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现代城市的建构

——1927-1937 年福州的市政管理与公共事业

The Constructing of Modern City:

The Municipal Administration and the Public Enterprise of

Fuzhou, 1927-1937

罗桂林

指导教师姓名: 郑振满 教授

专业名称: 中国近现代史

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## 论文提要

本文主要依据档案类资料，从传统与现代、国家与社会互动的角度，考察1927-1937年福州的市政管理体制和公共事业，分析近代中国市政进步的多种方式与城市转型的动力机制，探讨现代化进程中国家与社会关系的可能走向。论文共8章，约18万字。

第一章总结前人的研究，指出前人的研究多集中于上海等少数现代市政管理体制健全的大城市，忽视了对大多数市政不健全的中小城市的研究，尤其是忽视了传统资源与社会力量在近代市政进步中的作用。本文指出，在考察近代中国市政进步的途径时，应该持多元的观点，除了充分肯定“制度创新”的积极意义外，还应重视“传统延续”的有效作用。只有将两者结合起来，才能充分理解现代城市得以“建构”的内在机制。

第二章分别考察传统时期、清末新政时期、北洋政府时期和国民政府初期的市政管理体制的变化，揭示了福州城市管理从城乡合治向独立的市政管理体制演变的内在脉络。指出由于多方面的原因的存在，这一时期福州的市政管理体制创新不足，导致政府对市政进步的促进作用不大。

第三章考察财政环境对福州市政管理的制约，主要分析了这一时期公安局、工务局的财政状况。指出当时的财政状况无法充分支持市政的发展，而且由于市政机关加大了征税力度，社会的抵制也在持续进行，导致国家与社会关系的恶化。

既然体制创新不足，财政又无法充分支持，那么当时福州的城市公共产品又是如何实现的呢？第四章至第七章以市政工程、电气事业、消防事业和救济事业为例，考察了城市公共产品的不同供应方式，即“官办”、“商办”、“公办”与“官民合办”。

第四章考察市政工程的“官办”方式。指出尽管福建地方当局财政极度窘迫，但仍然勉力支持市政工程的举办，这一时期不仅拓筑了遍布全市的马路网、而且还在马路沿线进行了旧城改造，并深化了对城市空间的管理。市政工程相对成功的开办，体现了这一时期国家对市政管理与市政建设的积极态度。

第五章考察福州电气事业的“商办”化。在政府财力不济的情况下，私人资本对公用事业的投资与经营无疑是一条供应公用服务的有效的途径。当局不仅继续维持电气事业商办化的旧例，而且还注意加大对电气服务的监督与市场环境的保护。尽管效果限于具体原因而不甚理想，但基本上还是维持了电气事业的稳定运营。

第六章考察福州消防事业的“公办”传统。福州城区原有民间自发组织的救火会，源于行业与社区的互助传统，在近代得到迅速的发展。在政府财力不济的情况下，这种由救火会承担起主要的消防任务的方式，不失为有效地提供社会公益服务的策略。当局对救火会开展业务也给予了支持与保障，并监督其提高业务水平，使其有效地分担了本来属于政府职能的消防事务。而救火会也通过开展消防活动，主

动地推动了福州市政建设的进展，并实现了组织的健全和社区控制的加强。国家与社会关系呈现出互相补充和互相促进的状态。

第七章考察“官民合办”的救济事业。福州的救济事业在早期就存在由个人、慈善组织和政府分别兴办的传统。清末新政时期，国家与地方精英在推进地方自治的过程也都有意整合这一领域，以图救济事业的进步。虽然限于条件而未能实现，但政府仍然继续鼓励社会组织参与举办救济事业。福州的地方精英也能动地实现了救济事业的“全国化”、“全城化”、“社区化”的发展。国民政府初期，福州救济事业进一步发展，救火会、商事研究所、商会、善社、国家救济机关等之间的合作与协调进一步发展，形成了官民各种力量的普遍参与为特征的“整体性应对”的救济机制，展示出官民各种力量在救济事业方面充分合作的格局。

第八章总结全文主要观点，并略作学术反思。第一、福州不同于上海等现代市政管理体制较为完备的城市，直到抗战前尚未形成健全的市政管理体制，又由于财政困难，官方只勉力维持对市政工程的开支，对公用电气、消防、救济等公用事业，则主要是由私人投资经营，或由社会公益组织主导，或由官民共同协作。体现出中国大多数城市的市政进步模式。第二、关于中国传统城市的近代转型，国内既有的研究多在“近代化”的框架制约下，从外在的观点看待城市的转型。福州个案表明，城市的近代转型，不仅需要外在的规划，也有其内在的变动逻辑可循。第三、现代化进程中，国家与社会的关系确实存在冲突的一面，但这只是完整的历史过程的一个方面。福州的个案证明，现代化进程中国家与社会关系的走向，除了冲突之外，同样存在合作的一面。

**关键词：**1927-1937年；福州；市政管理；公共事业



## ABSTRACT

The dissertation is based on archives, from the interrelation of tradition-modern and state-society, observes the municipal administration and public enterprise of Fuzhou in 1927-1937. It analyses the multi-channels of the municipal progress, the impulsing mechanism of city transformation, and the potential paths of state-society relation in the progression of modernization. The main body is in 8 chapters and consists of some 180,000 words.

The first chapter summarizes the previous researches, points out that the previous researches mostly focusing on some few big cities such as Shanghai where the modern municipal administration system was complete, but neglecting the research about the most middle and little cities where the municipal administration system was incomplete, especially neglecting the function of the traditional resources and social forces in the modern municipal progress. The dissertation points out that we should multianalysis the channels of the municipal progress. Except that sufficiently affirming the function of the institutional innovation, we should think much of the function of the traditional continuance. So we should integrate these two parts to completely comprehend the inner mechanism of modern city constructing.

The second chapter aptly observes the change of municipal administration system from the traditional period, the Late Qing New Deal period, the Northern Warlords Government Period to the early National Governmental Period, and unveils the inner path of the municipal administration system of Fuzhou from integration to independence. It points that the inadequate institutional innovation made the government not promoting the municipal progress more.

The third chapter observes the financial conditions of the municipal administration, especially the Police Department and Works Department, restricting the municipal progress. It points that at that time the finance couldn't support the municipal development sufficiently. And because the municipal administration strengthened the taxation, the social resistance was persisting and the state-society relation was in deterioration.

In this instance, how did the municipal administration supply the public goods? The fourth to seventh chapters observe the different ways

to supply the public goods. They were “governmental supply”(官办), “merchant supply”(商办), “public supply”(公办) and “official-civil cooperative supply”(官民合办).

The fourth chapter observes the municipal engineering with the way of governmental supply. The government tried its possible to support the municipal engineering when the financial conditions were very deficient. In the period the streets was wide and spreaded all over the city. The urban reconstruction was also done. The government strengthened the administration of the urban space. The relative success of the municipal Engineering indicated the governmental active municipal administration and municipal construction.

The fifth chapter observes the way of merchant supply in public electric utility. Because of the governmental deficient finance, the private capital investing and managing was a effective way to supply the public services. The government not only continued permitting the merchant supply, but also strengthen the supervision to the public electric utility and protection of the market conditions. Though the effect was not ideal, the public electric utility kept steadily management ultimately

The sixth chapter observes the progress of fire control and the public supply tradition. The *jiuhuohui* (救火会, society of fire fighters) was the civil voluntary organizations, rooting the tradition of giff-gaff in the trades and the communities, and developed rapidly in modern times. Because of the governmental deficient finance, the *jiuhuohui* effectively assumed the citywide fire control. The government supported and protected the *jiuhuohui*'s business, and supervised the *jiuhuohui* improving their business quality. The *jiuhuohui* actively promoted the municipal progress, and strengthened their organizations and prestige in communities. The state and society reinforce each other.

The seventh chapter observes the social relief with the way of official-civil cooperative supply. In traditional period, there were three forces, namely the personal charities, the charity organizations and the government, to take parts into the social relief in Fuzhou. In Late Qing New Deal period, the machinery of local autonomy under the official supervision and local elitist management tried to recompose the traditional social relief. Because of the conditional restriction, the plan was failed. But the government continued to support the social organizations to maintain the social relief, nevertheless. The local elites actively lead the social relief developing into the scale of whole country,

whole city and communities. In the early nationalist government period, the social relief developed more and the cooperation and correspondence strengthened between the *Jiuhouhui*, *Shangshi Yanjiusuo*, chamber of commerce, charity organizations and official organization of social relief. It developed a “whole-front” strategy and indicated the complete cooperational between all sorts of forces in social relief.

The eighth chapter summarizes the main viewpoints and reviews the previous researches. Firstly, Fuzhou was not the city belonging to the type where there was the complete institution of modern municipal administration. Not until to 1937, there was not the complete institution of modern municipal administration in Fuzhou. And because of the financial restriction, the government was only able to make great efforts to maintain the municipal engineering, the other parts of public enterprise, such as public electric utility, fire fighting, social relief, were apartly maintained by merchant supply, public supply and official-civil cooperative supply. The case of Fuzhou presents the pattern of municipal progress about the most cities of modern China. Secondly, about the modern transition of Chinese traditional cities, the most previous researches adopted the theory of modernization and observed the transition from the external. The case of Fuzhou indicates that the modern transition of traditional cities was the effect of external plan and the inner logic. Thirdly, in the progression of modernization, the state and society certainly collided in some instances. But it was not only a part of the complete history process. The case of Fuzhou proves that in the progression of modernization, there were not only collide between state and society, but also the standing cooperation.

**Key words:** 1927-1937, Fuzhou, Municipal Administration, Public Enterprise

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