# 参与性: 拓展与深化

## 参与性: 拓展与深化

云南参与性发展协会 著

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## 前 言

2002 年,云南参与性发展协会在经历了八年的参与性理论和方法的学习与应用两个发展阶段后,进入第三个发展阶段,其目标是,通过参与性方法的本地化和民族化来推动参与性思想的主流化,并在各个领域进一步推广参与性方法的应用,加速农村发展的进程。为了实现此目标,协会决定编辑出版一本论文集,总结协会各小组和会员多年来在各自领域的工作成果与经验,突破以往仅仅将参与性作为一种工具和具体工作方法的思路,着重阐述参与性与各种学科的关联性,参与性理论如何指导实际的行动与研究。为此,协会由管委会成员赵捷牵头,组建了有戴聪、吴璟、黄光成和温益群参加的专门的编辑小组,负责完成此项工作。

为力争达到上述目标,提高论文质量,编辑小组在向会员征稿时对文稿的内容提出以下要求: (1)全面梳理——梳理、概括相关领域的实践成果(或相关文献),力求揭示出参与性理论和方法在该领域实践中的突破和新发现。(2)理论提升——分析相关案例时,尽量从理论上去检验或反思参与性理论和方法在该案例运用中的利弊,总结成功经验,分析失败教训,提出改进设想,重点应归结到参与性问题的探讨上,不要被具体案例牵着走。(3)考虑前瞻性——尽量揭示参与性在该领域的应用前景,也可介绍探讨当中的难点或热点,以及值得思考的相关问题。

在所有会员的支持下,经过作者申报和小组提名,随后的专家

审议、筛选,编辑小组的反复讨论,以及作者本人的反复修改,最后确定下来的论文构成了本书的三个部分:即"理论与学科"、"应用性研究"、"行动反思"。这些论文有的基于实际应用的体验,论述引出参与性方法论的必要性和重要性,有的着笔于参与性在传统学科领域的拓展或在新兴学科中的运用,突出了参与性在何种程度或哪些方面促进了该学科的发展、有何积极意义,有的从宏观角度和相对抽象的方法论上进行反思,还有的分析总结了各小组在项目实践中的经验和"闪光点",并结合其所关注的领域和所依托的学科理论,梳理和阐述了小组对参与性的学术见解或观点。总之,本书从不同的视角探讨了参与性理论的发展与云南实际情况结合后在具体应用过程中的体会,因此我们将该论文集定名为"参与性:拓展与深化"。

我们相信,该书的出版不仅会推动协会会员间的经验交流,提升机构能力;也会给应用参与性理念和方法从事农村发展领域工作的研究者、管理者和决策者带来些启示与帮助;还可能会在某些观点和问题上引起更广泛的争议和反思,进而推动有关的探讨和研究,加快参与性方法的本地化和民族化。当然,论文中的错误在所难免,仅代表研究者个人的观点,不当之处,还请同行和读者指正。

最后,我代表协会 2002—2005 年两届管委会,感谢福特基金会对本书的慷慨资助,感谢所有作者对协会工作的支持,感谢编辑小组所做的大量组织协调、审稿讨论、提出修改建议等具体工作,从而保证论文集达到协会的预期目标,为参与性思想和方法在中国和云南的发展与推广普及起到积极的推动作用。最后还要感谢中国社会科学出版社对此书的兴趣并出版此书。

戴聪

2005年12月20日

## 序 言

我对能够向大家介绍本书的作者以及他们的经历和他们所关心 的问题,感到非常荣幸。

为了在中国西南地区农村的参与式发展方面采纳并改进一种实用的方法,云南 PRA 网络的成员们已经工作了十几年。云南 PRA 网络<sup>①</sup>是 90 年代初期由一部分对参与性农村评估方法(PRA——Participatory Rural Appraisal)<sup>②</sup> 感兴趣者组建而成的。他们的这种兴趣是在罗伯特·钱博思(Robert Chambers)访问中国和参与云南山地综合发展试验性示范项目(YUM,Yunnan Uplands Management)之后出现的。项目活动的重点在于了解农村男女村民在自然资源管理和减轻贫困方面的知识、技能和偏好。YUM 项目的实践者希望通过组建一个网络来分享和扩展他们的知识。这个网络由不同小组组成,他们分别关注土地利用、森林、社会性别与发展、健康、民族等方面的问题。《云南参与性发展简讯》(PRA Network Newsletter)于1996年创刊,刊载全中国具有类似观点的实践者的文章,分享经验教训。其中有的文章随后被选入2001年出版的《参与性发展》一书。安迪·怀特(Andy White)博士在英国国际发展部(DFID)资助的研究项目里对其中的一些文章进行了分析

① 最初, PRA 代表"参与性农村评估方法", 后来改为"参与性研究与行动"。

② 这两个项目都是福特基金会北京代表处资助的。

#### (请参阅第一章)。

这些早期发表的文章反映了在实际田野工作基础上获得的认识。这些认识的重要性不仅在于其新的发现,还在于其记录了地方研究者在推进参与性进程当中是如何思考的。作者们的技能和见解不是通过间接地学习,也不是通过参加培训课程、出国进修或者博览群书获得的,而是通过直接聆听一些中国最贫困农村地区的犯价的文章表明了作者们具有的能力:一种能置身于乡土居民生存的空间,但却不去占据这个空间的能力;一种能够承认和帮助他人,并赋予其力量的能力。当然,他们也意识到并讨论了参与性行动的诸多局限性和约束。这些方面包括宏观规划的大环境,乡村"社区"的复杂性,各种不同类型的资源,人们所承担的责任,以及特定群体在重建其地位时的时间问题等。

这本新书反映了一群经验丰富的实践者们更加精细的见解。这些学者们来自广泛的学术领域,具有不同的兴趣点和视角,而且很多文章是专为本书而写的。作者们提供了直接来自参与性田野工作的经验和教训,以及关于理论与实践的反思性的集体经验。这一侧重点使本书同那些翻译国际经验,或基于他人的项目而进行的田野活动分析的书籍有显著不同<sup>①</sup>。相反,这本书的作者们把"田野"带人书本,而不是把书本带到田野。这种特点让本书变得十分宝贵和及时。也就是说,它不但使实践者们得以进步,而且使参与性学习的性质和功能向多样性的方向迈进。

本书的及时性还在于它回应了中国西南地区之外的实践者和新

① 类似的书有《社区参与在中国:能力建设的问题和方法》,2004年出版,包括中国作者的英文论文,Janelle Plummer,John Taylor编辑,伦敦 Earthscan 出版社出版,英国国际发展部资助。本书主要侧重于讨论自然资源匮乏的城镇和村庄的管理机构推行者在实施参与性方法、国家机构以及国际捐助计划方面的能力。

一代大学生的对参与性的热情和高涨的兴趣。显然,课程和教学方法的发展将会把田野实践与课程学习联系起来;参与性方法与目前中国政府构建和谐社会的目标,也是吻合的。这本书及时地对以下问题展开论述,如:市场作用力在农村地区的影响以及人们对其的反应;农村地区公共服务和科技推广体系的衰落(如果以前公共服务曾经确实有效地到达这些地区的话);自然资源管理方面的新型改革,以及农村社区的生存逻辑与更加标准化的官方做法之间的复杂关系等。加强对参与性方法的关注和扩大它的应用范围,对解决以上问题会有积极效益;然而,也存在着潜在的威胁,那就是参与性方法的专业化和标准化。有参与性过程,这是许多项目资助者所要求的项目活动,需要有认可专家提供的可记录和可复制的产出。这就鼓励实践者变得职业化及相关活动的产业化。这样做存在的问题是:参与性过程成了特定时间限制和项目的种种约束下的"可交付的产品",作为最有效的实践者必须具备的某些前提,则让位于他/她们的被动性专业化了。

扩展参与性方法的范围可以让那些有义务为在广大和多样的地理区域和人口中提供服务的群体采纳参与式方法。采取一些公式化的方式对于这些群体也是有诱惑力的。如果将参与性的活动同构成其主要支撑的人文主义的态度相脱离,那么,开发一套活动步骤核对表,进而实施或者"交付"一个"参与性"的过程,相对来说是容易的。这就像是装配一套预制的家具一样。在大规模生产中这是必需的。但是,这也许不能捕捉到特定的技巧、洞察力和活力。这些都是当地人所掌握的和在创造与当地相关的、可持续的活动中有所帮助的。本书的一些作者讨论到了这个问题。例如他们引用最近全国范围内的参与性乡村脱贫计划的经验。这是他们工作的特色之一,他们已经探索如何建设性地面对这些挑战,并且提供积极可行的建议。

本书的作者们已经做好了准备, 开始介入一些新兴的主题。它

们包括更加深入探索参与性过程、国家的作用和乡村管理与服务供给方面的治理等几个方面之间的关系。作者们也许会介入国际上关于"参与"本身的批评。他们也一定有兴趣拓宽社会科学研究农村田野工作方法的类型,而不仅仅限于 PRA 方式等。作为提升参与性的另外一种手段,在县一级计划框架中采用参与性方式的活动已经开始。所以,我们可以带着兴趣来读这本书,并且满怀期待,等待下一本。

福特基金会很荣幸能够支持云南 PRA 网络的作者们与大众分享他们的见解。我们希望本书拥有广大的读者,包括同道的学者、学生、来自政府和公民社会项目的实践者,以及具的更广泛兴趣的群体。我们也鼓励读者们能为这本书所建构的学习圈做些贡献,把你们的印象和意见发往云南 PRA 网络的网站 (http://www.ynpra.org/index.asp)。我们也想同你们分享一位最早的国际PRA 实践者 Gordon Conway 的话。他在最近一次访问北京时说:"从事参与性过程,不仅仅是为了计划、记录,而是要去实际操作。"

衷心祝大家在与当地人民一起工作和学习中愉快!

福特基金会北京代表处 环境与发展项目官员 **白爱莲** 2005 年 12 月 14 日

#### **PREFACE**

It is a pleasure to introduce the authors of this book, some of their experiences and the issues which continue to concern them. Members of the Yunnan PRA<sup>®</sup> Network have worked for a decade to adopt and improve practical processes for participatory development in rural southwest China. This Network and its membership grew from merest in PRA (participatory rural appraisal) following a visit by Robert Chambers and participation in the Yunnan Uplands Management Program (YUM) in the early 1990s<sup>2</sup>. Both activities focused on understanding the knowledge, skills and preferences of male and female rural residents in relation to resource management and poverty reduction activities. YUM Project participants wanted to share and expand this learning through a new Network with thematic working groups on land use, forestry, gender and development, and health and ethnicity. In 1996, they initiated a "PRA Newsletter" to publish articles and share lessons learned with like-minded practitioners across China. A number of these articles were subsequently collected and published as a book (Participatory Development) in 2001. Some articles were also analysed by Dr Andy Wilkes in a DFID-funded study (see Chapter 1).

① Originally PRA stood for Participatory Rural Appraisal but was later changed to Participatory Research and Action.

② The Ford Foundation Beijing Office funded both activities.

These early publications reflected initial learning based on practical field experiences. They were important for their findings, but also as records of how thinking about participatory approaches developed among local researchers. The skills and insights the authors gamed did not develop through tertiary study, training courses, trips abroad or wide reading. They came instead from directly listening, caring and being perceived to care by men and women from Han and ethnic minority groups in some of the poorest rural communities in China. Their publications reflected a capacity to 'sit in the space' of rural residents but not to occupy it, to acknowledge and help empower others. However, they also identified and discussed broader limitations and constraints to participatory action. These included the wider planning environment, the complexity of rural 'communities' and the types of resources, commitments, and time revolved when groups sought to re-shape their own situations.

This new volume reflects more sophisticated insights from a group of seasoned practitioners. These male and female scholars come from a broad range of academic disciplines, interests and perspectives. Moreover, the bulk of chapters were specifically written for the publication. The authors have provided a reflective and collective account of lessons learned directly from participatory fieldwork and about theory and practice. This focus differentiates the book from a number of other publications which have translated international experiences or analysed field activities undertaken by other people or projects. Instead, the authors

① A similar book is Community Participation in China; Issues and Processes for Capacity Building (2004), containing English-language papers by Chinese authors edited by Janelle Plummer and John Taylor (Earthscan; London) with DFID support. This focused more specifically on the capacity of resource-deficient township and village administrations to implement the participatory methodologies and plans of state agencies and international donors.

bring the 'field' to the book, rather than the book to the field. It is this characteristic that makes the publication so valuable. and timely -for not only have the practitioners evolved, but the nature and functions of participatory learning have also evolved in diverse ways.

This timeliness is reflected in the increasing interest in participatory processes in parts of China beyond the southwest and among a new generation of students and aspiring practitioners. It is also evident in the development of new tertiary courses and teaching modes which link field and class based learning. It is apparent that participatory approaches fall within the ambit of the national agenda for building a more harmonious society. This is timely given the expanding role of market forces in rural areas and responses to them; the decline in service and technical extension delivery (if services did effectively reach these areas before); new reforms in natural resource management; and the complex relationship between the living logic of rural communities and more standardized official practices. These are the positive aspects of scaling up and scaling out interest in participatory approaches. There are also implicit dangers: namely professionalisation and standardization. Many participatory processes are undertaken as part of projects funded by donors which require recordable and replicable outputs provided by recognized experts. This encourages practitioners to become professionals and activities to become enterprises. What makes this problematic is that participatory processes then become 'deliverables' with specific time-frames and other project constraints. The very pre-conditions which the practitioner needed to be most effective are removed through his or her passive professionalisation.

Scaling out can involve the adoption of participatory approaches by groups with mandates to deliver services across wide and diverse geo-

graphic areas and populations. It is tempting to achieve this through adopting formulaic approaches. If participatory activities are detached from the humanistic attitudes which underpin them, it is relatively easy to develop a checklist of steps to implement or 'deliver' a 'participatory' process; rather like assembling a prefabricated piece of furniture. This is necessary in mass-production However, it may fail to capture the specific skills, insights and energies which only local people possess and which help create locally relevant and sustainable activities. A number of authors in this collection touch on these issues citing, for instance, recent experience in nation-wide participatory village poverty reduction planning. It is a hallmark of their work, however, that they have sought to constructively engage with these challenges and to offer positive and practical recommendations.

The authors in this volume are now well positioned to begin engaging with a number of emerging themes. These include deeper exploration of the relationship between participatory processes, state roles and governance in rural management and service provision. They may also involve engaging with some of the international critiques of 'participation' itself. There is certainly interest in broadening the types of social science approaches to rural field work beyond PRA methods alone. And activities have begun on building participatory methods into the framework of county level planning as an alternative means of scaling-up. So, we can read this volume with interest and await the next with anticipation.

The Ford Foundation is pleased to support these authors from the Yunnan PRA Network to publicly share their personal insights. We hope their readership will include fellow scholars and students, practitioners from government and civil society projects, and the broader community of interest. We encourage you, the reader, to contribute to the circle of

learning around this book by posting your impressions and comments on the Yunnan PRA Network website (http://www.ynpra.org/index.asp). We also share with you a comment from Gordon Conway, One of the earliest international PRA practitioners, during his recent visit to Beijing; "The reason for engaging in participatory processes is not just to plan and document, but to do". Best wishes for your learning and working with local people!

Irene Bain
Program Officer for Environment and Development
Ford Foundation Beijing Office 2005-12-14

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