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Small Agricultural Household: The Subject of the Modernization of Agricultural Production and Management in China

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Abstract: The subject of agricultural production and management in China has always been Small agricultural household, rather than individuals or collectives; this model will not disappear for a long period of time. The current subject of agricultural production and management in China is the Small agricultural household model that has been continued for more than two thousand years, and the contents of Small agricultural household production and management contributed to the initial targets of agricultural production and management, namely intensive cultivation and self-sufficiency. Traditional Small agricultural household production and management with the industrial goal of the present agricultural modernization. In particular, second rounds of land transfer and contract solidified the scale of agricultural operation and influenced the industrial transformation of agricultural household production and management model, so the next focus of Chinese reform of the subject of agricultural production and management should be fitting into the goal of agricultural modernization and correctly understanding the status of Small agricultural household; meanwhile, the subject of agricultural production and the subject of management should be separated appropriately.

Keywords: Small Agricultural Household; Agricultural Subject; Rural Society; Agriculture.

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1. Introduction

Since over two thousand years ago, China had been developing a kind of agricultural economy where men did farm work and women engaged in spinning and weaving for self-sufficiency. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Chinese agricultural reform focused on the ownership of agricultural land, fitting it for the socialist system. In the period of feudal society and the period of the Republic of China, and after new China was established, the owners of Chinese agricultural land changed by revolving around Small agricultural household. "Small farmers" is a small management group (Joachim von Braun, 2005) and is "a micro agricultural subject" which takes family as its unit and integrates production and consumption with specific resource endowments (Shi Zufa, 2018). Just as Xu Yong said, Chinese characteristic is the tradition derived from the household system, which is different from the village commune system in Russian and Indian, as we think that the household system is production mode and lifestyle with family as the unit and it is a Small agricultural household organization in rural areas. How to prove the importance of family units to agricultural production in China? Since the reform and opening-up, the implementation of the household contract responsibility system consolidated small farmer production to a new level and acquired great institutional dividend at the end of last century, that Chinese farmers solved the problem of food and clothing was the best example. At present, Chinese agricultural production is undergoing three changes. First, the establishment of market-oriented economy and a large unified market featuring urban-rural integration and international integration become socio-economic trends. Agricultural production at anywhere is no longer self-sufficient only, as it is involved in the wave of uniform market. Agricultural industrial scale management replaced traditional management objectives of intensive cultivation and self-sufficiency. Second, less dividend brought by traditional agricultural production, as agricultural income is hard to satisfy the needs of social life of farmers. Sticking to the agricultural production featuring intensive cultivation contradicts farmers' yearning for an income increase. Third, obstacles to urban-rural mobility are overcome and lots of farmers work in cities, leading to a large number of rural migrant workers. The expansion of



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social network made an impact on traditional radius of life of Chinese farmers, as old concepts like "one should not travel far while his or her parents are alive" and "one should be content with things as they are and be self-sufficient" are abandoned by most people. Small farmer is given modern connotations, specifically, geographical proximity develop into kinship and household management by a patriarch is changed into co-governance on equal footing. It follows that future reform of the subject of agricultural production and management should break the traditional self-sufficient small farmer management model, fit into the developmental goal of modern agriculture, and strike a balance with the requirements of modernization and management in Laizhao of Shandong Province and Yulin of Guangxi Province, this article sorts out the changes in the subject of agricultural production and management in China over nearly seventy years, and discusses its future direction for the reform.

2. Connotations and Historical Evolution of the Subject of Agricultural Production and Management

From the perspective of the division of labor, agricultural subject is twofold- subject of agricultural production and subject of agricultural management. The primary goal of China's reform of the subject of Chinese agricultural production and management subject model which accords with modern agriculture, to better plan, make decisions for, organize and control agricultural production, advance agricultural supply-side structural reform and promote agricultural modernization. Meanwhile, the subject of Chinese agricultural production is Small agricultural household, who conducts production and operation activities as the subject, which is totally different from individuals or business organizations.

2.1 Multilevel connotations of the subject of agricultural production and management

Agricultural production unit emphasizes the group or the scope who creates agricultural wealth. Agricultural production unit is the initial link of the value chain of agricultural production and management, and it basically determines the range of agricultural production. It is used to deal with the scope of organizing production in agricultural division of labor. In the process of forming traditional agricultural civilization, Chinese agricultural production determined and consolidated the basic unit of agricultural production in the first place, namely intensive cultivation by family. Agricultural production is mainly restricted by land element. China has a large population, so to allow limited land resources to provide human with more products, it is inevitable to choose intensive cultivation-featured agricultural production model. Family unit of intensive cultivation in traditional Chinese agricultural production is manifested as a family organizing production autonomously that male adults in the family serve as main labor forces in production and patriarchs are responsible for coordination. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the scope of the subject of agricultural production changed since China is in the exploratory stage of socialist construction. The subject of agricultural production is basically determined by the level of social productivity, but also reflects the historical stamps of different societies.

The problems that agricultural management unit deals with is whom should plan for agriculture and the scope of supply, which are two ends of agricultural value chain. The customary pursuit of traditional agricultural supply is self-sufficiency. In this period, agricultural management unit was basically stable, namely regional family was taken as the unit. This contributed to the relatively stable small farmer model in rural society, namely small farmer economy. In history, China practiced the small peasant economy as its agricultural economy, which includes two main forms-owner-farmer and tenant farmer. This economic form is a product of a low level of social productivity, agricultural products were mainly used for supporting themselves and paying rent but rarely got involved in commodity exchange. Thus, agricultural management centered on meeting family needs and was combined with family production unit, while agricultural management unit was also limited to family. It is not hard to see that in the process of forming agricultural civilization, Chinese agricultural production unit and management unit basically overlapped. The reason is that agricultural civilization is natural civilization and market-oriented economy featuring commodity exchange and circulation has not formed yet. "Scale-shaped" agricultural development is limited to letting production satisfy living needs, while management is naturally subordinate to production. Modern agriculture has completely broken the limitations of the small peasant economy, and the fact that China established the system of market-oriented economy and joined the WTO clearly indicated that agricultural industrialization and incorporation into the commodity market become the requirements of the times. Agricultural development is no longer a simple single production process, and basic production unit and management unit of agricultural development are organizational carriers that serve modern agriculture. 2.2 Historical evolution of the subject of agricultural production and management

The late seventy years witnessed how Chinese society changed from a chaos to governance and constant integration of social system and these years constitute a historical epitome of Chinese agricultural society. In the five stages of the changes in the relationship between agricultural production unit and management unit, Small agricultural household has become the lever for the changes in the subject of agricultural production and management and an obstacle that agricultural production and management cannot escape.

The stage of the integration of production and management with Small agricultural household as the basic unit. Starting in 1946, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published the May Fourth Instructions, namely "one approval and nine priorities" and the Outline of Chinese Land Law among a series of documents, the reform of rural land ownership was carried out in a peaceful environment, and agricultural production and management units were reshuffled and unified in household unit (Du Runsheng, 2005).At the eve of liberation, land annexation was prevalent in rural China, lots of land fell into the hands of landowners. According to the statistics of the National Bureau of Statistics then, the number of landowners and rich farmers only accounted for 9.41% of the total national population, but they owned 52.91% of the total land area. In this period, although agricultural production takes Small agricultural household as its basic unit, pure small farmer production and management was transformed into two models-traditional household unit and tenant household unit. The land reform broke the concentration of lands, allowing those farmers who did not have any land or had little land to acquire land, and per-capita land owned by farmers nationwide was homogenized. Farmers regained allocated land, and natural and original production and management units were changed, in particular, agricultural unit hiring labor disappeared in this stage. Agricultural production and management units became one again, Small agricultural household, traditional agricultural subject, began to lead agricultural production and management at each stage of agricultural development. Of course, in small farmer-led production, male family members are main labor forces, who have the last word in management at each stage of agricultural production and management.

The stage when Small agricultural household and public collective were both production and management units. In 1953, Chinese economy was basically recovered and China began to transform from new-democratic revolution to socialist revolution. In the same year, the 1st Rural Work Conference was convened in China, which proposed to carry out cooperative movement while making steady progress, specifically, pursuing mutual aid team, elementary cooperative, advanced cooperative and other different forms of cooperation. Mutual cooperation aimed at improving the low level of rural productivity then, for it was hard for farmer household-based production to withstand natural disasters and social difficulties. The practice of mutual cooperation enabled farmers to walk away from a single household production unit in agricultural production and collaborate with several households in production. The extension of this production unit achieved the sharing of fundamental means of labor to some extent, helping impoverished single household find the backing and improving their ability to resist the risk. This movement broke the traditional model of single household production, heralding collectivized production. After the country implemented the reform of farmers' land, it was hard to meet food demand of the society owing to a population increase and a lower level of agricultural productivity, farmers were reluctant to sell, merchants stored up goods and raised their prices, and the government could only purchase 26% of food, causing the shortages of Chinese grain market (Du Runsheng, 2005). Exactly in 1953, the country decided to purchase and market food in a unified way. This practice cut the economic link between commodity market and rural agriculture and closed the grain market, as crops gained by farmers from agricultural production were purchased and marketed in a unified way by the government. Farmers' management power over agricultural production was thus weakened, Small agricultural household unit's patriarchal decision was unified to national planning, agricultural management unit also broke through Small agricultural household unit, which went further than the breakthrough of production unit and was directly changed into collective as the unified management unit. This stage of agricultural production was the transition from new democracy to socialism and the stage when family unit and collective unit coexisted in agricultural production and management. Agricultural production was gradually transformed from households to collectives.

The stage of big collective as the basic production and management unit only. A big collective can be understood as a group of farmers who are enrolled as the members of people's commune and subordinate to a village-level or a township-level authority in the period of people's commune. In 1956, Mao Zedong proposed the Ten Major Relationships in economic construction, and further advanced people's commune and the Great Leap Forward. Collective replaced household, becoming a basic unit of social life, and everything except bedclothes and tableware must be made public processions, including individuals. Every individual was enrolled in collective units, and they ate in canteens and were subject to military management as a collective. The collectivization of life and labor and even distribution became important symbols of a collective unit. In the process of establishing

socialism, land property right of farmers began to undergo radical changes that land which had been privately owned by farmers were owned by village collectives and hence farmers became "proletariats" in a real sense. Every farmer was enrolled and became a member of a collective. In agricultural production, people's commune divided the whole commune into several production teams, which were the organizational unit of agricultural production, and team leader was responsible for organizing team members to work. Meanwhile, team leaders instead of parental authorities divided agricultural work. Each production team was independent from each other in agricultural work in the principle of mutual noninterference. Besides, agricultural management had nothing to do with households but was executed by the people's commune according to state planning. In a sense, the country managed agricultural workforce nationwide in a unified way, and agricultural management unit became the country.

The stage of the combination of centralization and decentralization of production and management unit which takes small collectives as the principal thing and small farmers as a complement. In the later period of the Great Cultural Revolution, related national policies were softened and rural areas entered the germination stage of the second reform. The pattern of big collective-centered production and management was broken, agricultural subject with production team or production division as the organizational unit began to take shape. In this period, the scope of collectives was generally limited to village collectives. The country started to make adjustments to varying degrees in agricultural production and management. In terms of production, the autonomy of production teams was respected, state intervention was reduced, private plots were resumed and expanded moderately, and fixing farm output quotas on the group basis was approved in some special areas. In terms of management, the accounting unit of people's commune was downsized, production teams obtained the right of independent management, distribution on the basis of labor was resumed, quota system was practiced, but unified management was still underlined. Meanwhile, integration of government administration with commune management system was broken, for example, Guanghan County, Sichuan Province, was the first to separate government administration from commune management and resume township government. Although the country still did not open restricted areas allowing fixed farm output quotas on the household basis in this period, yet it opened the gate for the spontaneous flow of agricultural reform. Many areas, such as Anhui, Guangdong and Sichuan, first tried out fixing farm output quotas on the household basis via various means.



Figure 1: Trends of Rural Migrants (Migrant Workers) in China (1985-2018) Precautions: 1.Unit: 100 million; 2.Before 2008, the data came from the China Population Flow Statistics Table; after 2008, the dat. ...me from the survey report of Chinese migrant workers.

The stage of overlapping production and management with Small agricultural household as contractor unit. In this period, the institutional guarantee formed by agricultural production and management units was the household contract responsibility system under collective land ownership established by the country and the system of self-governance of villagers after the disintegration of the people's commune. In 1982, the central government issued the Minutes of National Rural Work Conference, formally approving rural land contractual operation system and ending nearly thirty years of controversies over the fixing of farm output quotas for each household. After that, China established and consolidated the household contract responsibility system by passing "No. 1 Central Document". The establishment of this system made lots of land contracted to farmers from production

teams, as a result, farmers started to produce and manage on their own with small farmers as basic units. People's commune system collapsed, so to fill the power vacuum, the country established the system of self-governance of villagers in rural areas. Self-management and self-service were practiced among the masses in rural areas.

The system of self-governance of villagers further allowed more flexibility for agricultural production and management, broke the shackles of collective system in agricultural development, and institutionally consolidated the basic unit of agricultural production and management, namely Small agricultural household. In terms of agricultural management, China stressed dredging channels for commodity circulation, hence discontinued planned purchase and marketing by the state, and developing market-led purchasing and marketing system. The policy of unified purchasing and marketing by the state is a collective-led agricultural management model, while market-led purchasing and marketing subject to free competition highlighted the dominant role played by small farmers in the market. Small farmers were the main players in market competition. The combination of small farmer as agricultural management unit and agricultural production provided agricultural marketization with subject guarantee. Hence, agricultural production unit and management unit returned to Small agricultural household again.

The stage of the marketization of hiring labor for production and small farmer management as the basic unit. The southern tour of Deng Xiaoping marks a new stage of China's economic reform. The reform at this stage completely opened two barriers, one is the connection between China and the global market, and the second is the distance between rural and urban areas in China. After new China was established, to change the backwardness of China, the central government decided to prioritize industry and implement the policy of agriculture giving back to industry, rural areas supporting urban areas. Since agricultural production basically maintained a low level, rural households could only put all labor force into agricultural production to meet their living needs. In the 1990s, grown labor forces in rural areas surged, but the area of land contracted by small farmers did not change much, which resulted in enormous rural surplus labor. Hence, rural surplus labor began to work in cities, giving rise to a large number of rural migrant workers. From 1990 to 2010, the transfer of rural labor forces initially took individuals as the unit, while the rest family members farmed in rural areas; then rural labor forces worked in cities with family as the unit, leading to abandoned farmland in rural areas or relatives or friends farming for them temporarily. Exactly because of this, rural labor force went through the process from surplus to moderate and to emptiness. In places like Laizhou in Shandong and Yulin in Guangxi, rural societies became homogenous. Rural labor forces move to cities, leading to an substantial increase in their income and a drastic change in the structure of their economic income, and the natural economy which takes traditional agricultural income as the principal thing and sideline as the complement was changed into market-oriented economy which takes income from work as the primary thing, agricultural income as the complement. Normally, those farmers who work in cities with their whole family will not give up their land contracting right. Although land and household are farther apart geographically, normally they will return to their villages for farming in busy season. The change in economic income made farmers less dependent on land to some degree, "owner-peasant"-based agricultural cultivation mode was gradually liberated from land, and these people also started to hire idle labor force in villages to produce and harvest.

3. Small Agricultural Households: The Subject of Farmer's Behavior

Small agricultural household is the basic unit of rural society and is the basic unit of agricultural production and management in China. China is the only country that has a continued agricultural civilization, and the continued society naturally formed a historical pattern. Small agricultural household became the subject of production, life and communication in rural society, and individuals were subordinate to farmer households, so were agriculture as well. According to a study conducted by Xu Yong (Xu Yong, 2013), Russia and India follow the tradition of typical eastern village commune system with village commune as the basic unit of social production and life, while China is a typical household system-based society. This point also proves the foregoing viewpoint. In Chinese society, small farmers are organizational units for living and production in rural areas, patriarchs among small farmers as persons in charge of farmer households coordinate internal contradictions and organize production and development. The subject of agricultural production and management with Small agricultural household as the unit is stable and easy to coordinate, together with intensive cultivation-based agricultural production, they created splendid agricultural civilization and made China's unique agricultural form, namely Small agricultural household agriculture. But, the action radius of Small agricultural household, like women constrained by foot-binding in ancient times, consolidated the self-sufficient natural economy and constrained the development of modern Chinese society. Shandong Province is a big agricultural province in eastern China and a highly mechanized and urbanized big economy. In this province, agricultural production still keeps the characteristics of Small

agricultural household, and even modern land transfer cannot do without the shadow of small farmers. To verify the universality of Small agricultural household characteristic, the author also conducted a related study in the southwestern region. The results show that there is obvious Small agricultural household unit in agricultural production and management in this region.

Small agricultural household tradition is a product of historical development, and nature was influenced by historical changes too. In light of existing researches, since the documented Xia and Shang Dynasties in Chinese history, Chinese history is roughly divided into three stable forms, namely slave society featuring enfeoffment, family-state monarchical society and modern society advocating democracy and republicanism. Slave society was the period when Chinese cultural circle was formed, and the "nine squares" system was the specific system for public land ownership in this period. Feudal lords owned fixed land and labor force (i.e. slaves). Slaves became retainers to feudal lords, who had absolute power over them. Slaves were restrained and arranged by feudal lords and engaged in production in their fief. Agricultural production with lords as the unit fit into extensive economy with a low level of social productivity then, and they were the basic unit of social production. Feudal lord was the early form of Small agricultural household and is the current definition of Small agricultural household. The Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period witnessed the first collision of civilizations in Chinese history, and this collision also changed the course of history that the form of its civilization was transformed into traditional family-stage monarchal society. There is an old maxim that "China has practiced the Qin system for two thousand years". Two thousand years of monarchal society in China constituted the longest critical period which consolidated Chinese culture. The main part of Chinese culture formed during this period was Confucianism which was initiated by Confucius who is regarded as the greatest sage and teacher. Confucianism values law and etiquette, namely monarch is monarch, courtier is courtier, father is father, son is son in social structure. The country was a family with monarch as the subject, while farmer household is the basic unit of patriarchal authority. In the context of private land ownership, with farmer household as production unit agricultural economy formed and consolidated natural economy featuring intensive cultivation and self-sufficiency. Furthermore, natural economy gave birth to natural small farmers. Small agricultural household was the finding of some scholars (Xu Yong and Deng Dacai, 2006; Zhu Fengxiang, 2009; Wang Weixel and Oi Chunjie, 2014) after studying traditional Chinese villages and was a historical stamp formed in rural society, and it characteristic is that small farmers produce and coordinate with each other and they rarely connect with the outside world. Moreover, the existence of traditional Small agricultural household also confirms Chinese tradition of Small agricultural household. The Small agricultural household tradition formed in this historical period had a significant impact on the course of Chinese history and agricultural production of its modern society, especially behavioral logic of Small agricultural household in agricultural production.



Figure 2: Employment of Rural Population in the Primary Industry in China (2014-2017)

Precautions: Data from the China Rural Statistical Yearbook (2018); The primary industry refers to agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fisheries.

Although agricultural production in modern society went through five, namely the stage when production and management were integrated with Small agricultural household as the basic unit, the stage when Small agricultural household and collective were both the units of production and management, the stage when big collective was the only basic production and management unit, the stage of the combination of centralization and decentralization of production and management units with small collective as the principal thing and farmer household as the complement, and the stage of the marketization of overlapping production and management with Small agricultural household as the contractor and production hiring hands and Small agricultural household management as the basic unit, but only agricultural production and management subject based on Small agricultural household was kept in the reforms, consistent with the behavioral logic of farmers. "Farmer's affairs are up to them and their behaviors must meet their own needs". This is the interpretation of history and the historical law for the current agricultural supply-side structural reform and the promotion of agricultural modernization.

4. Organic Link between Agricultural Modernization and Small Agricultural Household

Seventy years of modern society witnessed the "five changes" in the subject of Chinese agricultural production and management. The changes in the subject of agricultural production and management is the Party Central Committee's attempts to build relations of production for modern agriculture consistent with socialist system on the one hand and it has an impact on the traditional Small agricultural household model of Chinese agricultural production and management on the other hand. When the subject of agricultural production and management changed from traditional Small agricultural household to collective unit and returned to Small agricultural household production, Small agricultural household subject is no longer the same with the original traditional Small agricultural household unit and was given modern connotations. Traditional Small agricultural household formed intensive cultivation-featured and self-sufficient small peasant economy in agricultural production and management. In this period, Small agricultural household subject did not move geographically, communication radius of small farmers were villages around their homes and they rarely walked out of a county-level circle. Meanwhile, the bulk of economic income of farmer households was agricultural income, and a fraction of it was household sideline production, relatively stable. In agricultural production, nearly all family members who are female adults need to labor, while female members manage household sideline production. After the subject of agricultural production and management was changed for several times, the subject of modern Small agricultural household also underwent the following changes: first, the structure of economic income of farmer households experienced a qualitative change. Agricultural income has become the sideline income for the majority of agricultural households, while income from doing business and work predominate. Second, the usualness of spatial movement of agricultural subject. To seek more economic income, more and more rural family members become rational, and their moving to cities by households became normal. However, moving to cities is not done once and for all, as they will move to other places again for income or other reasons. Third, they are less and less independent on rural land. Agricultural households who move to cities, especially adolescents, become less dependent on rural lands. Just because of this, modern farmer households are increasingly influenced by social environment, and they changed from traditional small farmers to rational small farmers and entered the market-oriented economy as a basic unit. We call a farmer household in rural areas with the abovementioned characteristics as a marketized farmer household. In 2006, the central government decided to formally abolish the Regulations on Agricultural Tax, changing paid contracting of agricultural land to free contracting, which motivated agricultural production. But, as rural labor forces work in cities, lots of land in rural areas discontinues farming. To deal with abandoned farmland, land transfer emerged in response. In December 2014, the seventh meeting held by the Central Leading Group for Comprehensively Continuing Reform reviewed Opinions about the Pilot Reform of Rural Land Expropriation, Collectively Managed Construction Land in Market and Homestead System, which marked the beginning of a new round of land reform, separating rural land ownership, contracting right, and management right. The separation between the three rights and the marketization of farmer households as the stamps of the times raised new requirements for the subject of agricultural production and management.

New era raises new requirements and it is a critical period for advancing modern agricultural management. To realize agricultural objectives, the relations between land ownership, contracting right and management right were straightened out to fit into the marketization of Small agricultural household, and agricultural reform should focus on the reform of the subject of production and management. Of course, the reform does not mean giving up small farmers or eliminating them, but the development of small farmers, the subject of agricultural production and

management. The reform can only be a deepened version on this basis, and it was mainly about appropriately separating agricultural production unit from agricultural management unit. Rural areas in Laizhou, Shandong Province, are typical rural labor exporters, most rural laborers work in big cities in the province like Yantai and Qingdao. Land transfer in this region started very early, village committees came forward to coordinate and contracted land to large farmer households for plantation. There was a universal phenomenon among farmer households that they transferred land from the hands of contractors, each mu was compensated with four hundred yuan per year. Most farmers who transferred land were young people, who normally did not engage in agricultural production themselves but hired other idle labor force. They were mainly responsible for land production planning and agricultural production coordination. In this way, production unit and management unit began to separate appropriately, large planters transferred lots of land by exercising their land management power and hired labor to produce. Hence, agricultural managers were liberated from land, and then farmers became a symbol of profession, instead of a pure social identity. Although the subject of agricultural production and the subject of management are separated, their basic unit remains ordinary farmer households and most of which are marketized farmer households using market-oriented economy.

In the context of land transfer, appropriately separating the subject of agricultural production from the object of management helps the practice of scale agriculture yield good results. The separation of three land-related rights is a new reform after the fixing of farm output quotas on the household basis, and it serves as the legal basis for liberating land from a single contracting household and acquiring large-scale land for farmers. While the separation between the subjects of agricultural production and management liberated farmers from agriculture and land and liberated them from social identity, and it was a beneficial attempt to train professional farmers.

5. Conclusion

Keeping farmer's dominant position in agriculture is the appeal of history; while proper separation between the subjects of agricultural production and management is a trend of modern agriculture and is a beneficial attempt to industrialize agriculture and promote agricultural scale management. The separation between land ownership, contracting right and right of management provides the separation between agricultural subjects with a legal basis, and the marketization of Small agricultural household stresses that the relationship between the subjects of agricultural production and management formed by traditional farmer households no longer met the needs of modern agriculture; the current situation of rural areas is a realistic condition for the reform of agricultural subject. History has proven that reform should not abandon tradition, but should continue and carry forward the agricultural subject with farmer household as its basic unit, whose concrete manifestations include unitary agricultural organization and large planter.

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