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地方国家政治变迁中的权威与秩序

——1912—2012：滇西北玉狮场村社会生活的表达

**Authority and order under the Changes of Local  
Governmental Politics from 1912 to 2012: expressing of  
Yushichang's Social Life**

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## 摘要

本文选取滇西北少数民族村寨玉狮场为研究个案，以村落文化变迁历程中的权威与秩序为两条考察主线，并以现代性因素、国家、村庄地方性知识及生态环境这四个基本变量为切入点，在人类学的田野调查方法和民族志的叙述架构下，阐述从 20 世纪初至今玉狮场村庄权威与秩序变迁历程。在文中，村社权威这条主线的讨论既有来源于国家对于村庄的控制与影响所呈现出的制度性权威，又有包括经济、社会和文化在作为一种资源时对人的行为可能产生的非制度性权威。在这个意义上，权威不是纯政治性的，它同时也包括了经济、社会和文化等层面的因素，甚或包括诸如科技、传媒等现代性要素作为一种话语和意识形态在渗入村庄过程中所发生的各种显性和隐性的诱导性影响。另一条主线则是文中所讨论的秩序，这种秩序是各种权威性因素相互作用的结果，亦即玉狮场社区的政治、经济、社会和文化等各要素之间的结构状态。选取这样的研究设计，旨在通过对玉狮场的政治结构变迁历程及乡村文化变迁二者之间的关系梳理，来探讨作为链接国家与社会的政治组织形式的村社在国家与社会互动、以及基层社会文化变迁过程中的角色作用，以期正确认识乡村权力格局与乡村社会控制二者之间的关系。所以本研究不是规范性的对于文献层面的基层政权的建设理论的讨论，而是有关政治与社会的互动、调适方面的研究。通过这一研究，试图在为丰富 20 世纪中国农村村治历程的图像提供一个微观案例的同时，表达自己对这一历程本身的理解。

另外，在考察四个变量在历史进程中的交互演进过程中，我们发现，促使这四个变量相互影响的背景因素离不开 20 世纪中国的革命和改革。20 世纪中国革命作为一个历史过程，历经了发生、发展、高潮以及最终为改革所超越的变化。正是受这一变化的影响，国家、现代性、村庄地方性知识和生态环境四大变量之间互动的结果，呈现为各个时期的不同状态，并进而形塑出不同时期的村庄权威与秩序形貌。在文中，革命和改革是以时间的顺序划分为：民国时期、建国以来的大集体时期、改革开放至今三个时段。我们通过访谈得知，就民国时期玉狮场人的社会生活来看，现代化国家的体制性权力和话语对玉狮场

的进入与浸润仅表现为开端状态，但在 20 世纪上半叶总体性社会危机的状态下，国家对于玉狮场的“规划性变迁”实难完成。因此，无论是国家的体制性权力还是作为现代性的意识形态权力对于玉狮场的进入都十分有限，并且极不成功。但是 20 世纪中叶政治革命的成功，给新国家在新的社会基础和理念上塑造玉狮场的现代村庄权威与秩序提供了历史契机。革命奠定了现代性和国家重新进入玉狮场的基础，同时也决定了它们的进入方式。50 至 60 年代玉狮场权威与秩序的再造及社会转型不仅以革命为动力，而且以革命为表征，在此背景下，无论是国家对于玉狮场公共权威体制性再造的努力，还是现代性对于传统村落经济与文化形态的改造，都被打上了革命化的甚至是泛政治化的时代烙印。尽管如此，村庄地方性知识也不是完全被动地等待着被以革命为载具和表征的国家与现代性的消蚀与拆卸。而到了 80 年代改革时期，村庄的再造和村政的重建所凸现出的是在新的历史条件下国家对村庄地方性知识的重新承认与尊重，国家借助于传统资源、现代治理理念和市场经济改变着自己在村庄场域中的存在方式，作为现代性重要构成的现代知识与技术在失去了泛政治化的强力推动后，也转而寻求对于乡村社会的一种非行政化的切入路径。而重新扩张的村庄地方性知识则成为重新构造新时期玉狮场权威与秩序的重要资源。本文认为，20 世纪至今玉狮场村治变迁的实质是现代化过程中的各种因素对原有村庄中的各种结构化关系的冲击和重塑，这种冲击和重塑既直接地表现在村庄公共权威与秩序的方面，同时也更为广义地表现在人类学意义的村庄整体性形貌的方面。

**关键词：**权威与秩序；文化变迁；制度变迁

## Abstract

This thesis chooses Yushichang, an ethnic Village in Northwest Yunnan as a study case. It includes two lines: one is the change of authority and the other is the change of system in the course of rural cultural changes. Modern factors, government, village local knowledge and ecological environment are used as the four basic variables. In the first line, it studies the changes of authority and system of Yushichang from the early 20th century to present under theoretical framework of anthropological fieldwork and ethnography. The authority of the village comes from both the institutional authority and non-institutional authorities from such as economic, social and cultural aspects. Authority does not only belong to politics, and it also belongs to economy, society and culture. What's more, even technology, media and other modernities can influence the authority as a discourse or an ideology. In the second line, it reaches the conclusion that the change village's system is the result of the interaction of a various authoritative factors such as politics, economy, society and culture. This thesis is intended to study the function of Yushichang under the course of governmental and social changes and the changes of rural grassroots culture through researching the relationship between Yushichang's political structure change and rural cultural change in order to understand the relationship between rural governmental authority pattern and rural social control. This thesis does not base on the rural governmental authority theories but on interaction between politics and society. It is expected to enrich the researches about Chinese rural administration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition, the four variables interacting in the course of history can not be separated from the Chinese revolution and reform in the 20th century. In the 20th century, the Chinese Revolution as a historical process has gone through occurrence, development, climax, and ultimately change. It is under the influence Chinese



Revolution that the interaction of the four variables has shown its varieties in different periods, and it shapes village's authority and system in different periods. In the thesis, the revolution and the reform are divided into three periods by time: the Republic of China, the collective times and reform and opening-up till now. Based on the interviews, the life of Yushichang's people in the Republic of China under the influence of institutional power and discourse of the modernized country in Yushichang was regarded as the beginning stage. In the early 20th century, the government's "planning change" was difficult to accomplish because of the social crisis of the entire country. Therefore, whether institutional authority or modern ideological power is limited to enter Yushichang. However, the success of the political revolution in the mid-20th century brings a new historic opportunity to shape Yushichang's authority and system with the new social basis and concept. Revolution brought chance for Modernity and government entering Yushichang, and it also decided their ways of entering. The period From 1950 to 1960, the change of Yushichang's authority and system based on the revolution and were characterized by it. So both government's efforts to improve Yushichang's institution of public authority and the transformation of the village's traditional economic and cultural patterns under the influence of modernity were marked by revolutionary even pan-politicized brand. Nevertheless, village local knowledge was not completely passively waiting for government and modernity using the revolution as carrier to tear down. To the 1980s, reconstruction and rebuilding of the village and its administration exhibited the state's respect and re-recognition of village local knowledge under the new historical conditions. Government changed its existing way in the village by applying traditional resources, the modern concept of governance and market economy. And modern knowledge and technology as the important components of modernity after losing pan-politicization's support also intended to find a non-administration way to enter the village. And the re-expansion rural local knowledge has become an important resource for re-constructing

Yushichang's authority and system in the new era.

This thesis reaches the conclusion that from the 20<sup>th</sup> century till now the key reason for the change of Yushichang's governance is the result of modernization's impact and remodeling on the traditional structures of Yushichang. It can directly be seen through Yushichang's public authority and system, and also can broadly be viewed by anthropological meanings.

**Keywords:** Authority and order; Cultural Changes; Institutional Change.

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