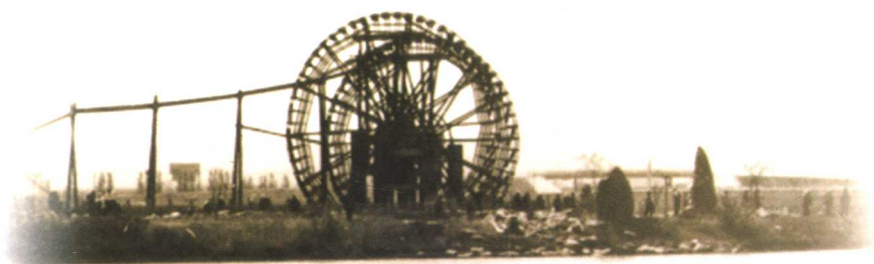




博士学术文库

农民工的认同与适应

张向东 著



新华出版社

博士后学术文库

农民工的认同与适应

张向东 著

新 华 出 版 社

图书在版编目 (C I P) 数据

农民工的认同与适应 / 张向东著. —北京:

新华出版社, 2006.8

ISBN 7-5011-7591-8

I. 农… II. 张… III. 农民—社会地位—研究—中国
IV. D422

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2006) 第 082940 号

农民工的认同与适应

责任编辑	贾允河 左鸿波
出版发行	新华出版社
地 址	北京石景山区京原路 8 号
网 址	http://www.xinhupub.com
邮 编	100043
经 销	新华书店
印 刷	山东省济宁市火炬书刊印务中心
开 本	850×1168mm 1/32
印 张	8
字 数	180 千字
版 次	2006 年 8 月第一版
印 次	2006 年 8 月山东第一次印刷
印 数	1—3000 册
书 号	ISBN7-5011-7591-8
定 价	28.00 元

摘 要

中国社会的变革对于在相对闭塞环境中生活的农民而言，是一场撞击心灵的革命。自从实行联产承包责任制以来，传统的生产方式和经营观念都发生了前所未有的变化，加上社会流动自由度的加大，不仅直接造成了 90 年代以来农民分化日益严重的社会事实，同时也极大地改变了乡土中国的文化形貌，以及与此共生的农民的认同、观念和行为。作为农民改变身份、提升社会地位的先行者，农民工“亦农亦工”的特殊处境，他们在城市中的悲欢与期许，都在印证农民不再是农民的过程，仍旧需要我们长久地等待。由此看，研究农民工的认同有点急切的味道。查阅了大量的文献后，我发现，有关农民工问题文献研究的主题主要有两个：一个是研究农民工形成的原因、特点和发展趋势。二是分析农民工目前的现状、问题和应对策略。前者多是讨论农民工进城的利弊得失和农民工将何去何从，且达成的基本共识是农民工进城利大于弊。积极发展大城市、推动农村城市化是解决农村剩余劳动力的主要途径。后者主要从经济共生、社会交往和文化融合三个层面对农民工这一群体在城市社会的职业、社会生活现状和未来走向进行深入扫描。解释农民工群体的某些特征，指出农民工在城市仍处于边缘状态。也就是说，农民进城并没有被城市接纳，农民工和市民的冲突一直存在。那些研究大部分站在城市人的角度去看待农民工群体的，但真正站在农民工群体视角，切实为农民工设身处地着想的基本没有，或者说很少。为此，笔者经过一番实地考察和调查并和导师沟通后，我认为应该从认同和适应入手，因为在社会变迁中，处于劣势地位的边缘群体都存在对

不同群体的认同问题，他们是认同处于劣势地位的边缘群体还是认同于处于优势地位的主流群体，不论对社会融合还是对处于劣势地位的边缘群体的成员来说，都具有不同的意义。为此我提出这样几个问题：1、农民工是怎样认同自己的身份的？2、农民工的群体归属在哪？3、农民工是怎么样认同关系的？4、农民工未来的归属是什么？5、农民工采用什么样的策略适应城市生活的？

笔者选择了中原的一个县？商水县在北京的农民工作为研究对象，之所以选择这个县，首先是因为商水县地处中原，历史悠久，有丰厚的文化底蕴。其次，商水人生在河洛地区，深受中国传统主流文化？河洛文化的影响。再者，商水县交通闭塞，信息不灵，比较接近“乡土社会”，对现代化的感受不是很敏感。商水人对关系也比较认同，他们认为要在社会上立足必须靠关系。就这样一个相对闭塞环境中生活的农民，来北京后的反应可能会比较明显。

以往的研究对农民工概念的称呼和界定有很多，其中最常见的有流动人口、外来人口、暂住人口、外来民工、农民工，近期也有流动性移民、中国农民外出劳动力、农村流动人口、流动民工等等。这些概念和界定可能和研究者本人的研究需要有关，无可非议。本文笔者用的农民工概念主要指在我国改革开放以后，农村实行了家庭联产承包责任制，个体农民在有了承包土地后又离开土地进入城市，成为从事工商业活动的工人，但由于户籍制度的限制，其社会身份依然是农民。认同这个概念也有很多的解释，其中最常见的是指自我认同和社会认同，本文主要是指农民工身份的认同、群体认同和关系认同。关系认同是一个不常见的概念，笔者把它定义为：“关系认同是指个体通过其可以延伸得到的社会网络来获得他人提供的信息、情感和帮助，以达到符合自己期望或满意的结果的那些态度或行为倾向”。

身份是一个人在社会关系中的地位高低的标志，分为先赋身份和自致身份。前者是先天自足，后者是通过努力而改变的身份。自从因优先发展重工业战略而派生出户籍制度以来，农民的身份就几乎变成了先赋性质，身份的获得取决于父母，尤其是母亲的职业和居住地，而能改变这种景况的途径又是极为有限的。与身份相对应的是社会角色，它具体包括了适宜身份的规范与行为模式。身处社会生活中的个体有着诸多的社会角色，这之中职业是最为重要的角色。某种职业角色的获得，也就标志着获得了相应的社会身份。调查发现，农民工的角色与身份却是分离错位的。他们离开了乡村，告别了土地，实现了职业角色的重组，但他们的身份却依然是农民。这种因户籍制而造就的城乡二元社会结构使工人阶级和农民阶级之间存在了一条鲜明的难以逾越的体制鸿沟。在这种体制性隔离的背景下，流动的农民工虽然加入了产业工人的队伍之中，但又不被城市社会所认同，仍然游离于城市体制之外，处于非城非乡、进退维谷的尴尬境遇。他们生活在城市，“根”却在乡村。他们留恋城市的生活方式，想改变其身份，却难以融入市民的生活。其结果只能是陷入身份认同混乱的境地，使他们的权利与义务关系相背离。调查还发现，年龄越小或者文化程度越高，对于自己到底属于哪个群体的困惑越大。这说明无根群体的存在，作为一个“无根”的社会群体，虽然有名分曰“民工”、“农民工”，但其身后的意涵不只是一种职业，更是一种身份的象征。他们是在城市从事二、三产业的工人，但即使工作了十年，他们的身份依然是农民。农民工可以忍受的是恶劣的生活环境，最痛苦的面对城市人对民工的身份歧视。

传统中国社会被认为是一个关系本位的社会，人际关系在中国的社会生活中具有特别的重要性。那农民工的关系认同又是一个什么样的状态呢？研究发现，农民工的社会网络主要集中在以亲缘、地缘和血缘这种“三缘关系网络”为纽带的社会关系网络

中。说明传统的“差序格局”在当代中国仍然有存在的基础。社会网络的使用在农民工的就业中起到十分重要的作用。但是,由于农民工占有和使用的社会网络属于关系型社会网络,这一类型的社会网络是社会地位处于较低层次的人群在求职过程中最常使用的社会网络。说明农民工的和社会网络结构不合理。不过,令人欣慰的是,农民工自己应聘比例的上升和就业途径的多元。农民工虽然生活在城市中,却依然在原有的关系网络中交换信息与资源,寻求支持与庇护,而与城市人的联系是极为有限的。而令人感到高兴的是,刚来的农民工对关系最认同。但农民工在城市生活中实现了角色的转换,却无力改变其身份的定势。在研究中还发现,随着社会的变迁,“差序格局”的内涵、范围、特点都在发生变化。最明显的变化是农民工进一步推出去的关系网是围绕着个人或一定群体的利益而建立的。他们建立关系时考虑的主要是互利、互惠,所以亲属和非亲属都可以被纳入这个格局中。从中心的格局向外,格局中成员占有的稀缺资源相对于自我的需求来讲是逐渐递减的。中心成员常要通过各种手段,如礼物的流动、情感的联络、关系的运作等,加强与其他成员的关系;关系越亲密,越有可能被中心成员利用以获得稀缺资源,实现其利益目标。他们运用关系的原则越来越趋向于理性选择,寻求关系的路径是一个从强关系到弱关系的扩展过程。农民工利用乡民社会的地缘性同乡资源,改写并重建了关系网络,从而获得了在城市生存和发展的社会资本。

农民工作为“新来者”,在面对“陌生”而又“新奇”的城市世界时,他们会既感到“文化震撼”,又会感到“焦虑不安”。他们怎样适应城市生活呢?研究发现,农民工通过学习普通话、建立民间社团、形成聚居地和认同关系网络重建来建构自己的身份去适应。通过研究得出结论:

1. 农民工认同农民身份和农民群体

经济与文化的牵引力使农民工离开故土，带着改变生活、改变命运的希望来到陌生的城市。然而，与生俱来的户籍身份却使他们始终游离于朝夕生存的城市，尽管农民工融入城市是社会发展的必然要求，更是农民朝思暮想的向上的流动。调查中也发现，相当一部分建筑工人的梦想就是包工头。除了这一小部分人之外，有一定数量的农民工仍然在农民工范围内频繁地变动着职业，进行平行流动。而相当一部分的农民工则重新回归了农业劳动者阶层。如果我们的城市留给大部分农民工的选择是回流务农的话，中国社会的发展将会停滞，中国的工业化、城市化和现代化将遥遥无期。如果再透过户籍制度这一表象探究其现状之源，我们就会认识到在这张身份标签的背后，相关连接的是以此为依托的住房制度、保险制度、社会福利政策、教育制度等对农民工走入城市的强大拒斥。而与此相关的是，城市政策的地方保护主义、市民在计划体制下的“先赋”的优越感，使城市农民工的合法权益大打折扣，在这仅仅属于“别人的都市”里，他们的生活中更多的是被剥夺感，而缺少了对城市的接纳与认同。他们离开了故土，却找寻不到新的家园，这数以亿计的农民工也因此成为中国城市生活中特有的“无根”的社会群体。

2. 农民工的边际人格特征

无法在城市生根让农民工在城市还牵挂着故乡的土地，回归家乡，又难舍都市的繁华。对社会心理学来说，边际人主要有这样两点理论内涵：其一是处在两种社会形态的转折点或者说是两种时代交界处的特定人格；其二是处在两种文化接壤处的特定人格。以此观之，农民工这个离开了土地又不能融入城市的群体，恰恰是这种边际人格的现实呈现。他们处在中国社会转型的特定时期，立足于乡村文化向都市文化迈进的前沿。他们在城市文明

的洗礼下接受新的价值观的冲击，在痛苦的蜕变中实现着人格的转换。在这种重新社会化的过程中，农民工在乡土社会所依赖的生活逻辑无法适应城市社会的制度与规则，其结果便是在他们的人格走势中，“痛苦与憧憬并存，颓废与发奋同在”。而这种身处边缘状态下的心理感受，不仅会影响这一群体的社会心态，引发其行为失范等社会问题，更会深刻影响其背后几亿农民的城市化进程。在我们指责农民工的失范行为给社会带来的诸多问题时，是否想到他们的心理承受能力和他们已经付出的巨大忍耐？在我们感慨他们为城市带来的无限风光的时候，是否也想到了他们对生活的设计，想到站在他们身后的中国农民的希望与梦想？

3. 关系认同与关系网络的重建

农民工在城市生活中实现了角色的转换，却无力改变其身份的定势。角色与身份的错位，使民工没有获得与其职业相应的社会身份。但农民工利用乡民社会的地缘性同乡资源，在以信任为基础的交往与互动中，他们建构了自己的关系网络和社会支持系统。改写并重建了关系网络，从而获得了在城市生存和发展的社会资本。

4. 城市体验与农民工现代性的提升

作为开路先锋的一代农民工，他们在城市的生活中尽管饱受诸多的艰辛，在目睹了五光十色的都市生活方式后，也真切地激活了一度沉睡甚至麻木的被剥夺感。在这一过程中，他们有着改变命运的内在驱动力，而城市体验也在一定的程度上使他们改变着生活方式，趋同着城市的文明。尤其是农民工的子女，他们或很小就跟随父母生活在城市，或者就是在父母漂泊的流动生活中出生，作为“新生代”，他们对城市更是有着不同于其父辈的认同意识。这种代际之间城市意识、行动方式和生活方式的差异，正在悄然改变着中国社会的进程。我在参与观察中发现农民工的

观念变新了,求知欲变强了,交际范围广了,关心的话题变多了,眼界变宽了,脑子变活了,胆识变高了,行为方式变文明了,这些都反映了农民整体素质的提升,这是城市体验对农民工心理产生的巨大效应。

5. 农民“市民化”的期待

农民市民化,指的是在城市化进程中,让生活在农村的大部分农民,离开土地和农业生产活动,进入城市从事非农产业,其身份、地位、价值观念及工作生活方式和交际方式向城市市民转化的经济社会过程。由“乡下人”变为“城里人”,由农民变为市民,这一伟大经济社会现象在我国的出现和发展,不仅顺应了现代社会结构变迁的大趋势,而且对整个国家社会结构和经济发展正在并必将产生不可估量的深远影响。作为一种发展趋势,农民市民化的实质就是改善农民的国民待遇,落实他们的等级平等权。农民流动的更深层意义在于加速了准身份制度的瓦解,松动了社会结构的根基,是冲击传统体制的又一场革命。就此而言,以农民工为代表的新兴群体不仅在改变着传统中国农民的生活方式,改变了固守观念对农民的身份定位,更在于加速了中国的工业化和城市化的进程。然而,无可否认的是,农民工在给社会创造巨大财富的同时,彻底改变社会身份,进而享受到与城市居民平等的待遇还需要相当漫长的历程。但处于城市最底层的农民工群体将会在这种体制的转变过程中,生成对城市社区和居民的认同意识,并逐步整合在城市社会的发展之中。

Abstract

The ongoing social reform is really a shock to the soul of farmers who live in a relatively closer environment. Ever since the introduction of the contract system with remuneration linked to output, the traditional production forms and notions are undergoing unprecedented changes. Together with the increasing freedom of social mobility, these changes have not only formed the increasing polarization of farmers in the 90's, but also altered the cultural appearance, hence the identity, notion and actions of farmers. As forerunners in identity conversion and status promotion, the rural workers experience happiness and sorrow, have expectation and failure living in cities. Their unique farmer-and-worker roles are demonstrating the non-farmer process of the Chinese farmers, which needs long-term academic researches. By this token, study on the identification of farmers is a little irrelevant.

After careful literature search, we find that the present researches focus on two subjects. The first is about the causes, features and trends of rural workers, while the second analyze the status quo, problem and relevant resolutions.

The former discusses the negative and positive effects of rural workers' flowing into cities. To most researchers of this camp, the positive effects are overwhelming, as urbanization in both monopolies and rural areas seems the main way to absorb the extra work force in rural areas.

On levels of economic co-existence, social intercourse and culture confluence, the latter delves the vocations, living conditions and trends of the social group of rural workers living in big cities. Studies of this camp point out that the rural workers are not adopted by the cities and the conflicts between rural workers and citizens always exist.

We find that most of these two sorts of researches are based on the stand of citizens rather than on the stand of rural workers. Therefore, after long field research and discussion with my tutor, I took the approach of identity and adaptation of this social group on the ground that as nearly all marginal groups have some identification problems with other social groups in the social transition, the rural worker would not be exceptional. Identify with other marginal groups in inferior positions or with the mainstream groups in superior positions means different to both members of marginal groups and the social merging process. Therefore, five questions are put forward,

- 1, how are the rural workers establishing identifications?
- 2, what is their present group affiliation?
- 3, what do they regard *guanxi*?
- 4, what is their future affiliation?
- 5, what kind of strategies do they take to adapt to the city life?

The writer take rural workers coming from Shanghui County to Beijing as the subject in that Shangshui County locates in the Yellow-River-and-Luo-River area, which is a place with long history and thick cultural storage; in that that people of this place are nursed with the Yellow-River-and-Luo-River culture, which is the mainstream of the traditional culture; in that county lies in a rather closer location and remains the so-called "earthbound China", so as

the inhabitants of this place are unfamiliar with modernity. In stead, people here care more about Guanxi, which they regard as the foundation of living in this world. With all these factors, farmers coming from this county may have stronger reactions to the life-style transition in Beijing.

In the precedent researches and studies, many new terms and concepts are coined to cover the social group of rural workers, such as floating population, immigrating population, shack-up population, immigrating rural workers, rural workers, fluid immigrations, outgoing work force of Chinese farmers, immigration of rural areas, fluid rural workers, etc.

As to this research, rural workers here mainly refer to those people leaving their fields and working in cities after the adoption of the introduction of the contract system with remuneration linked to output in the reform and opening to the outside period, who are still registered as farmers in the habitation registry.

Identification also has many senses, usually referring to self-identification and social identification. Identification in this research mainly refers to the status identification, group identification and Guanxi identification.

Actually, Guanxi identification might sound strange to the reader. The writer defines it as the attitudes and action tendency of an individual that help attain his/her anticipations or expected results via information, generosity and assistance acquired from other people through extended social networks.

As a sign of one's position in the network of social Guanxi, status can be divided into ascribed status and achieved status. The former is endowed from birth while the latter is achieved through

one's efforts. Ever since the establishment of habitation registry as a part of the heavy-industry-first strategy, the status of a farmer has nearly turned to be ascribed, which is invested from the parents', especially mother's vocation and habitation, and difficult to change.

What corresponds to status is social role, which includes norms and action patterns that fitting certain status. Enmeshed in social life, an individual embodies many social roles, of which vocation is the most important. The acquisition of a specific vocation role is also the acquisition of a corresponding social role. However, investigations show the role and status of a rural worker has fallen asunder. As he/she left the rural area as well as his/her field, to move into cities to reorganize his/her vocation role, his/her status remains farmer by the habitation registry. The dual social structures of cities verses rural areas thus molded have created a too wide discrepancy between the worker class and the farmer class for farmers to overstep.

Against such a background of institutional apartheid, even though the immigrating rural workers have joined the industrialists, they have not been accepted by the urban society and remained outside of the urban institutional framework. Living in cities, their roots linger in the rural area. Attracted by the urban life style, these rural workers are eager to change their status but fail, only to find that they are confused of their status identification. Researches also find that the younger or the higher the education level, the more confused of which identification group they should take.

All this demonstrates the embarrassing situation of a rootless group. Thus, the appellation of rural worker refers more to a sign of status than a vocation. Even if a rural worker has kept working in cities as workers or employees for over ten years, he/she still is

restrained in this farmer status. What hurt him/her most is not the disgusting living situation but the discrimination of citizens to his/her farmer status.

The traditional Chinese society is usually thought as a Guanxi-oriented society, in which Guanxi, or personal relationship, plays a rather special role. As to the Guanxi identification of rural workers, researches show that their social network mainly incorporates blood relation, local relation and relative relation, which means the traditional "differential order" still exists in present China.

The existence of social network avails rural workers of getting a job. However, as the social network possessed by rural workers are a kind of Guanxi social network, which are usually available for people occupying inferior social positions in job finding, it is no doubt that the social network structure of rural workers is unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, what is gratifying are the increasing proportion of initiative job finding and widened career markets.

Although rural workers living in cities and having limited intercourse with citizens, they still share and exchange information and resources through their former Guanxi network, seeking support and protection. Naturally, newcomers commit most to Guanxi network. So, rural workers have changed their role in the urban life, but failed to change action patterns molded from their status.

The research also finds that, with the social transition, the contents, scope and characteristics of the differential order are changing gradually. The most obvious change is that the newly extended Guanxi network after rural works immigrated to a city is around the interests of an individual or certain people. As the main consideration for the extension of the Guanxi network is mutual

interests, both relatives and strangers can be incorporated in this net. With the positions they occupied extending outwards from the center to the periphery, members can make use of less and less rare resources with regard to their needs. The central members always try to reinforce their Guanxi with other members through the exchange of gifts, liaison of care and the carrying out of Guanxi. The closer the relationship, the more resources they can get for their interests. They become more and more inclined to rational choice in their manipulation of Guanxi. The route for Guanxi is an extension from central strong relation to peripheral weak relation. Rural workers make use of the countrymen Guanxi in a certain rural area and reconstruct Guanxi network around it, so as to own the social capital for existing and development in a city.

As a stranger to a city, rural workers often experience cultural shock as well as uneasiness when they find themselves are surrounded by the strange and peculiar urban world. What alteration should they take to adapt to the urban life? The research finds out that rural workers try to adapt to this new kind of life through reconstruct their identity via learning mandarin, settling up organizations and assembling habitation, weaving identity network.

The conclusions of this research are

- 1, rural worker groups and rural workers' identification with farmers

Economic and cultural attraction draws rural workers to leave their homeland and immigrate into cities to realize their dream of better living. Unfortunately, the status of farmers endowed from their births owing to habitation registry prevents them from melting into the urban life in spite of the requirement of more work force from

rural areas to cities and the earnest needs of farmers for vertical social mobility.

The research also points out that a relative part of the construction workers are long to becoming a project organizer. Apart from them, a large number of rural workers frequently hop jobs horizontally on the level of workers. And many rural workers return to the agricultural working class in the end. The writer believes if the choice for most rural workers in cities is to flow back to the rural areas, the development of China will stagnates and the industrialization and urbanization of China will also be in the far future.

Tracing from the habitation registry to the causes of this policy, we will find behind this status the xenophobia of farmers in the corresponding urban housing institution, insurance institution, social welfare institution and education institution. Moreover, the local protection policy of cities and the ascribed superiority of citizens endowed by the planned institution are furthermore decreasing the legal rights of rural workers. In a city of others, rural workers experience more deprivation than adaptation and identification. They left their homeland only to find they are homeless. Hundreds of millions of rural workers thus become a rootless social group floating in cities.

2, the marginal personality of rural workers

The repulsion of cities makes rural workers remember their homeland, while once returned homeland, it would be hard for them to forget the urban life. From social -psychological point of view, the marginal personality mainly refers to the specific personality at the turning of two succeeding social stages or at the interface of two