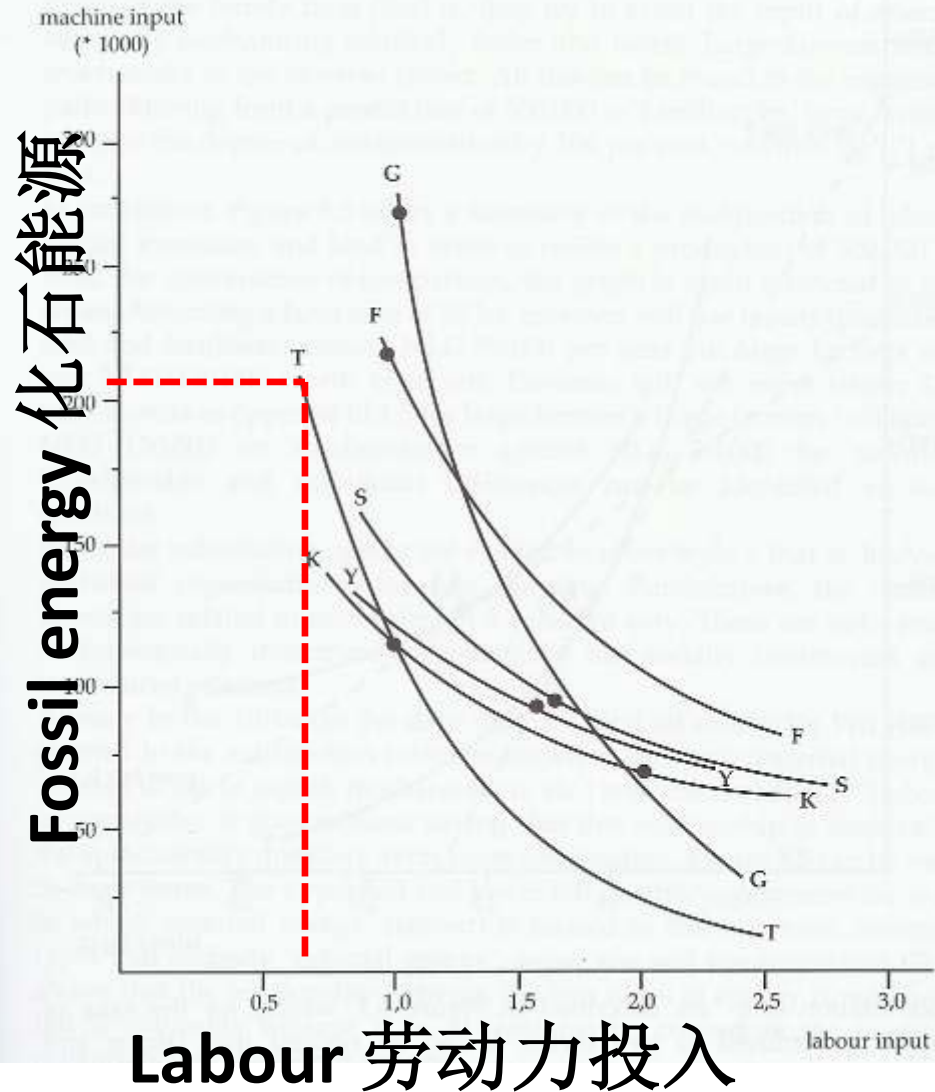


Feed per cow 每头牛使用的饲料

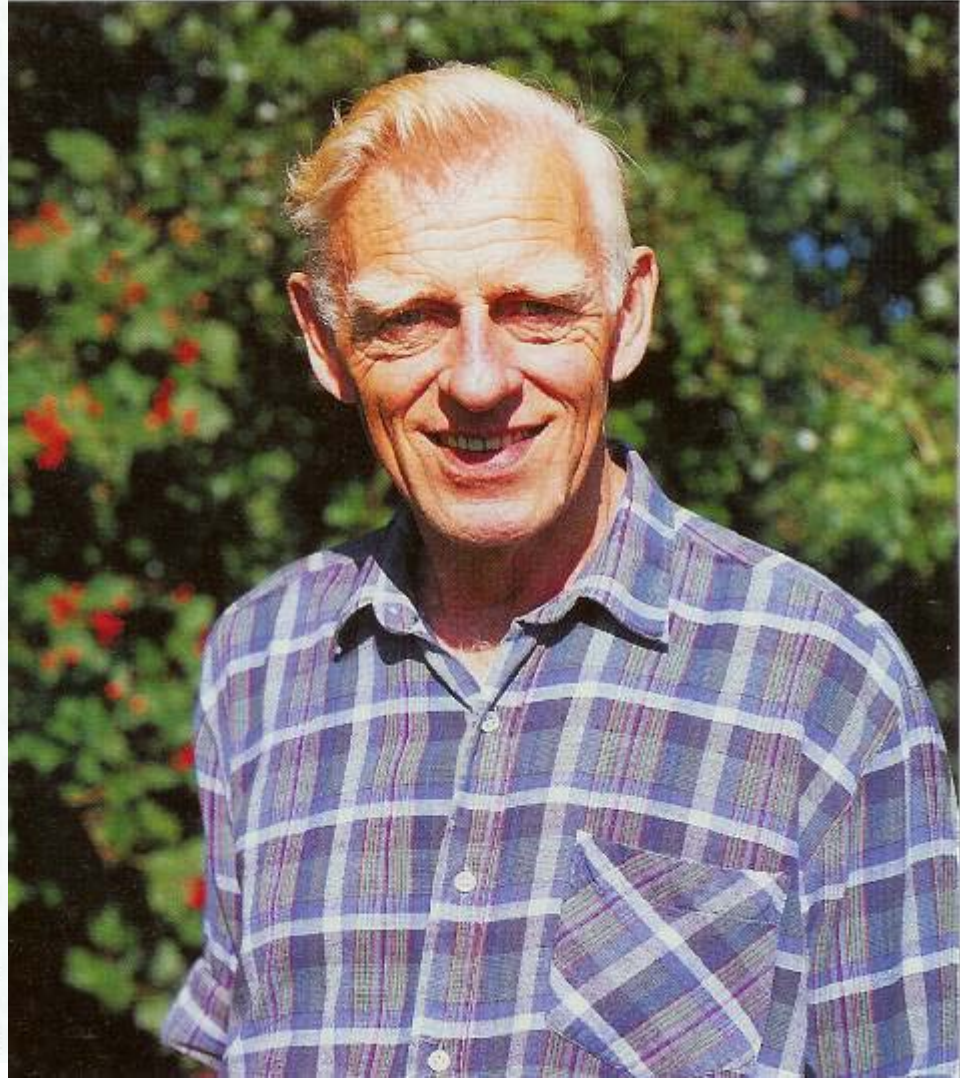
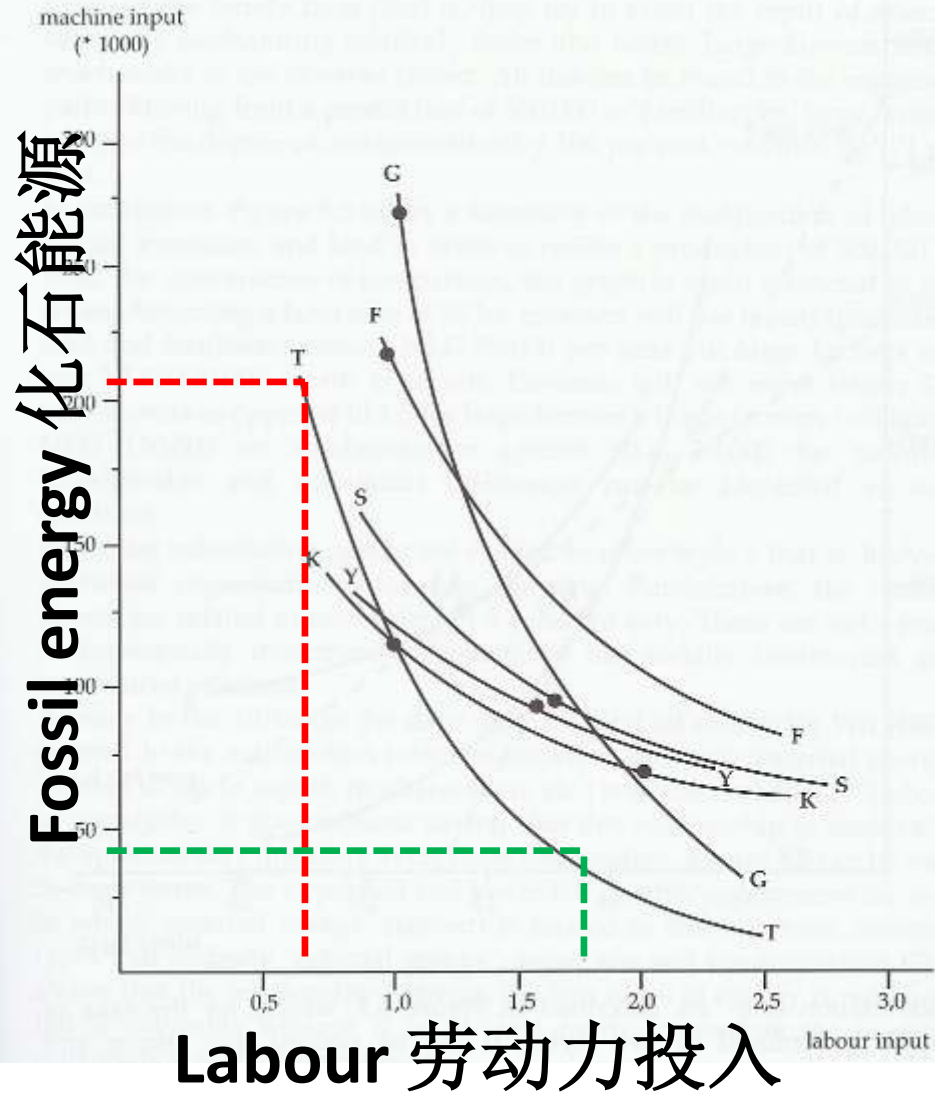
# Malleability 2 可塑性2



# Malleability 2 可塑性2



# Malleability 2 可塑性2



# Malleability 3 (water use)

可塑性3 (水资源利用)



Os lameiros in  
Tras-os-Montes,  
Portugal

Barroso cattle 巴罗佐牛



# The irrigation systems (FMIS)

## 灌溉系统 (FMIS)



Table 5.2 Comparison of irrigation water use in contrasting farming patterns

# Endogenous versus 'modernized'

内源的 vs. “现代化的”

| Parameters/ indicators   | Unit               | 'intensifiers'<br>endogenous<br>N=12 | 'modernisers'<br>exogenous<br>N=6 |
|--|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. % SAU irrigated total   | %                  | 56                                   | 70                                |
| b. % SAU irrigated <i>lameiros</i>   | %                  | 38                                   | 33                                |
| c. % SAU irrigated summer crops  | %                  | 17                                   | 35                                |
| d. % SAU irrigated summer forage   | %                  | 13                                   | 30                                |
| e. proportion irrigated <i>lameiros</i> /summer forage acreage             | -                  | 2.9                                  | 1.1                               |
| f. % silage maize+temporary meadows/ acreage of SAU irrigated summer crops | %                  | 3                                    | 38                                |
| <i>Acreage per Cattle Unit</i>   |                    |                                      |                                   |
| g. not irrigated <i>lameiro</i> (pasture)                                  | ha/CU              | 0.17                                 | 0.14                              |
| h. green rye ( <i>ferrã, ferranha</i> )                                    | ha/CU              | 0.07                                 | 0.01                              |
| i. irrigated <i>lameiro</i>  | ha/CU              | 0.21                                 | 0.37                              |
| j. irrigated summer forage   | ha/CU              | 0.07                                 | 0.32                              |
| k. total irrigated land  | ha/CU              | 0.28                                 | 0.69                              |
| l. silage maize+temporary meadow   | ha/CU              | 0.00                                 | 0.13                              |
| m. use of <i>baldio</i> *  | h/day              | 6.2                                  | 0.7                               |
| <i>Purchased cattle feed per Cattle Unit</i>                               |                    |                                      |                                   |
| n. purchased concentrate   | ct/CU              | 9.6                                  | 34.2                              |
| o. purchased forage  | ct/CU              | 0.5                                  | 0.3                               |
| p. 'scarce' summer water requirements per cattle unit                      | m <sup>3</sup> /CU | 140                                  | 650                               |
| q. net income per total irrigated acreage                                  | ct/ha              | 200                                  | 100                               |
| r. net income per summer forage irrigation acreage                         | ct/ha              | 1350                                 | 230                               |
| s. gross income per m <sup>3</sup> 'scarce' summer water                   | esc/m <sup>3</sup> | 660                                  | 210                               |
| t. net income per m <sup>3</sup> 'scarce' summer water                     | esc/m <sup>3</sup> | 500                                  | 110                               |

Gross income per m<sup>3</sup> of 'scarce' summer water 每立方米“稀缺的”夏季用水产生的总收入对比:

660 versus 210

Notes:

- Values are averages for the two groups of farmers, based on accountancy data for 1989. Naturally there is a considerable variation of these values within the two groups of farmers but for the objective of this study, namely to show the differences *between* the groups, average values are sufficient.

- Abbreviations:

N: size of sample

SAU: *Superfície Agrícola Util* or cultivated farm acreage

ct: *conto*. 1ct=1000 *escudos* (165 esc.=1 US\$ in 1989);

CU: Cattle Unit or *Cabeça Normal* (assumption: 1 milch cow=1.5 CU and 1 meat cow=1CU)

\* Use of *baldios* expressed in average pasture time in commons (hours/day) taken from Christóvão *et al.* (1994: Table 2)



# Brazil 巴西





# Water harvesting 集水

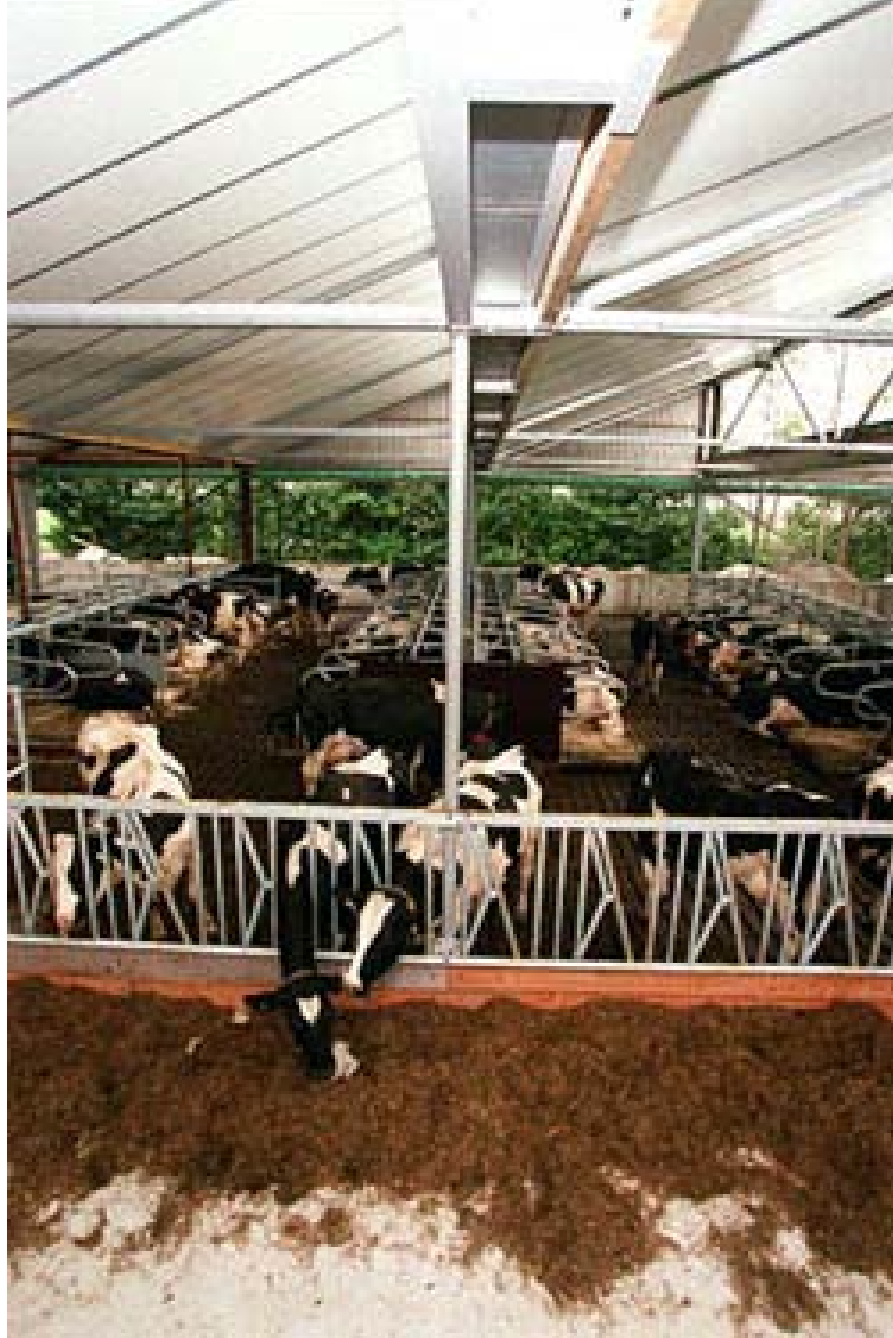


# Water harvesting 集水



# Malleability 4 (on employment and income)

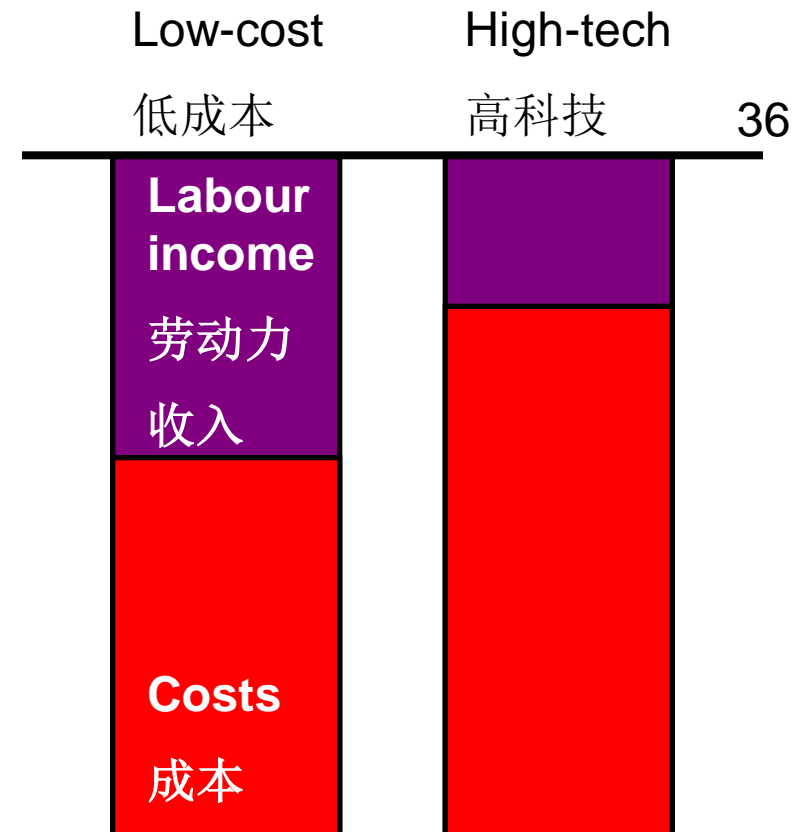
可塑性4（关于就业与  
收入）



Experimental farms at Lelystad, the Netherlands 荷兰莱利斯塔德的试验农场

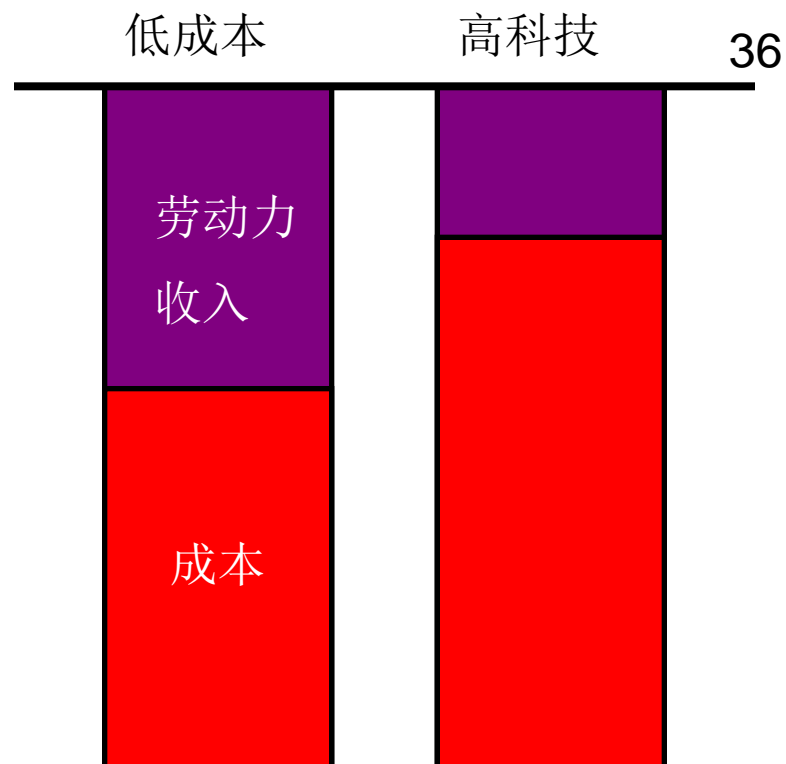
## a comparison between a peasant and an entrepreneurial approach in Dutch dairy farming

|  | <b>Low-cost</b> | <b>High-tech</b> |
|--|-----------------|------------------|
| Units of labour force                                  | 1.0             | 1.0              |
| Working hours/man/year                                 | 2500            | 2490             |
| Hectares of land                                       | 32              | 35               |
| Milking cows   | 53              | 81               |
| Milk yield per milking cow                             | 7547            | 9673             |
| Total milk production (kg)                             | 400.000         | 783.515          |
| Concentrates per 100 kg of milk (in €)                 | 3,8             | 7,5              |
| Calculated labour cost per 100 kg of milk (in €)       | 13,0            | 6,7              |
| Costs associated with technology use per 100 kg (in €) | 5,4             | 7,1              |
| Production costs per 100 kg (in €)                     | 34,5            | 34,7             |
| Realized income per working hour (€)                   | 19,20           | 16,36            |



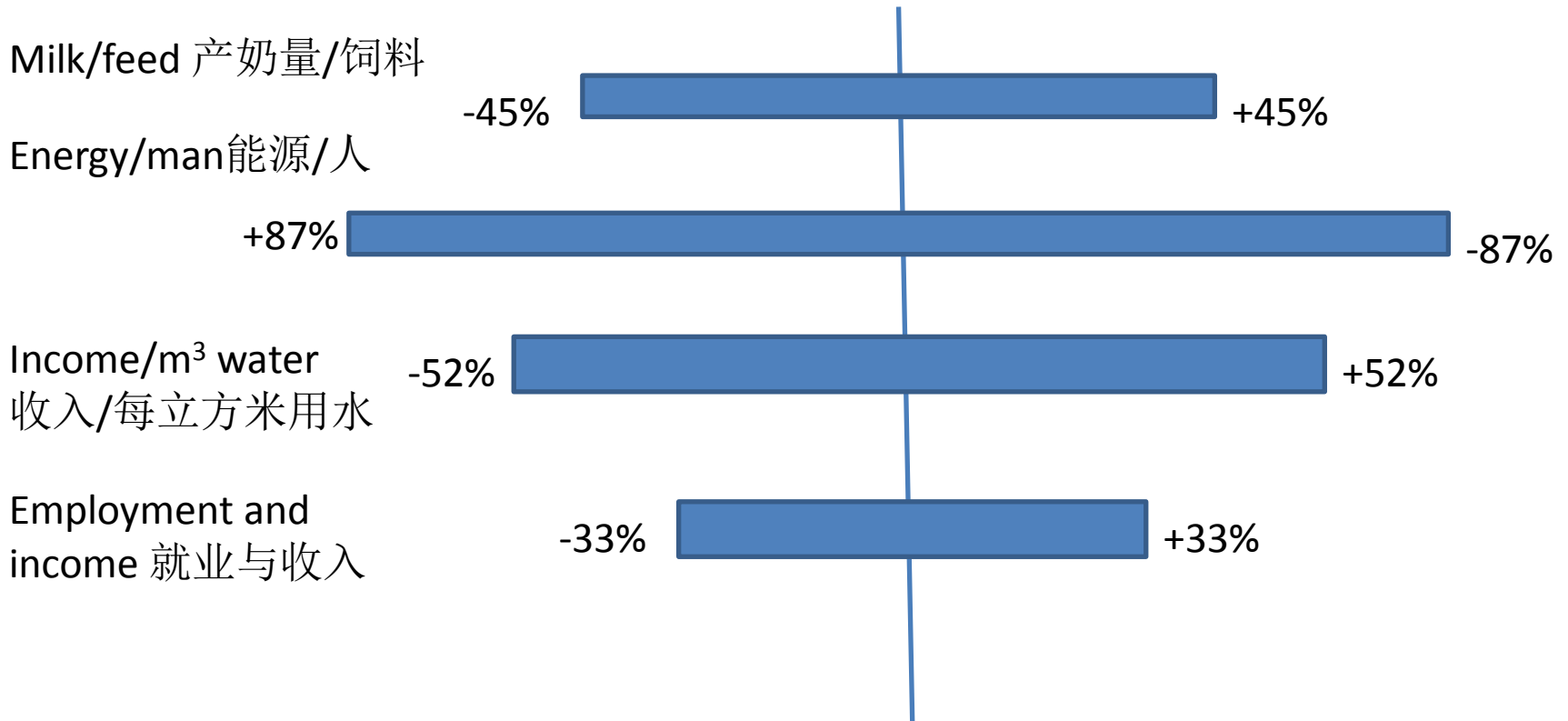
# 荷兰奶牛养殖业中小农模式与企业模式的对比

|                     | 低成本          | 高科技            |
|---------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 劳动力单位               | 1.0          | <b>1.0</b>     |
| 每人每年工作时数            | 2500         | <b>2490</b>    |
| 土地公顷数               | 32           | <b>35</b>      |
| 产奶奶牛数               | 53           | <b>81</b>      |
| 每头奶牛的产奶量            | 7547         | <b>9673</b>    |
| 总产奶量（公斤）            | 400.000      | <b>783.515</b> |
| 每100公斤牛奶使用的精饲料（欧元）  | 3,8          | <b>7,5</b>     |
| 每100公斤牛奶的劳动力成本（欧元）  | 13,0         | <b>6,7</b>     |
| 每100公斤牛奶的相关科技成本（欧元） | 5,4          | <b>7,1</b>     |
| 每100公斤牛奶的生产成本（欧元）   | 34,5         | <b>34,7</b>    |
| 每单位劳动时间实现的收入（欧元）    | <b>19,20</b> | <b>16,36</b>   |



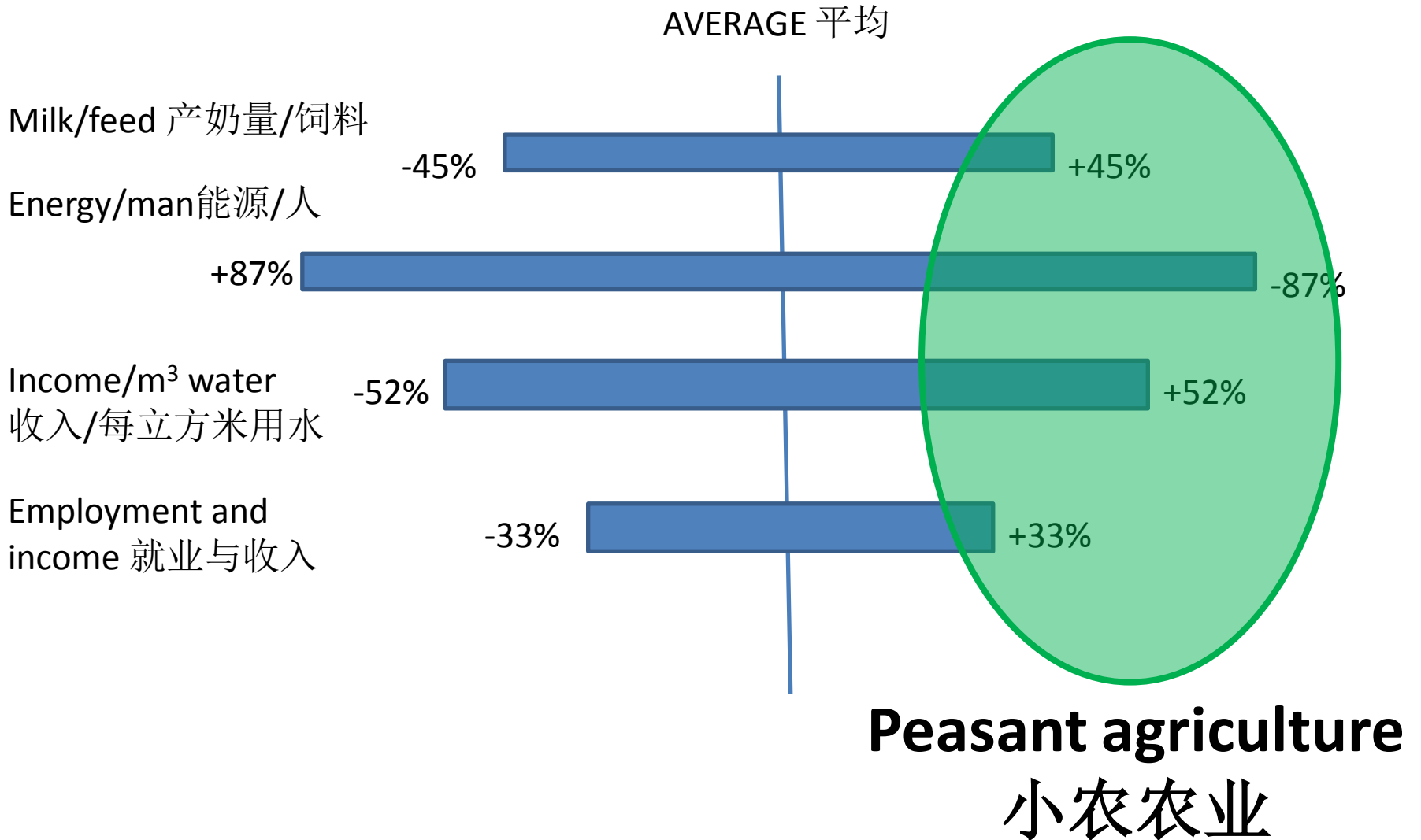
# Synthesis 综合:

AVERAGE 平均

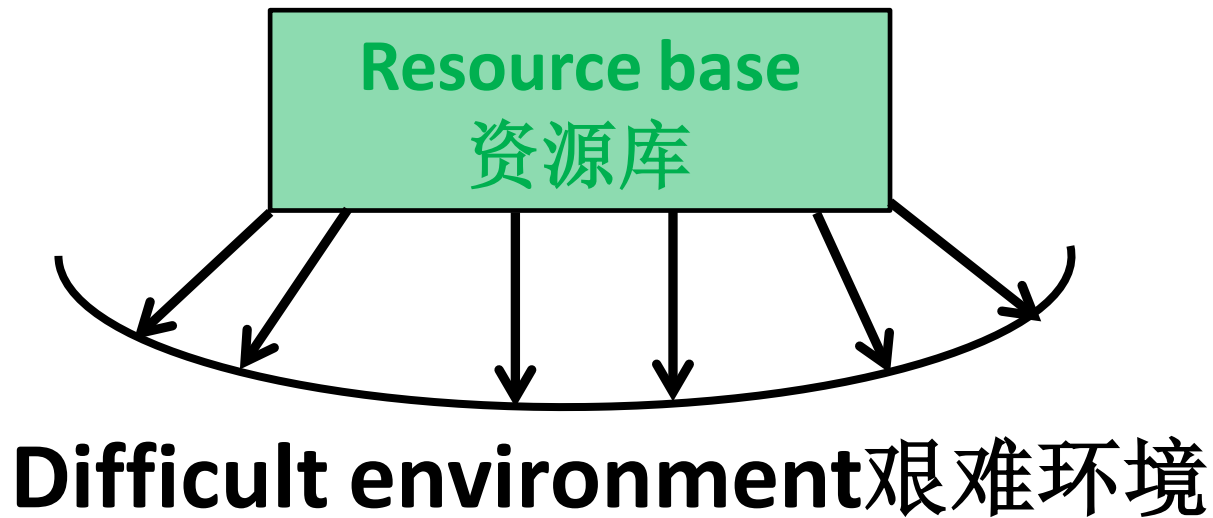




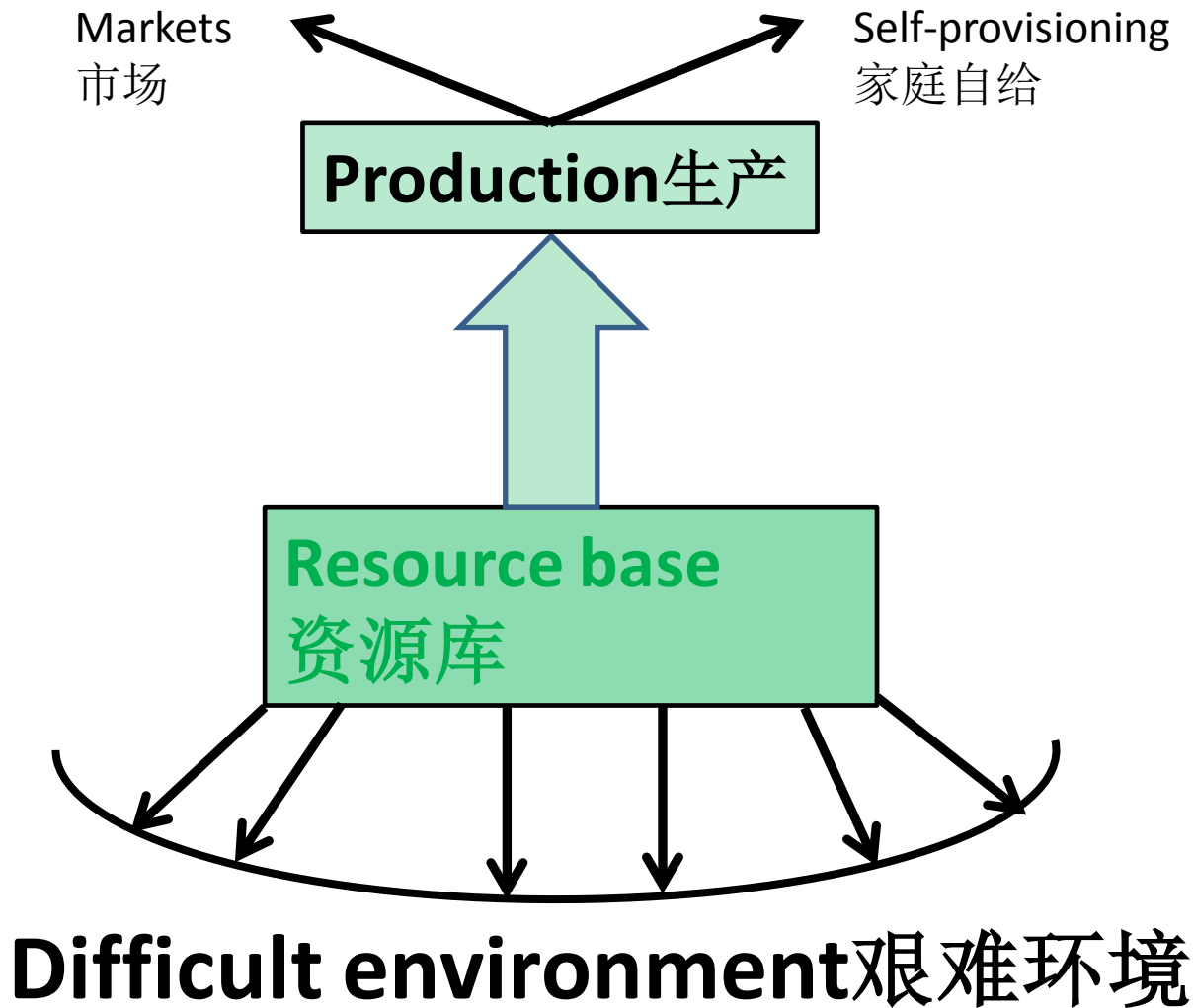
# Synthesis 综合:



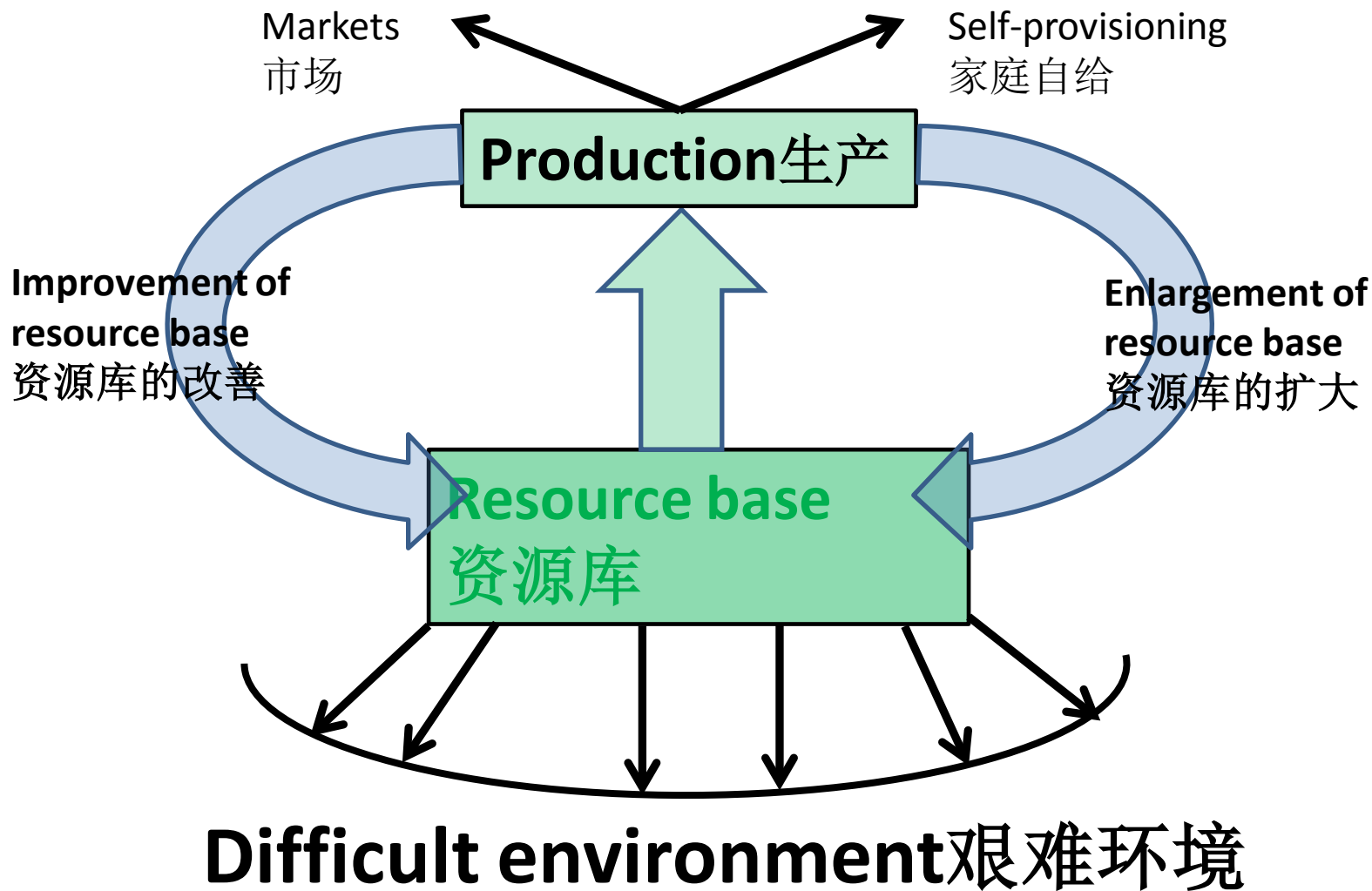
# (1) What is peasant agriculture? 什么是小农农业?



## (2) What is peasant agriculture? 什么是小农农业?



### (3) What is peasant agriculture? 什么是小农农业?



# Intensification at village level (Yields in Jin/mu ) 村庄层次上的集约化生产 (斤/亩)

| Crop<br>作物              | 1966-<br>1974 | 2007-<br>2009 | Growth<br>增幅 | Maximum<br>最高产量 |
|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| corn 玉米                 | 300-400       | 800-1000      | +100%        | 1200            |
| peanuts<br>花生           | 200           | 200-300       | + 25%        |                 |
| wheat 小麦                | 200           | NA 无          |              |                 |
| Sweet<br>potatoes<br>红薯 | 2000          | 3000          | + 50%        |                 |
| Soy beans<br>大豆         | 200           | 350-400       | >75%         |                 |



# Improving resource base 改善资源库







# Developing fruit yards 发展果园



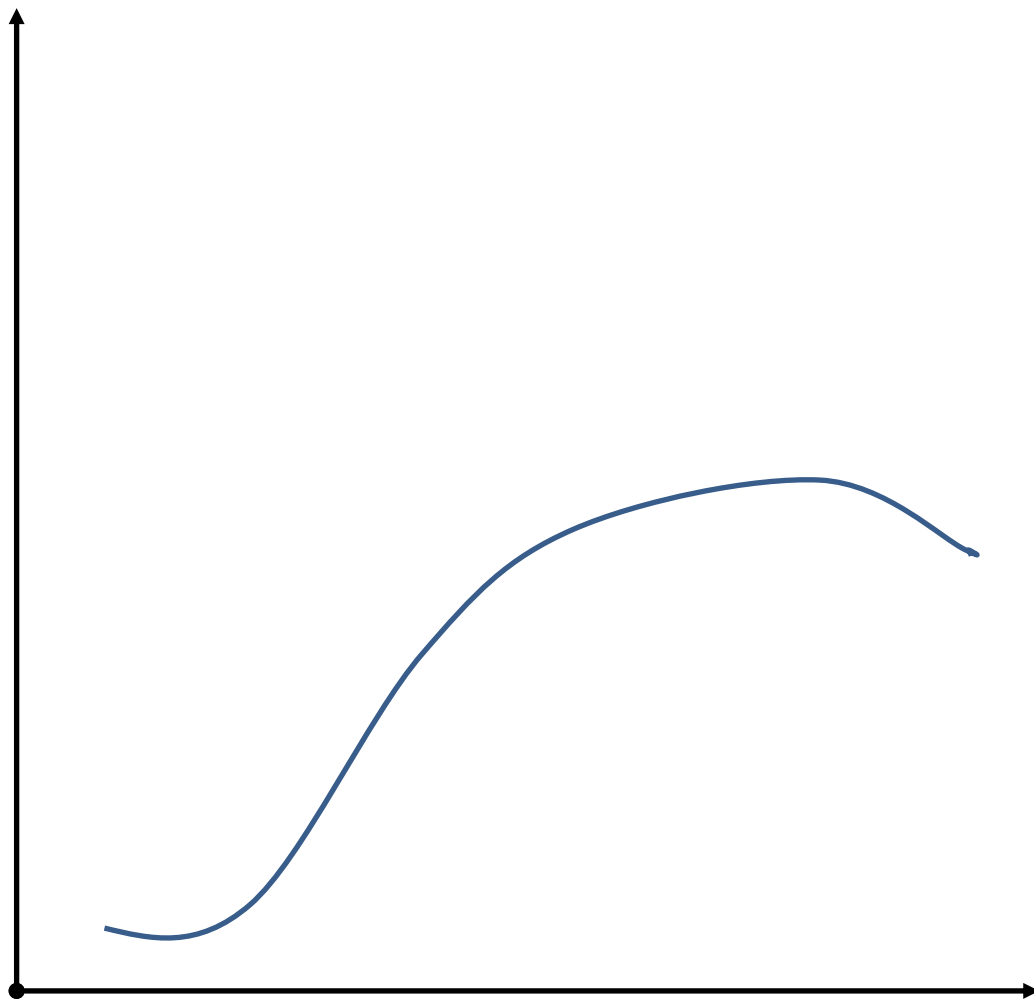
# Opening 'ditches' in the hills: creation of new land

山地“开沟”：开辟新田地



# Diminishing returns? 边际报酬递减?

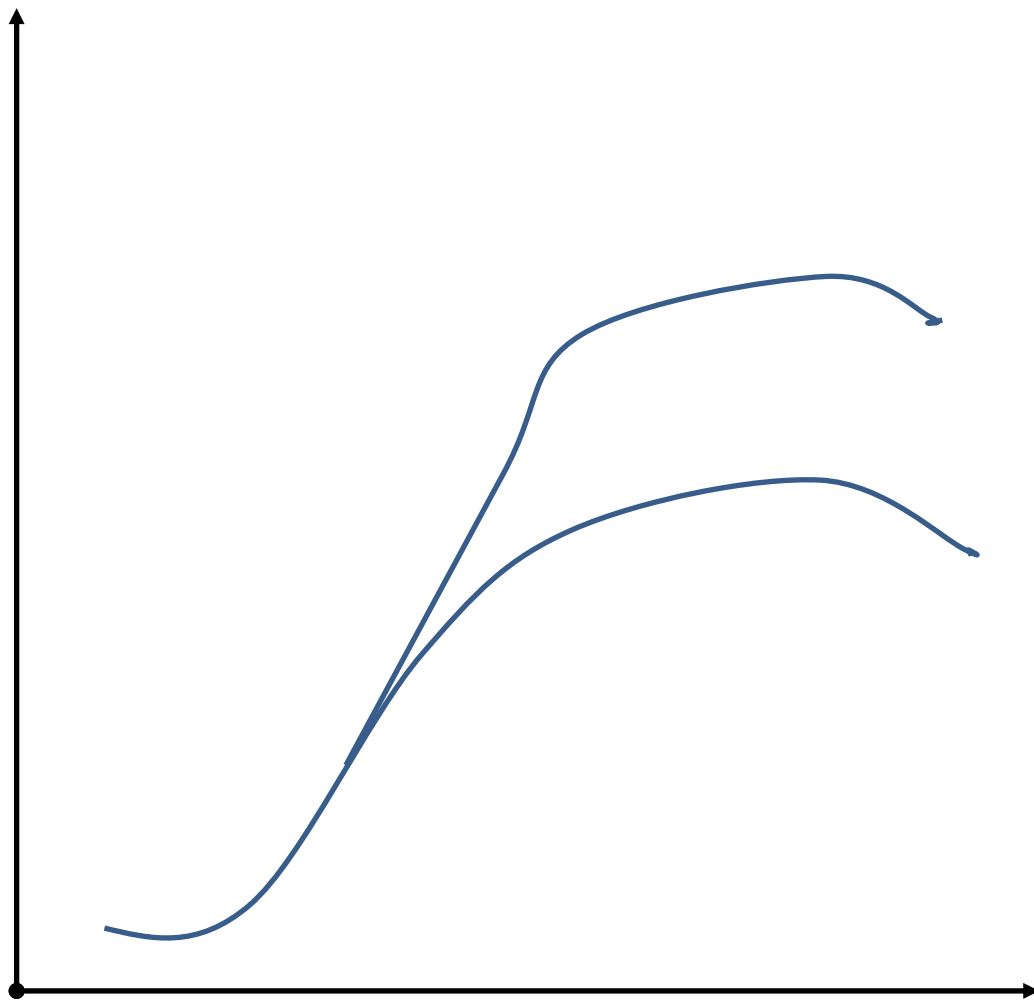
Production 产量



Resources 资源

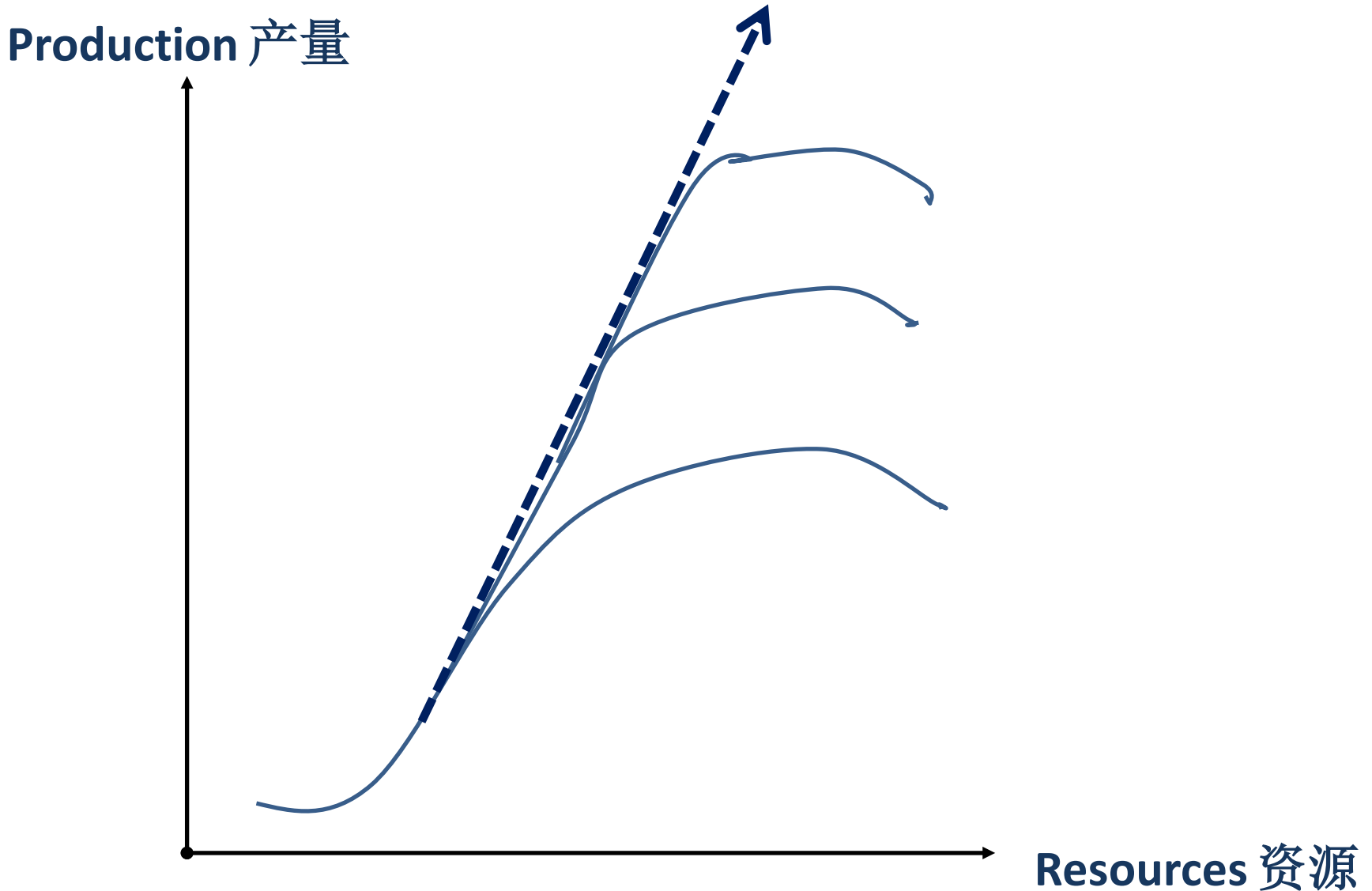
# Diminishing returns? 边际报酬递减?

Production 产量



Resources 资源

# Increasing returns! 边际报酬增加!

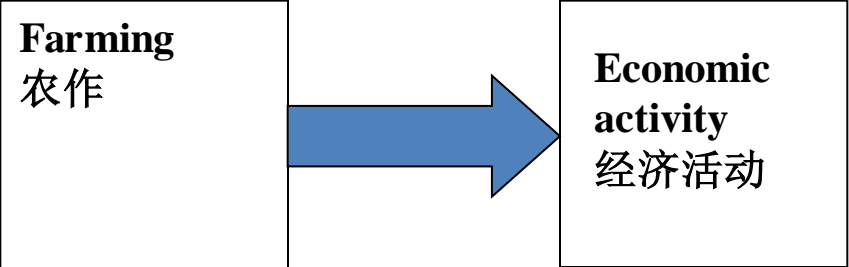


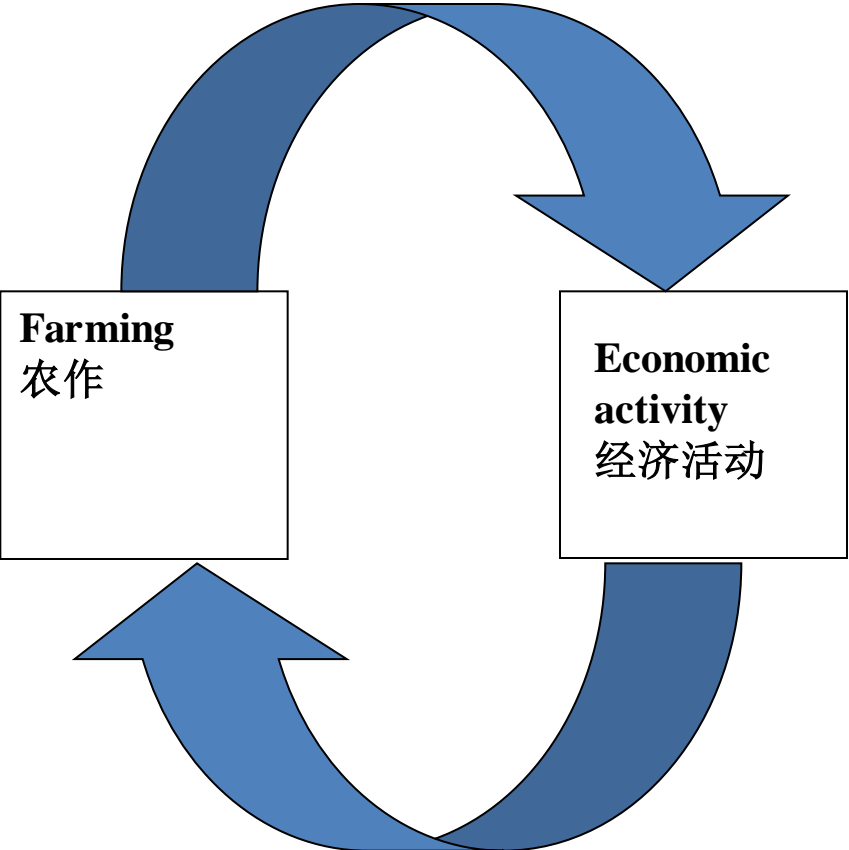
# On circularity 关于循环性

**Farming**  
农作

**Economic activity**  
经济活动

(and associated resource flows) (以及相应的资源流动)







**Multi-year basis** 常年流动

**Seasonal basis** 季节性  
流动

**Daily basis** 每日流动

**Village**  
**Agriculture**  
**Rural**  
村庄-农业-农村

**Town**  
**Industry**  
**Urban** 城镇-  
工业-城市

Left behind children,  
women and elderly  
people 留守儿童、妇女  
和老人

Feminization of  
agriculture 农业女性化

Rigid regulation (*hukou*)

严格管制 (户口制度)

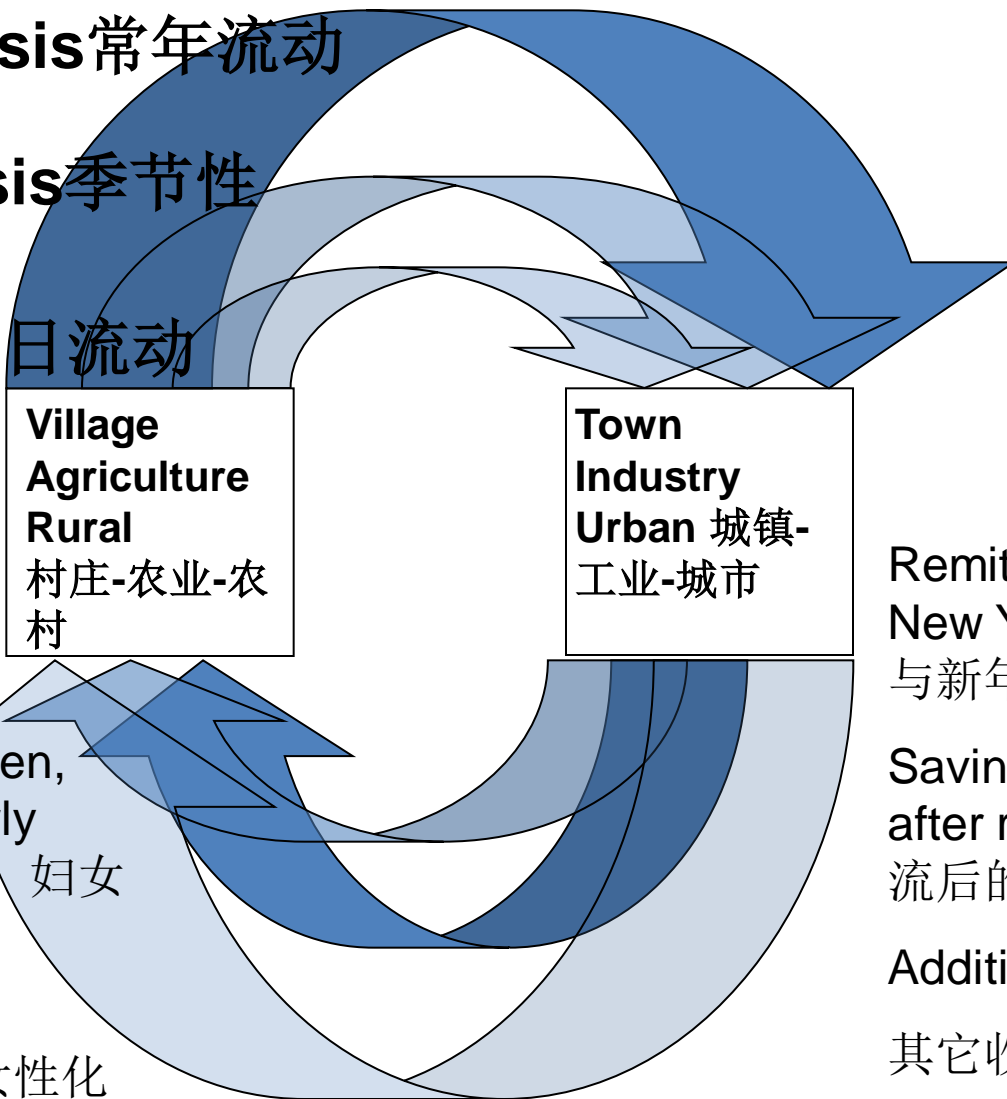
Remittances plus  
New Year visits; 汇款  
与新年返乡

Savings + investment  
after return 储蓄+回  
流后的投资

Additional income  
其它收入

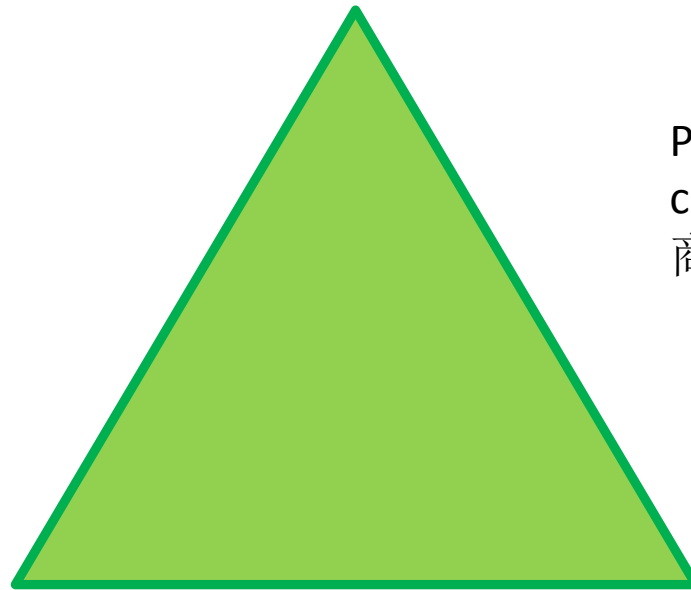
Knowledge and new  
life patterns

知识和新的生活方式



# And how do peasants survive elsewhere? 世界其它地方的小农又是如何生存？

Part of  
landscape, of  
rural community  
景观和农村社区  
的一部分



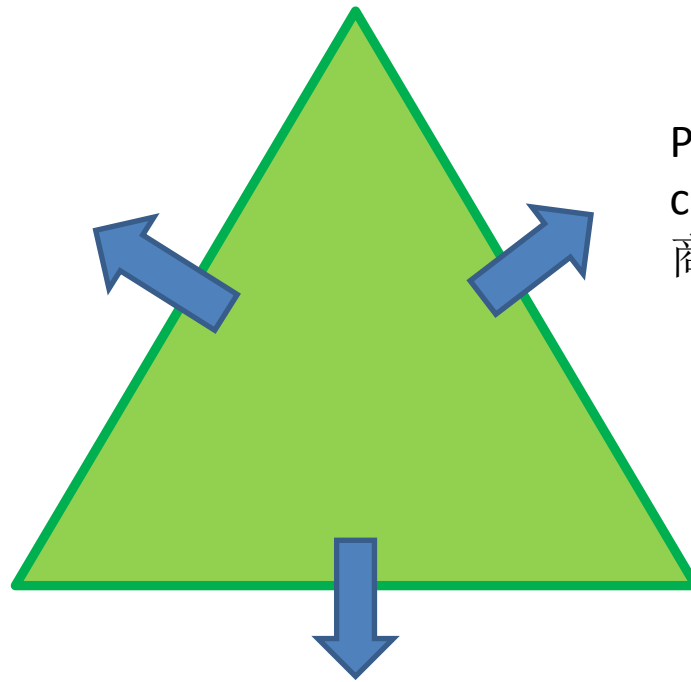
Production of  
commodities  
商品生产

Resources 资源

# New functions: towards multifunctionality

## 新功能：向多功能性发展

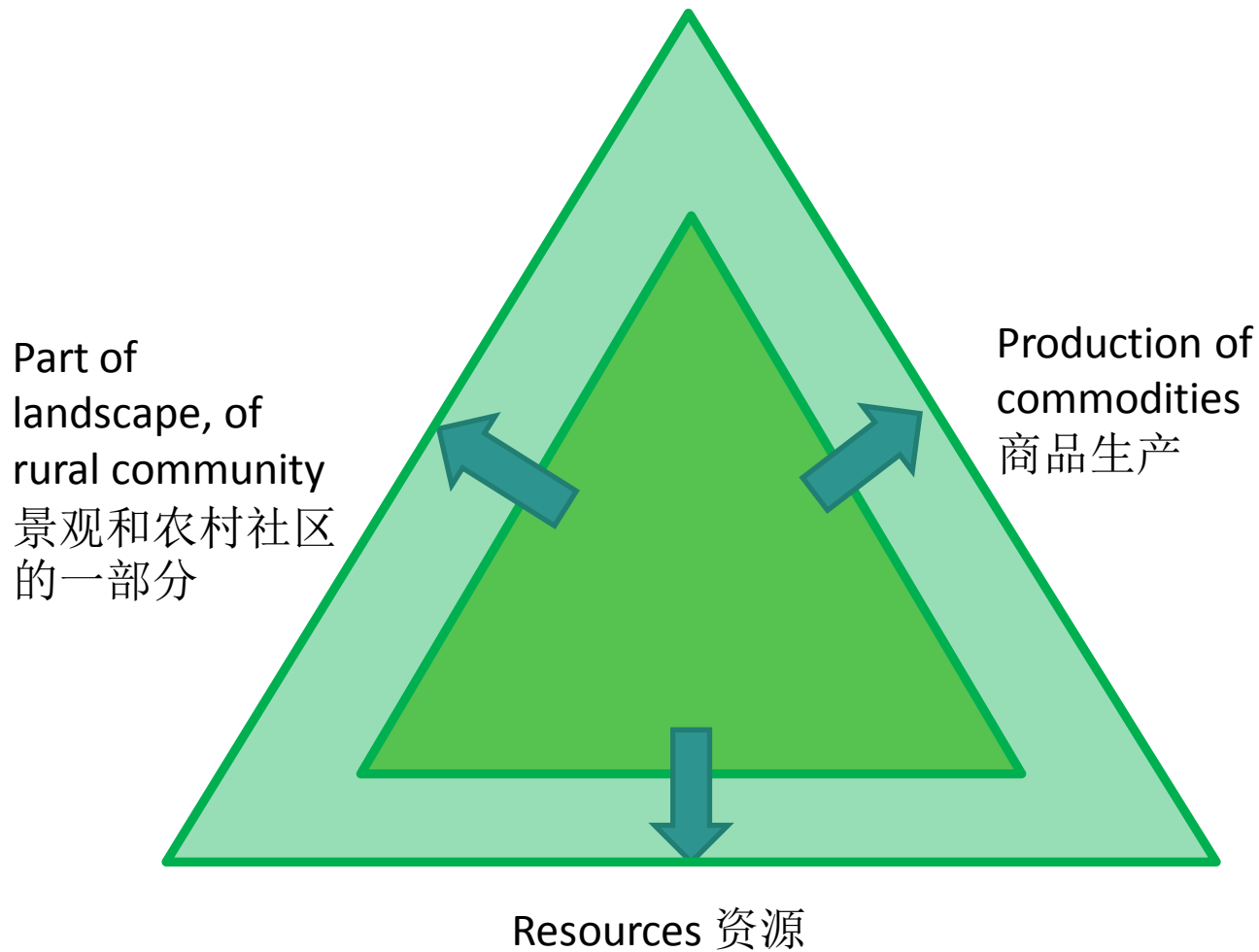
Part of  
landscape, of  
rural community  
景观和农村社区  
的一部分



Production of  
commodities  
商品生产

Resources 资源

# Shifting boundaries 边界挪移







vendita diretta  
di latte crudo sfuso:  
dal Produttore al Consumatore

Una redditizia opportunità



Rivenditore Esclusivo  
per l'ITALIA

An Italian Example  
来自意大利的实例

DISTRIBUTORI AUTOMATICI



Società Cooperativa a r.l.  
22036 ERBA (CO)  
via Diaz, 5  
Tel. 031 / 61 09 82  
Telefax 031 / 61 11 38  
P. iva 01279600132  
e-mail cofazo@virgilio.it  
<http://xoomer.virgilio.it/apacolc>

LATTE SFUSO

vendita diretta  
di latte crudo sfuso:  
dal Produttore al Consumatore

1° in ITALIA



al prezzo di

**1 € il litro**

Il consumatore risparmia  
**il 30%**

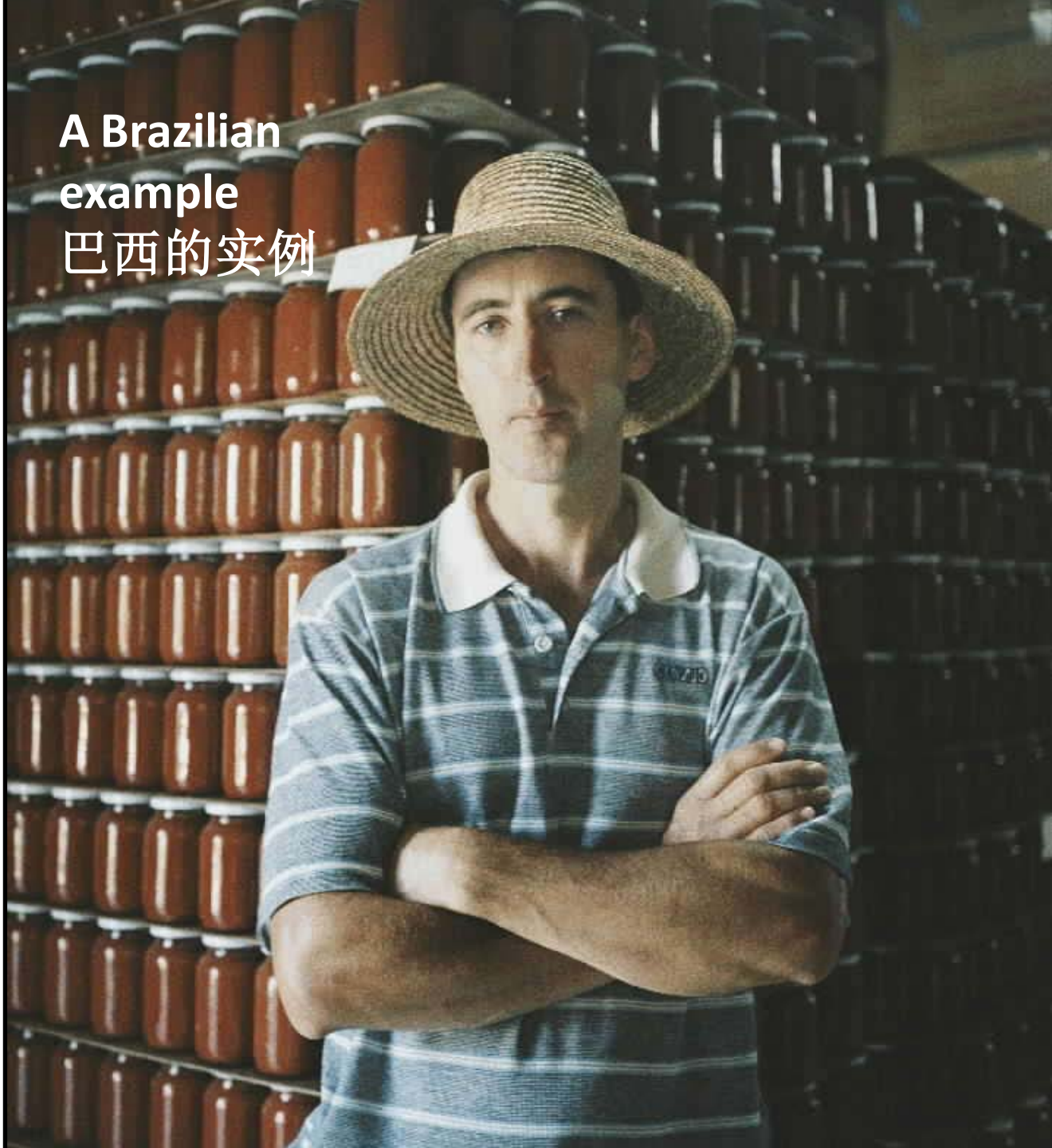
l'allevatore moltiplica  
**x 10**

il guadagno di ogni litro di latte

**Chi lo può fare?**

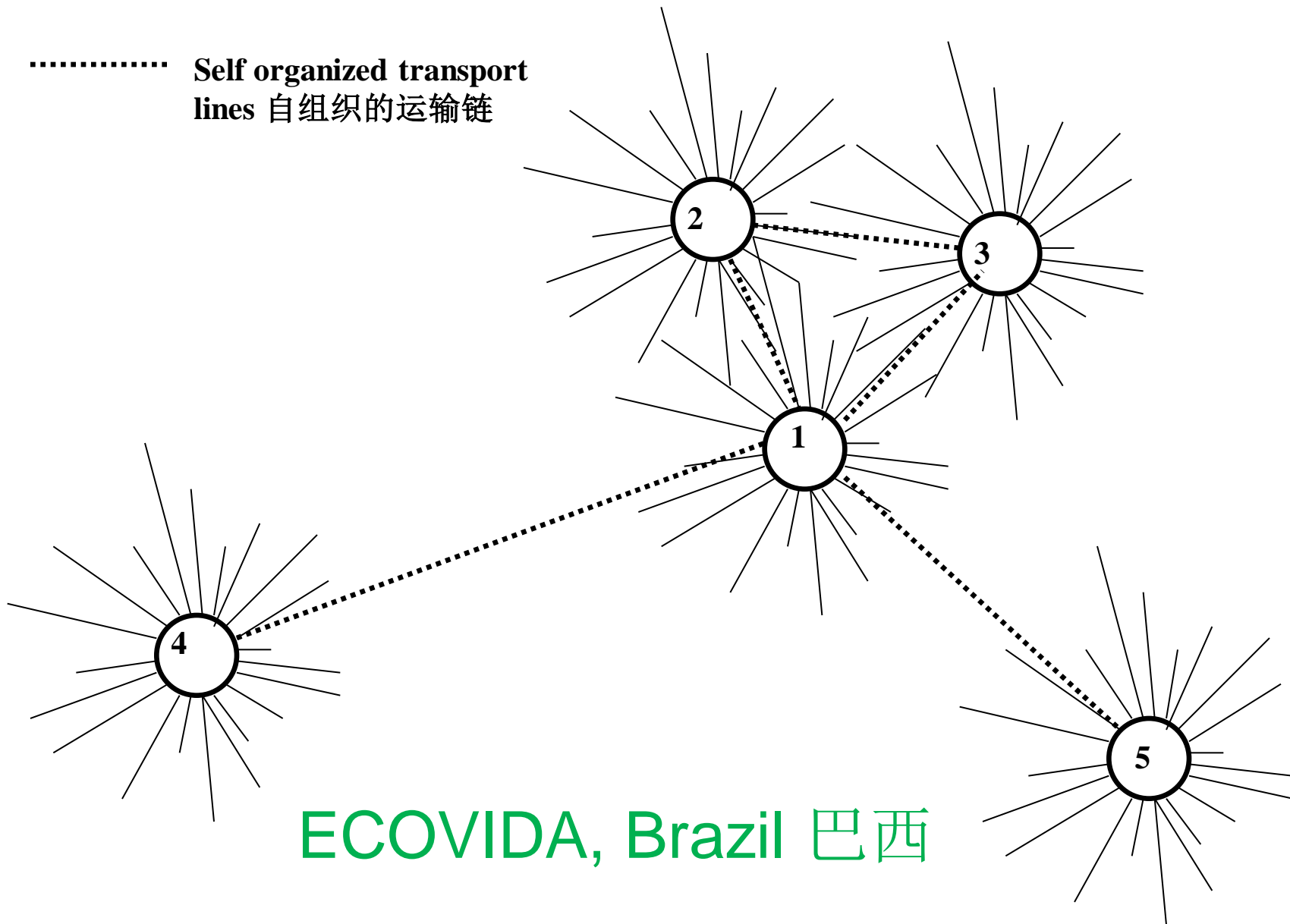
Tutti gli allevatori produttori  
di latte alimentare!

A Brazilian  
example  
巴西的实例





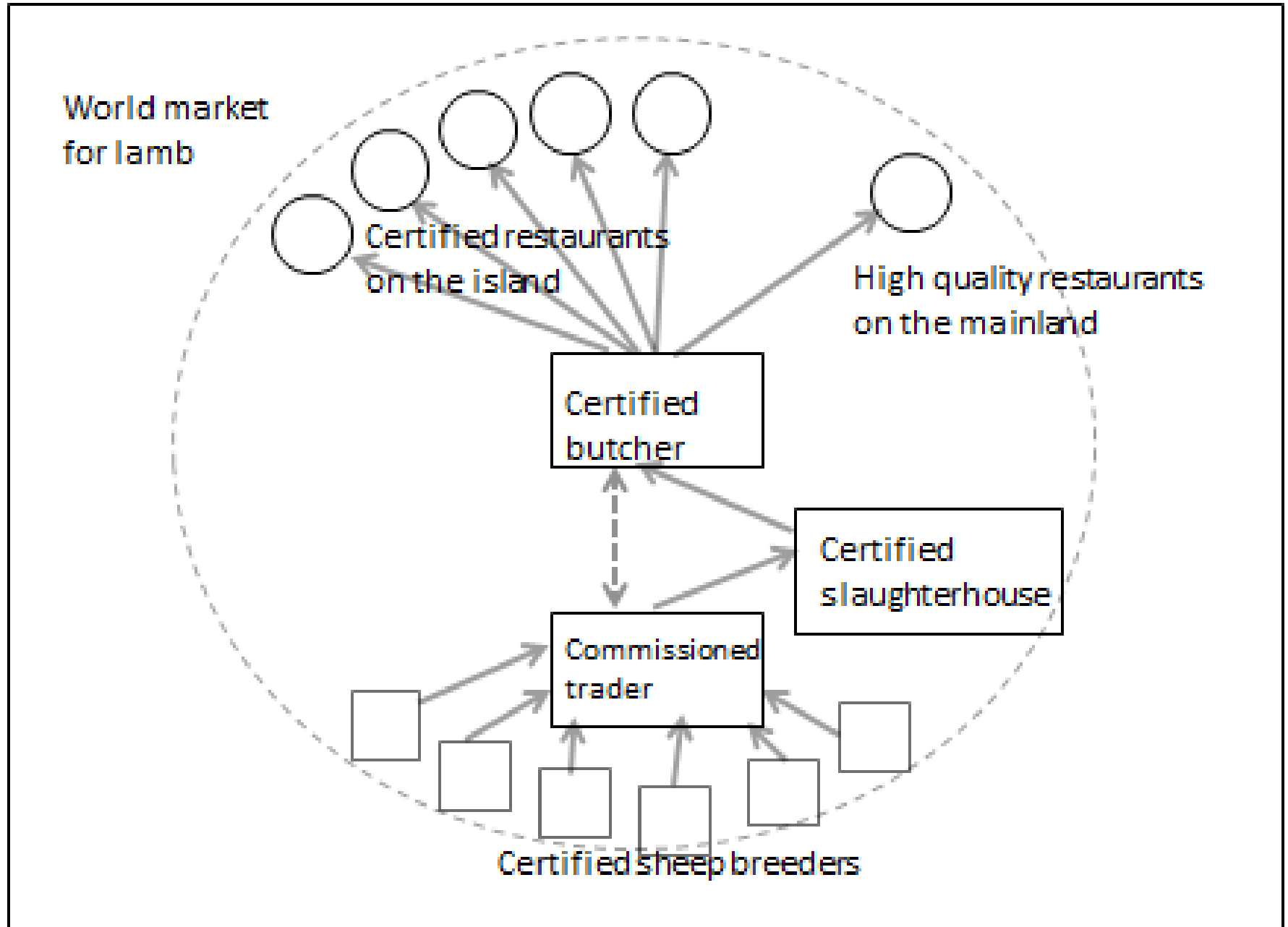
..... Self organized transport lines 自组织的运输链



ECOVIDA, Brazil 巴西



Figure 4: the socio-material infrastructure of the market for Texels lamb



# a comparison of the general agricultural and food markets and the newly emerging markets

## 普通的农业和食品市场与新兴市场的对比

|                                  | General agricultural and food markets 普通市场  | Newly emerging markets 新兴市场  |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Who owns what?<br>谁拥有什么？         | Most linkages between production, processing, distribution and consumption of food are controlled by food empires<br>食品生产、加工、配送和消费过程中的大部分联结由食品帝国所控制 | Short circuits are interlinking the production and consumption of food. These short circuits are owned or co-owned by farmers<br>食品的生产 and 消费由短线流通所连接，短线流通归农民所有或者共有。 |
| Who does what?                   |   |  |
| Who gets what?                   |   |  |
| What is done with the surpluses? |   |  |

# a comparison of the general agricultural and food markets and the newly emerging markets

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|                                  | General agricultural and food markets 普通市场   | Newly emerging markets 新兴市场   |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Who owns what?<br>谁拥有什么？         |  |   |
| Who does what?<br>谁做什么？          | The role of farmers is limited to the delivery of raw materials for the food industry 农民的角色仅限于向食品工业提供原材料 | The role of farmers is extended to embrace on-farm processing, direct selling and the redesign of production processes that better meet consumer expectations 农民的角色大大延伸，涵盖了农场加工、直接销售以及为更好地满足消费者需求而对生产过程进行重新设计 |
| Who gets what?                   |  |   |
| What is done with the surpluses? |  |   |

# a comparison of the general agricultural and food markets and the newly emerging markets

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|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Who owns what?<br>谁拥有什么？         |   |  |
| Who does what?<br>谁做什么？          |   |  |
| Who gets what?<br>谁得到什么？         | The distribution of Value Added is highly skewed; most wealth is accumulated in food empires<br>附加价值的分配发生严重倾斜，绝大部分财富聚积在食品帝国手中 | Farmers get a far higher share of the total Value Added<br>农民在总附加值中的分配份额得到极大提高 |
| What is done with the surpluses? |   |  |

# a comparison of the general agricultural and food markets and the newly emerging markets

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|---|---|--|
| Who owns what?<br>谁拥有什么？                      |   |  |
| Who does what?<br>谁做什么？                       |   |  |
| Who gets what?<br>谁得到什么？                      |   |  |
| What is done with the surpluses?<br>对剩余的支配方式？ | Accumulated wealth is used to finance the ongoing imperial conquest (take-over of other enterprises, etc)<br>聚积的财富用于为持续不断的帝国扩展（兼并其它企业，等等）提供资金 | Extra income is used to increase the resilience of food production, to strengthen multifunctional farming and to improve livelihoods<br>多余的收入用于增加食品生产的应变能力、强化多功能性农作和改善家庭生计 |

A photograph of a rural landscape. In the foreground, a row of tall, thin trees with sparse green leaves stands on the right side, casting shadows on the grass. The ground is covered in green grass. In the middle ground, a field of cows is visible, with several cows grazing. The background shows a line of trees under a clear blue sky. The sun is visible in the upper right quadrant, creating a lens flare effect.

(4) And what about China?

视线转回中国



# Multifunctionality in China 中国农业的多功能性



# Little restaurants 小饭馆



18 12:22PM

multifunctionality: a bassin for processing sweet potatoes into glass noodles

多功能性：进行红薯粉条加工的水槽



- There is – also in China – an emergence of nested markets. Ye, Rao and Wu (2010) refer a.o. to the following ones:
- (1) **the market for organic produce 有机产品市场** (that currently embraces more than 500 different products that are mostly exported; the export value is about 400 million US dollars);
- (2) **the Green Food market 绿色食品市场** that channels certified food within China (total market sales currently equal 19 billion Euros/year);
- (3) **the market for eco-agriculture 生态农业市场** that strongly builds on ancient agricultural traditions;
- (4) **the markets associated with “One Village, One Product” 与 “一村一品” 相关的市场** (these markets centre mostly on typical regional or local products, as e.g. high quality tofu or handpicked organic apples; local processing and local restaurants often are important cornerstones of these markets);
- (5) **the markets for agro-tourism 观光农业的市场** (there are five different types of agro-tourism in China; together they attended 335 million tourists in 2007; they generate an income of some 5 billion Euros/year).

- In their analysis Ye, Rao and Wu refer to some common characteristics of these new, nested markets.
- Firstly, these new markets are developed in a **step-by-step way** (循序渐进发展) . They start as experiments that are often triggered by peasants and end up being integrated into policy frameworks. In short, the new markets emerged out of multi-layered and complex processes of experimentation, learning, adjustment and, then, institutionalization.
- Secondly, once established these products (and the associated markets) clearly function as ‘protective dikes’ vis-à-vis cheap imports. The development of agro-tourism and “One Village, One Product” are both **based on local advantages** (以地方优势为基础) : they draw on local cultural and agricultural resources.
- Thirdly, the required **additional resources are allocated through government support** (在政府扶持下进行额外的资源配置) . This is an important difference with Europe.
- And finally, **multi-functionality** (多功能性) is time and again central to these new markets. In synthesis: these new markets are indeed *nested* in a framework in which local resources, step-by-step development, culturally determined needs and expectations, additional assistance from the state and multifunctionality all play a strategic role.

# Rural Tourism in Qianjiadian Town of Yanqing County

北京市延庆县千家店镇的乡村旅游



Mountain paths 山道

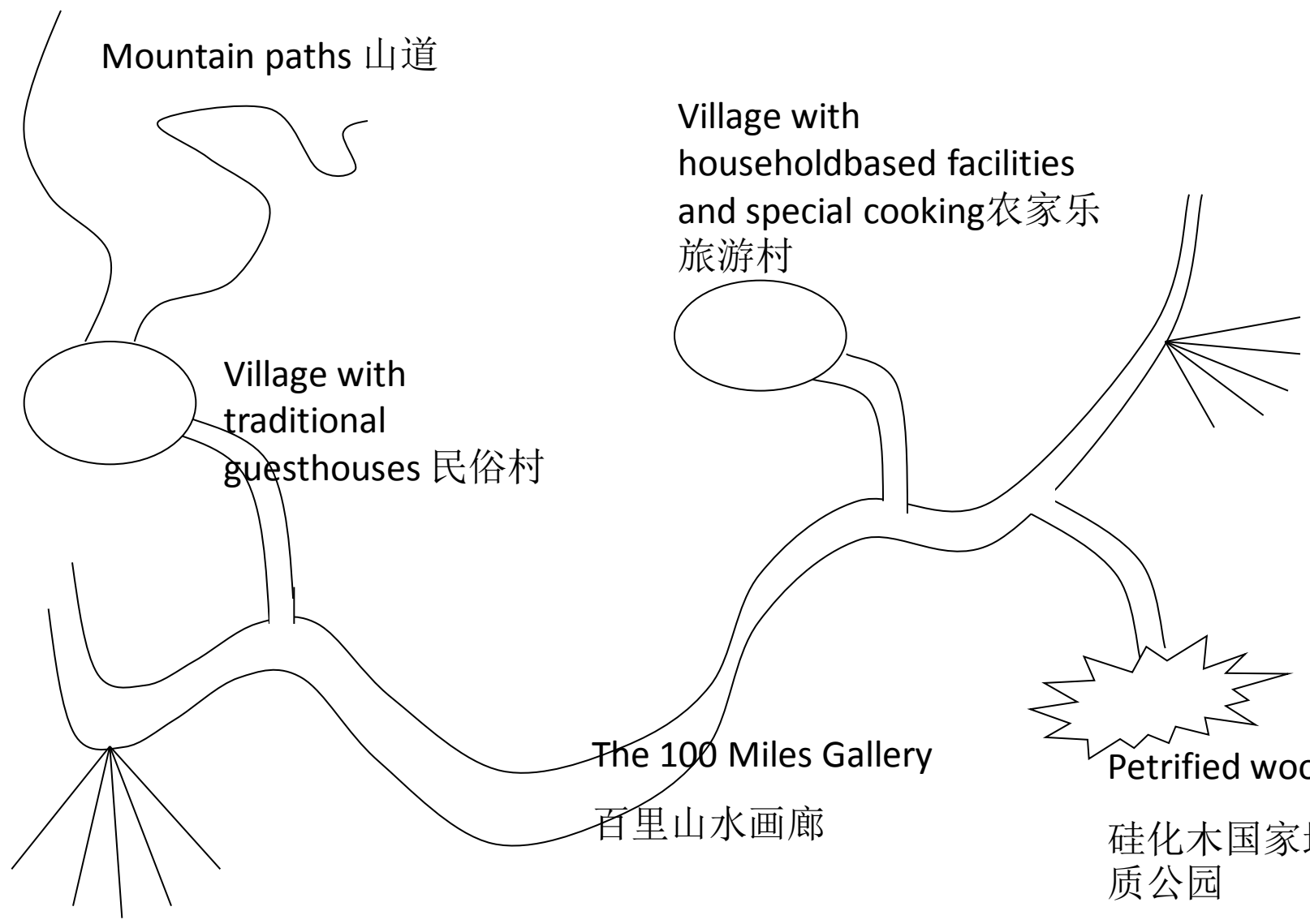
Village with householdbased facilities and special cooking 农家乐 旅游村

Village with traditional guesthouses 民俗村

The 100 Miles Gallery 百里山水画廊

Petrified wood 硅化木国家地质公园

Viewpoint 观光点



Do peasants have a future?

农民的未来在哪里？



# Do peasants have a future?

农民的未来在哪里？

- Society needs them because 社会需要他们，因为：

# Do peasants have a future?

## 农民的未来在哪里？

- Society needs them because 社会需要他们，因为：

- **peasants are productive, efficient, intensively and improve resource-base**

小农进行着高生产率、高效、集约化的生产并改善了资源库

- **peasant way of farming produces employment and income**

小农农作方式提供了就业和收入

- **create an attractive countryside**

创造了魅力乡村

# Do peasants have a future?

农民的未来在哪里？

- Peasants themselves will struggle for progress

小农自身仍在为谋求进步而努力奋斗

# Do peasants have a future?

农民的未来在哪里？

- Peasants themselves will struggle for progress

小农自身仍在为谋求进步而努力奋斗

- But ..... ?

然而.....？



**Rural China at a Crossroad**  
**站在十字路口的中国农村**