

今年暑假，我再次回到熟悉已久的村莊——廣東省湛江雷州市東里鎮的白嶺東村。這是我博士論文調查的田野點，從二零零五年開始，我基本上每年都要到這裡來，短則住一個月，長則一年，了解對蝦養殖的風險。

This summer, I went back to a long acquainted village - Bailingdong Village in Dongli Town, Leizhou, Zhanjiang City of Guangdong Province. This is the site where I conducted my dissertation fieldwork. Since 2005, I have returned here every year to stay from a month up to a year, learning the risks of shrimp aquaculture.

多勞 WORK MORE,
未必多得? PAU LESS?

探索中國對蝦養殖業的「合作社」模式

AN EXPERIENCE ON SETTING UP
A SHRIMP FARMING "COOPERATIVE" IN CHINA

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雷州市位於廣東省南端的雷州半島，東臨南海，西瀕北部灣，海岸線長達四百零五公里。改革開放以前，這裡的農作物以水稻、花生和番薯為主。到了八十年代中期，政府考慮農業出口創匯的需要，積極推動對蝦養殖。現在該地區是全國最大的對蝦養殖基地，享譽七個「全國第一」：養殖面積全國第一、對蝦種苗產量全國第一、對蝦產量全國第一、加工規模全國第一、出口量全國第一、對蝦飼料產量全國第一、全國最大的對蝦專業交易市場。二零一零年，雷州市對蝦年產量達十四萬噸，出口量佔全國三成。據說在美國人的餐桌上，每四條蝦就有一條來自湛江。可是，在產業繁榮的背後，我們看到了農民面臨的困境：儘管他們不斷提高養殖技術，增進產量，可是並沒有看到多勞多得的回報。辛苦多年，他們的生活條件並沒有得到很大的改善。箇中原因是什麼？而人類學家除了進行調查分析以外，還能幫助農民做些什麼？

The county-level city of Leizhou is located in Leizhou Peninsula - the southernmost tip of mainland China. The peninsula's 405km coastline is surrounded by the South China Sea to the east and the Gulf of Tonkin to the west. Before the Economic Reform, people mainly grew rice, peanuts and sweet potatoes for subsistence. To increase foreign exchange earnings through agricultural exports, the government started to promote shrimp aquaculture in the mid-1980s. Now the region boasts the largest shrimp aquaculture economy in China, ranking first in the country in seven aspects in terms of farming area, yield of shrimp post larvae, processing scale, export volume, shrimp feed output, and shrimp trade market. In 2010 alone Leizhou witnessed a volume of 140,000 tons of shrimps, contributing to 30% of the country's shrimp export. It is said that one out of four pieces of shrimp served on an American dining table comes from Zhanjiang. Yet, the robust statistics of the industry conceals the shrimp farmers' dilemma: despite their continual efforts in improving technology and enhancing yields, they get no fair reward. Their living standard over the toiling years has not raised much. Why is it so? As an anthropologist, apart from doing investigations and analyses, how may I help them?



夕陽下的蝦塘。農民是否有心情來欣賞這片美景？
Shrimp ponds in the sunset. Are shrimp farmers in the mood to enjoy it?

帶著這些問題，我走進了村裡。剛進村，村民見到我這個老朋友，欣喜之餘也十分詫異，「你不是已經畢業了嗎？怎麼還要下來？」然後我直截了當地告訴他們：「這次我來是想幫助大家成立一個合作社。」這簡單的一問一答暗示了我身份的轉變，從一個研究者變為一個行動者。

I visited the village with these questions. At first, the villagers were happy yet surprised to see an old friend. "Why did you come back? Haven't you graduated already?" "I am here to help you set up a cooperative," I replied. This short conversation indicated my role switch, from a researcher to an actor.

群眾動員
FARMER
MOBILIZATION

第一次到村裡宣傳合作社的時候，我找了五個蝦農過來座談，先讓大家談談養蝦有多久，是賺錢的時候多還是虧本的時候多。他們幾個人大部分都是剛好收支平衡，或者說賺的錢又要用在蝦塘改造，所以也沒有多少錢剩。其中阿銳和阿明的回答很生動：

I started to promote the cooperative in the village by organizing a discussion with five shrimp farmers. They elaborated on how long they had been farming shrimp, and whether they made any profits or not. Most of them have barely made ends meet. Few of them accumulated much money as they needed to invest on renovating the shrimp ponds. Rui and Ming had some vivid descriptions:

ANTHROPOLOGISTS ON THE ROAD

「可能不虧本也不賺錢，沒有賺到多少錢，剛剛夠吃夠花，差不多盈虧均衡。但是也沒有蓋房子或者買宅地（房子）在湛江。」

"May be neither losing money nor earning. Not much is earned - only enough for food and daily expenses. I barely balanced my budget, but didn't save enough to build a house or buy an apartment in Zhanjiang."

「剛剛夠吃夠花，剛剛夠伙食，（達到平時）可以殺一隻鴨子吃（的程度）。」

"Only enough for general expenses, and for feeding my family. Just enough to afford eating a duck occasionally."

他們大部分人養蝦都超過了十年，但是賺的錢卻是很微薄的。他們兩家我都去過，生活條件確實一般。接下來我就順水推舟，開始跟他們分析為什麼辛苦多年，結果並不是多勞多得。考慮到蝦農生活在海邊，我就用海洋來做比喻，增進大家的認識。蝦農的困境是收成好的時候價格低，而價格高的時候往往是蝦發病嚴重，抓不到蝦的時候。單個的小農在市場經濟的汪洋大海中難以生存。

Most of them have been engaged

in shrimp farming for more than 10 years, yet the return is meager. I have visited the two families and found their houses quite rudimentary. Following their comments, I began to explain why their efforts were not paid for, using the metaphor of the sea as they live by the coast. This is the dilemma for shrimp farmers - when the supply is abundant, the price is low; when price rises, it means a time of shrimp disease outbreak and bad harvest. Individual farmers can hardly survive in mighty wave of the market economy.

由於種田基本賺不了錢，農民的支出都靠養蝦來維持。圖為當地每年元宵節的民俗活動。

As farmers earn little from grain farming, they sustain their lives by shrimp aquaculture. This is one activity in their folk celebration of the yearly Lantern Festival.



豐收，卻不一定意味着賺錢。
A good harvest does not necessarily bring profit.



因此，合作社建立的目的，是為了增加農民的凝聚力和抵禦市場風險的能力。具體來說，它的作用體現在以下幾個方面：

Therefore, a cooperative can strengthen the solidarity and resilience of farmers against market risks. To be specific, the functions of a cooperative fall in these aspects:

① 農民個體在市場上有著很大的風險，市場的任何波動單個家庭很難承受得了。一艘小船在海上漂，經不起風浪，但是幾戶人一起造一艘大船就能夠經得起風浪了。合作社可以降低農民的市場風險，把風險轉為集體承擔，提高單個養殖戶抗風險的能力。

An individual farmer is powerless in the big market. A single family can barely afford any market fluctuations. While a skiff can hardly withstand the stormy sea, one huge vessel built by several households can. Cooperatives can lower the market risks for an individual farmer as the risks are now collectively shared.

② 農業資本對生產鏈的控制。為了說明這一點，我根據自己論文調查收集到的數據做了一個圖表，把農民受上下游壓榨的情況展示出來。每個節點上的公司都有不同程度的壟斷和聯合，唯有農民是單打獨鬥，沒有任何討價還價的能力。而在產前和產中的環節，農民常常抱怨蝦苗和蝦藥的質量越來越差，因為蝦苗場和獸藥廠的目的是為了賺錢，所以常常偷工減料，坑害蝦農。因此，養殖戶合作起來可以與育苗場、飼料廠和加工廠議價，掌握定價的主動權。在今後的發展道路上，合作社做大了，甚至可以自己建蝦苗場，給社員供應優質的蝦苗。在下游的部分，可以搞CSA（社區支持農業），與消費者對接，減少中間商的剝削。



Agricultural capital at large controls the commodity chain. To explain this, I constructed this flow chart with figures collected from my dissertation research to show how farmers were squeezed by both the upstream and downstream sectors. Companies on every node of the chain monopolize and merge with each other in various ways, leaving farmers to struggle alone with no bargaining power. Moreover, farmers often complained about the falling standards of shrimp post larvae and shrimp drugs, since hatcheries and veterinary medicine manufacturers are profit maximizers who are used to cutting corners and swindling farmers. Therefore, uniting together, farmers can regain the pricing power by directly negotiating with hatcheries, feed manufacturers and processing factories. When the cooperatives grow bigger, farmers can even set up their own hatchery to supply quality shrimp post larvae for its members. In the downstream, farmers can develop CSA (Community Supported Agriculture) to exchange with consumers directly without the extortion of the middlemen.

3 合作社實行民主決策，營運方法、利潤分配、行政管理等由全體社員進行民主協商。正所謂「三個臭皮匠，抵個諸葛亮」，如何保證合作社是一個集體組織，而不是服務於一兩個大戶的組織，非常關鍵。

The cooperative makes decisions democratically. The mode of operation, profit distribution, and administrations are based on democratic consensus of all cooperative members. "Two heads are better than one" - yet the key is to maintain the cooperative as an organization for all, not serving only a couple of big households.

4 合作社可以分享養殖技術，鼓勵進行多種養殖模式的探索，尤其是生態養殖、混養等模式。如果社裡有一百口塘的話，可以拿出十口塘來實驗魚蝦混養或者蝦蟹混養。如果你只有兩口塘的話，失敗的風險就很大了。

Cooperative members are encouraged to share farming technologies and experiment various modes of aquaculture, especially ecological aquaculture and polyculture. If there are 100 ponds in the cooperative, 10 can be used to experiment fish-shrimp or shrimp-crab polyculture. Risk failure is high if there are only two ponds for a household.

近年來蝦病爆發嚴重，農民抱怨蝦苗場為了賺錢而偷工減料，培育劣質蝦苗。

In recent years when shrimp diseases become rampant, farmers criticize the hatcheries for cutting costs and producing shoddy shrimp post larvae.



收購對蝦的中間商也常常串通起來壓低價格，盤剝農民。
Middlemen who collect shrimp usually collude with each other to suppress shrimp prices.

合作討論
COOPERATIVE
DISCUSSION

飼料的成本佔養蝦的六至七成。
About 60-70% of the cost in
shrimp farming comes from feed.



儘管近年來飼料行業急速膨脹，工人卻和農民一樣，嘗不到多勞多得的甜頭。圖為蝦飼料廠的工人在進行包裝。
Despite the rapid expansion of the feed industry in recent years, like the shrimp farmers, the workers are not paid fairly. These workers are packing the shrimp feed.

在進行了兩天的動員活動以後，有近十個蝦農表示有興趣參加合作社，可是今年蝦病肆虐，大部分人都虧本，大家都為合作社沒有啟動資金而發愁。我和他們一起商量，不一定要先有錢才能合作，互助也是合作的一種方法。我們決定，第一階段的工作從統購統銷和技術互通開始。大家知道統購統銷走的是批發價，肯定會增加收入。算了一下，現在一包飼料（二十公斤）一百五十元，如果合作社直接從廠家批發而不用經過經銷商的話，一包能節省二十元，就是每公斤節省一元。按每人平均一口塘五畝來算，畝產七百五十公斤，就是三千七百五十公斤，每造能節省三千七百五十元，一年兩造就是七千五百元。如果這七千五百元，一半歸還給蝦農，另一半捐獻給合作社，那合作社可以從每戶得到三千七百五十元的注資。如果有二十戶的話，一年就有七萬五千元，數目是十分可觀的。這筆賬算出來之後，大家都很高興，因為既不用從自己的口袋裡掏錢，又可以為合作社積累資金。這樣的安排大家都同意，覺得風險沒有增加，更沒有感覺為了集體而犧牲個人的利益，反而是因為集體合作而給個人帶來了實惠。大家都變得十分積極，過了幾天，我們就討論了章程，並到工商局註冊登記成立了「雷州市東里鎮白嶺聯盟水產專業合作社」。

After two days of mobilization, almost ten shrimp farmers were interested in joining the cooperative. However, due to the rampant shrimp diseases this year, most of them lost money and worried that they could not raise enough capital for start-up. With further discussions they understood that the gist of cooperation is not about money, but a way to help each other. We decided to begin with bulk purchase and wholesale as well as sharing technologies. With bulk purchase, farmers can buy supplies at wholesale price and save a lot of money. We did a quick calculation: a bag of 20kg shrimp feed cost RMB150 this year. The cooperative could order from the manufacturer directly to save RMB20 per bag (or RMB1 per kg). Given that the average size of a pond is 5 mu (1 mu about 667 m²) and yield per mu is 750kg, a pond can produce 3,750kg of shrimps (and save RMB3,750) per harvest. If RMB3,750 is saved from each harvest, RMB7,500 can be saved for a year as there are two harvests yearly. RMB7,500 will be split evenly between the household and the cooperative. This means that



合作社成立，大家高高興興地在自己制定出來的章程上簽字。
Upon establishment of the cooperative, farmers signed their names happily on the agenda.

the cooperative receives RMB3,750 from each household each year. If there are 20 households joining the cooperative, it can accumulate a good sum of RMB75,000 in a year. This math amused everyone as they did not need to pay anything but still could raise funds for the cooperative. All of them agreed with such an arrangement. The risks did not add up and people did not feel that their individual interest was sacrificed for the sake of the collective. Everyone was turned on - in a few days we approved the agenda, and registered at the Administration for Industry & Commerce as "Bailing Lianmeng Professional Aquaculture Cooperative of Dongli Town, Leizhou".



一九八三年，中共中央宣布取消存在廿六年之久的人民公社，標誌著農村集體經濟的解體。其時媒體大造輿論，宣稱「大鍋飯，養懶漢」，集體經濟會助長「搭便車」的行為，從而挫傷個人勞動的積極性。可是，家庭聯產承包責任制實施的三十多年來，農民在單打獨鬥的時候，也無法嘗到按勞分配的甜頭。對蝦產業的發展，更是滋長了產業鏈上下游各個環節的工業資本對蝦農的剝奪。因此，農民自身十分希望能重新組織起來，以對抗資本的強大力量。引述合作社帶頭人的話，「個人走路走得快，多人走路走得遠。」如何在市場化的生產中，通過組織農民成立合作社，還原勞動力的價值，應該是目前解決三農危機的一個重要的考慮。✦

In 1983, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China announced the abolishment of the 26-year-old People's Commune, officially dissolving the rural collective economy. The government media whipped collective economy as "a big pot of rice foddering lazybones" that encouraged "free riders" and lowered initiatives of individual labour. Yet in the next thirty years under the household responsibility system, farmers have to battle alone and are not rewarded economically according to their labour. What's more, the development of shrimp industry fosters exploitation of shrimp farmers by industrial capitals along the whole commodity chain. The farmers themselves, indeed, are longing to reunite and stand against agro-conglomerates. As the leader of the cooperative says, "a man runs fast but a team goes far". In the era of market economy, building farmers' solidity will become an important issue for solving the agrarian crisis. It is time to organize farmers' cooperative and restore the value of labour. ✦