

【書 評】

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『改革以後の中国農村における市場関係の成長』

—農民・出稼ぎ者・農民企業家のミクロ的分析—

*The Growth of Market Relations in Post-Reform Rural China: A Micro-Analysis of Peasants, Migrants, and Peasant Entrepreneurs.* Hiroshi Sato. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, 240pp. + xv.

The analyses of social scientists who study contemporary China's market economy can be located, broadly speaking, within either an ideal-typical or a path-dependence framework. The former, often called the market transition perspective, sees China's emerging market as moving towards a standard market economy of legally enforced rights to private property, entrepreneurship based on human capital (education, skill) and cultural capital (values of risking taking and hard work), transactions based on efficiency considerations (price, quality, speed), and a state as neutral regulator. The latter, which can be called an institutionalist perspective, emphasizes the statist constraints of the command economy on the emerging market economy, which include widespread state presence in the market in ways both legal and otherwise, political capital (position as a government official or party-member) and social capital in the state (entrepreneurial ties with state agents) as key for entrepreneurship, and pervasive use of non-formal arrangements to enforce contractual understandings and claims to wealth due to arbitrarily enforced laws. The difference between the two is not only epistemological but methodological as well. The market transition perspective is more likely to deploy "hard" scientific techniques of large-scale surveys with observations being based on the statistical analysis and supported by the logic of statistical significance. The institutionalist perspective also uses "soft" methods of intensive interviewing and participant observation to generate insights that emphasize ethnographic understandings and bounded rationality and are justified by claims of groundedness and

immediacy. Given these differences it is hardly surprising that adherents of each perspective tend to talk past one other in their debates. Institutionlists see the ideal-typical assumptions as teleological and detached from actual behavior and practices while market transitologists see institutionalist methods as nonscientific subjectivity that generates observations, that cannot be generalized. This leads to a dismissive attitude by adherents of each perspective of the other. For example, when institutionlists point to the pervasiveness political power in the market economy as refuting the market transition claim of movement to a standard market economy transitologists counter that this is a temporary corruption characteristic of a midway point in the transition from a planned to market economy. In other words, whereas institutionalist see persistent corruption as undermining the market transition thesis, transitologists see it as supporting their thesis.

Hiroshi Sato's new book occupies a unique niche in the context of the two perspectives. Its concern is the various socio-economic factors that characterize the rural market economy. Analysis centers on the behavior of various new actors in the economy, peasant households, private entrepreneurs, managers of township and village enterprises and out-migrants. The major line of inquiry is the mix of human capital, political capital (position as a state officials or ties to these officials, and network capital (kinship, regional place, etc...) that constrains their behavior. Another line of inquiry is changes over time in these constraints and behaviors, as well as their implications for changing articulation of the state with local society. It is noteworthy that Sato draws conclusions supporting the institutionalist perspective of path-dependence through findings derived from the kinds of survey techniques and statistical analyses more often associated with the market transition perspective. Therefore, the book is a statement of the institutionalist perspective that is less easily dismissed by transitologists.

The book is a collection of articles, each engaging specific issues and drawing on dis-

tinct bodies of data. Each article begins with a clear set of propositions, discussion of the data, and survey of relevant literature, then moves on to a presentation of findings and, in conclusion, recaps the propositions and summarizes the findings. This clear standard format makes it possible to read each article independently of the others. Each is clearly situated in debates or concerns in the China field, mostly North American, and social scientists compatible with this institutionalist perspective, such as the Douglass North and the Clifford Geertz, are invoked for theoretical leverage. In addition to an introduction and conclusion, the book contains seven chapters divided into two sections. The five articles of the first section are case studies of market processes and actors that examine respectively: the interaction of network and political capital in family business (*getihu*) in a rural periodic market in Yunan, province changes in patron-client ties in the township and village enterprises (TVE) in Sunan and Wenzhou regions; social networks of urban-rural migration, and local government mobilization of social networks in Yunan's micro-finance program for poor rural households. The two articles in the second part are comparative and historical village studies that examine, respectively, the mix of networks needed to generate income and profits in three villages, and the shifting ratio of private to collective income in household finances of a northern Zhejiang province village from shortly before the revolution to the 1980s. The various findings are backed up by short case studies and over 60 pages of visual documentation, as one third of the book consists of tables, figures, and maps while five of the chapters have their own appendices. At the book's end are two appendices, one listing the characteristics of the 11 local areas surveyed, as well as a national survey, and the other giving a glossary of Chinese terms. There are also nine pages of endnotes, to which most of the technical discussion of the surveys have been confined, an eleven-page bibliography containing a welcome mix of Chinese, Japanese, and North American citations, and a seven-page index that is concise but serviceable.

The book provides statistical documentation for existing interpretations and in-

sights in the institutionalist perspective, as well as presents some new findings. Let me mention several of the findings that I found especially noteworthy because they challenge basic tenets of the market transition perspective regarding political and networks capitals. Chapter 3 examines patron-client ties between entrepreneurs and local government in Wenzhou, which was an early model of the private economy, and Sunan, a model of the marketized collective economy. Key findings in this chapter are that entrepreneurs in Wenzhou are more politically active than entrepreneur-officials in Sunan. Also the deepening of marketization in Sunan does not lead to an outright reduction of local state involvement in the operation of firms but shifts its involvement from more direct managerial and investment decisions to less direct issues such as financing. Chapter 6 examines, among other things, the effects of human and political capital on access to economic opportunities in the market economy. It finds differences in the relevance of human and political capital stemming not only from the development of the market but also the structure of the local political apparatus, as well as historical factors. It clearly refutes a key contention of the market transition perspective that the growth and spread of markets erodes the relevance of political capital relative to human capital in access to opportunities. Instead, Sato argues that the specific situations and histories of villages must also be taken into account.

Other noteworthy findings suggest new avenues of research in the historical evolution of local markets. Chapter 7 examines the income sources of peasant households in three villages in five counties in Shandong, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces from before liberation until the early 1980s. It is intriguing that despite sharp fluctuations over time regarding the legitimacy of the private plots and enterprise, income from private sources constituted a consistently large percentage of household income. Policy changes restricting private farming restricted possibilities for private income but did not significantly reduce the share of household income derived from private activities. Chapter 5 examines new ways in which the local government seeks to mobilize society through microfinan-

ce. The article examines experiments in implementing two schemes known as the Bangladesh scheme, which emphasizes loans to groups and the Kunming scheme, which emphasizes loans to individuals. The intriguing point made by Sato is that both involve direct ways of state mobilization of society through the market. In the past the state in rural areas often had the poorer peasants as the targets of its political mobilization efforts whereas now they are targets of market mobilization. This study examined the experiments in micro-finance quite soon after they were introduced and one can look forward to intriguing follow-up studies. Also, Chapter 4 struck me as one of the most concise yet comprehensive studies of labor migration that I have yet read. It rests on multiple surveys including migrant households in 13 cities in six provinces, firms in Japanese invested firms in Guangdong province, and the day-labor market in Yunnan province. Its findings illuminate the comprehensive socio-economic organization of this migration, from the networks used in job searches to their constraints on employment and income, and the characteristics of the gatekeepers standing between migrants and market opportunities. A five-page chapter appendix describes the behavior and attitudes of migrant workers in Japanese invested firms, although there is no comparison to enhance conceptual leverage.

Even though I am impressed by how Sato deploys surveys and statistics to shed light on path dependent processes of networks and power I have several reservations about the methods and data. One is that it is somewhat unclear what exactly the various variables of political capital and networks measure. There is no discussion of the survey questions and data sources used to form these variables. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the various correlations that Sato documents because there is little sense of what the statistics empirically measure. Another reservation stems from the use of numerous surveys. In addition to his own local surveys, Sato draws on surveys conducted by other Japanese researchers as well as a Chinese national survey. In a number of places Sato's arguments rest on comparisons among the surveys but there is no discussion of whether

the variables, in fact, are comparable. A third reservation is the occasionally sudden appearance of such cultural variables as values and attitudes in the middle of an analysis or conclusion. For example, at the very end of the second chapter there is a one-paragraph discussion (p. 47) of how career motivations and management attitudes differ by an entrepreneur's possession or lack of political capital. This is an intriguing angle on the whole question of political capital but it is not developed. There is also the whole question of how such cultural variables were compiled in the first place. For instance, in Chapter 3, "public sentiment" is a variable that is included in a regression model of constraints on entrepreneurial behavior in Wenzhou and Sunan in using political capital (p. 75). Yet there is no discussion as to how this variable was compiled and how it might work as a constraint: therefore Sato's finding that constraints from the community sentiment on entrepreneurs' behavior decrease over time is not very meaningful as there is no discussion of what this sentiment is, what its earlier effects were, and the kinds of entrepreneurial behavior that is released as the sentiments diminishes (p. 76).

A related concern is that the various studies document many statistical correlations between variables that are arrayed in tables and figures and described in the text but there is little discussion of what these correlations mean in actual practice. For example, in Chapter 3 Sato finds that constraints from the local state apparatus and community sentiment on TVE managers decrease regardless of whether or not collectives continue to hold economic capital. This is a fascinating point that touches on such fundamental questions of the constraints of property rights and community norms on behavior yet there is no discussion of the link between these institutions and the incentive structure for entrepreneurs. Therefore, it is difficult to see beyond the statistical correlations that indicate change to understand the actual changes in entrepreneurship. I sense that Sato had this data and look forward to future elaboration of these fascinating issues that are suggested in his findings.

In sum, this is a thoroughly researched study that directly engages a number of

social science debates on China's emerging market economy. Its findings in regard to questions of political power and social networks in the market economy are especially noteworthy. While using the analytic techniques to study micro-behavior usually associated with the market transition perspec-

tive its findings accord with path-dependent and relativistic processes of an institutional perspective. It should provide considerable food for thought by social scientists of various perspectives.

[David L. Wank]

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