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**WHY REASSEMBLED SMALLHOLDER COOPERATIVES STRUGGLE TO
SURVIVE: PERSPECTIVE OF ANTI-COMMONS**

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Cooperation among peasants is considered one of the approaches to solve the challenges they face in today's market economies. However, most smallholder cooperatives, which established through the reassembly of fragmented properties from an anti-commons state, end in failure. Lee Anne Fennell conceptualizes the tragedy of the commons and the tragedy of the anti-commons as "common interest tragedies," using distinct production functions to describe different types of these tragedies. Based on the S-curved production function, we explain the different outcomes of two pastoralist cooperatives on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, China. Although both cases share similar natural conditions, property arrangement and production organization, the reassembled cooperative has failed to improve the level of members' livelihoods and faces the

risk of disintegration. In contrast, the other case, which has persisted since the People's Commune era, demonstrates resilience and strength as a cooperative over its 50-year evolution, with members' livelihood levels significantly surpassing the regional average. As the S-curve has depicted, reassembled smallholder cooperatives need to overcome the initial cooperative phase, which is characterized by low marginal utility, in order to generate a surplus to sustain the cooperation. In contemporary market economies, most smallholder cooperatives fail to provide adequate material incentives for members to endure this initial phase. Moreover, the lack of cooperative consciousness among smallholders hinders the development of the collective synergy needed to navigate this stage. We argue that mere assembly of property cannot rapidly yield cooperative surplus for smallholder cooperatives. Smallholder cooperation requires long-term and consistent assembling forces.

Palavras-chave: anti-commons; smallholders; cooperatives; cooperative movement; qinghai-tibet plateau.