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包容与和谐： 增进少数民族地区 发展的相互了解

Inclusion and Harmony: Improving Mutual Understanding of Development in Minority Regions

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导言

Inclusion and Harmony: Improving Mutual Understanding of Development in Minority Regions

INTRODUCTION

The “ethnic minorities” in China are referred to as “nationalities”. This implies an interpretation based on the Stalinist “four commons” characterizing a nation: “community of language”, “community of territory”, “community of economic life, economic cohesion”, and “community of psychological make-up” (Stalin, 1942). Thus, the definition of a “nationality” according to above-mentioned definition of a “nation” can be interpreted as a “historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture” (Mackerras, 2003, p. 37). Currently, China has 56 such nationalities in total, one of which is the ethnic majority, the Han Chinese, and 55 of which are minorities (Gladney, 2004). Among the country’s 55 official minority categories, 44 occupy their own autonomous regions, prefectures, or counties and through their “Minority Autonomous” status, ethnic groups have certain rights and privileges such as developing limited autonomy and special regulations, using and developing minority languages, respecting and protecting minority religious freedom, maintaining and reforming minority customs as well as arranging and managing autonomous economic development and utilities. Moreover, at the level of Autonomous Regions minorities are also in charge of developing

education, science and technology, culture and other social undertakings somewhat independent of the central government of China. Although the concept of minority often implies particular needs, minorities are not always economically or politically deprived. Along with other minority privileges, the Chinese government has relaxed the "One-child Policy" restriction with respect to minority populations in order to encourage regional development, and as a result, currently the growth rate of minority populations is higher than that of the majority, and higher than the overall national average rate. Another factor explaining certain particularly high growth rates may well be that more people actually declare themselves to be part of a minority population than in the past.

DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY AUTONOMOUS REGIONS

During the last three decades China has experienced some of the fastest economic growth in the world. However, along with this extraordinary growth, unequal development has generated economic and regional imbalance. Such economic growth cannot be sustained without taking into consideration the social and political development of minorities. Furthermore, including these vulnerable populations in the development process remains a real challenge. Despite a few exceptions, although the overall situation is a lot better than in the past, most ethnic minorities in China still experience certain levels of poverty (Mackerras, 2005). The errors of history have shown that achieving the delicate balance between minority rights and social cohesion is one of the most important developmental challenges for China, particularly in areas that are home to a great number of minorities.

Clearly, development in minority regions is closely related to socioeconomic conditions (Gao, 2004; Tang and Gao, 2004). Zhang (2004) argues that the key to balanced development in China is to de-

velop the minority regions. As indicated above, with continuous government support, these regions have been developing slowly over the last fifty years, but socioeconomic differences from majority regions continue to exist. Mackerras (2005) points out that these differences might be a result of: unfavourable natural conditions, fewer opportunities for education, poor social environment, unbalanced industrial infrastructure, want for communication networks, and lack of urbanization. These regional differences continue to hinder the development of minority regions.

MINORITIES AND THEIR REGIONS

Owing to the traditional lifestyles that minority groups usually lead, and historically, to competition with the Han population, they tend to occupy less advantageous geographic areas. This does not automatically deny opportunities for improvement and economic development, although these are often more limited. While underdevelopment occurs in all societies, it is more common in ethnic minority areas, and sometimes is a result of state integration policies that lacked sensitivity to local needs and realities. This is an important reminder that development cannot be separated from political realities—either at the stage of concept, policy, implementation, or outcome. For example, it has been noted that “politics” are integral to the socio-economic disparities which hinder the establishment of a common good and produce communities often characterized by “sharp conflicts of interest” (Gupta et al., 2004 p. 30). It is often such disputes that prompt the eventual inclusion of marginalized groups in development policies and programs, yet many governments demonstrate inability or unwillingness to address adequately some of the underlying causes of conflict.

Still, it is important to avoid categorising minorities as necessarily

poverty-ridden societies, beset with social problems. Li's study of upland communities demonstrates how overcoming the stereotype of "innocents, victims or villains" helps to more fully understand their agency, and contributes to awareness of minority aims and objectives (Li, 1999 p. xv) . Nonetheless, having said this and despite a heightened awareness of the issues faced by the ethnic minority groups, economic and material poverty is still a major and persistent problem.

Disenchanted with reliance upon market and state, many observers have come to view increased local power and autonomy as the favoured option to overcome marginalization (Rigg, 2003; Rist, 1997) . For this and other reasons, decentralisation policies have been introduced in many developing countries in order to encourage growth which addresses local needs and contexts. China has implemented policies aimed at developing minority areas and promoting equitable access to some social services; such as education. In 1984, the Law for Autonomous Governing of Minority Regions was introduced. Amongst other things, it emphasized the autonomy of local governments in deciding on education in local minority languages (Zhou, 2001) . In 2000, the Chinese government introduced the Western Region Development Strategy to address disparities between the developed eastern and the lagging western areas that are home to 80% of minorities in China. As development of minority regions across China has been a priority for the government, a lot has been accomplished as a result of this sustained effort over the past decades. Still, achieving balanced development remains a highly challenging process. Within this context, the objective of this volume is to bring together and present current research surrounding the development of minorities in China as well as some cases studies of successful experience in minority development around the world.

AN OVERVIEW

The development experience over the last decades has shown that economic growth cannot be sustained without taking into consideration the social and political development of vulnerable populations, including greater recognition of the importance of building a multi-ethnic harmonious society. Within this context, the objective of this collection of papers is to support the interdisciplinary discussion that aims at joining the studies surrounding the development of minorities, particularly in China. This volume integrates the recognition of issues faced by minorities in different regions of the country with a goal of stimulating a harmonization of existing imbalances between ethnic groups in China. In addition, a few case studies which show successful experiences of minority development projects undertaken in other countries that may serve as a model for the development of Chinese ethnic minorities are also included. The volume brings together scholars not only from different provinces across China but also from different countries around the world such as Canada, Japan, Finland and the United Kingdom, coming from various academic backgrounds and providing interdisciplinary narratives that reveal different cultural needs, situations, and innovative methods of problem solving.

We examine four broad themes related to minorities and their development: minority history and culture, socioeconomic development in minority regions, education and healthcare for the minority populations, government and NGOs in minority regional development. The first theme examines the history and culture of Chinese minorities. Wang Xianjun looks at the history, culture and social development of minorities in Hainan province. He generally introduces the origin, folk culture and traditions of the Li, Miao and Hui minorities of the island, discussing the progress of their social development. Using the “Sanyuejie” Bai na-

tionality festival in Dali as example, Zhang Lijian elaborates on the protection, inheritance and development of minority culture in the "festival economy", suggesting solutions to dealing with the relationship between economic development and minority cultural maintenance. Tian Jianqiang, Li Hua and Liu Sufang explore the rich history, cultural meaning, social functions and values of the bamboo dances of the Li minority in Hainan. Candice Cornet on the other hand, explores the identity and the development of ethnic tourism in the Dong village of Zhaoxing in Guizhou province, sharing her outlook on the role of "ethnic tourism" in the construction of ethnic identity. Xian Minhui, Luo Bing and Chen Hua examine other aspects of ethnic tourism, focusing primarily on the development of the minorities' sport tourism in Hainan province. They discuss the remarkable characteristics of Li and Maio minorities, representing undeniable potential for future development.

The second part of this book addresses issues related to socio-economic development in minority regions. Maimaitiming Anwear and Cao Huhua discuss the evolution of urbanization process in Western China, a region that is home to 80% of the total minority population in China. Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and statistical analyses, they explain the structure and spatial development of urban growth, highlighting the issues of urban inequalities in Western China during the past two decades. Shan Liqin and Ma Haiying focus on the Northwest minorities region's innovation demand and supply. The authors discuss the reasons for backwardness of technological innovation in the region by means of contrasting these underdeveloped areas with ones that are more developed. Ma Shengquan and Han Ruibo continue the line of thought by applying the concept of "fuzzy sets" to an economic development analysis of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in Western China. They establish a methodology demonstrating the disparity of economic develop-

ment levels among the counties of Ningxia. Further, Zhang Chengyi presents an empirical analysis of Hainan's minority regional economic development. The author also applies "fuzzy logic" and information theory to construct a comprehensive assessment model for the evaluation of economic development in the seven minority prefectures of Hainan Province. Using descriptive and GIS analysis, Feng Jing analyses the patterns of regional disparities in the province of Gansu, focusing on rural-urban income inequalities between minority and non-minority regions during the 1990-2005 period.

The third section of the volume focuses on the provision of education and healthcare for several minority populations in China. The chapter opens with a study by Cao Yingyi and Sun Yajian pointing out the effects of population distribution, on the economic and cultural development, and on the levels of education in different parts of China, providing historical reasons for the disparities among the provinces. Xie Huiying, Tang Shanfang and Shen Kaimin discuss gender equity in middle schools in minority regions of Hainan province. Peter Foggin, Marion Torrance and Marc Foggin concentrate on another area of social services such as healthcare. By comparing three counties in southern Qinghai province, they analyse the accessibility of healthcare for pastoralists in the Tibetan Plateau region. Cao Huhua and Lei Fenglian also come back to the issue of education by exploring the quality and accessibility of education for girls in Gansu province. By analysing the cultural and demographic circumstances of rural areas in Gansu, their study highlights the spatial confluence of factors leading to low enrolment and high dropout rates of girls in this province, particularly in minority areas.

The next part of the book presents a collection of papers related to the role of government agencies and NGOs in the development of minority regions. Lahtinen Anja examines the effects of the Chinese Western Re-

put into greater consideration of the social and political development of minorities in their own cultural environments.

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附译文

包容与和谐

——发展少数民族地区，增进相互了解^①

少数民族在中国被称为“民族”，这一解释是基于斯大林提出的关于“民族”的“四大共性”的基础。这四大共性指的是：“共同语言、共同地域、共同经济生活和经济凝聚力，以及共同心理特征。”（Stalin, 1942 年）。因此，基于以上定义，“民族”可以解释为“民族是人们在历史上形成的一个拥有共同语言、共同地域、共同经济生活以及表现于共同文化上的共同心理特征的稳定的共同体”（Mackerras, 2003 年, p. 37）。目前，中国总共拥有 56 个民族，其中人数最多的是汉族，其余的 55 个是少数民族（Gladney, 2004 年）。在 55 个被官方认定的少数民族中，有 44 个通过其“民族自治”地位拥有自己的自治区、自治州和自治县，并享有一定的权利和特权，如发展有限自治和制定特殊规定，使用和发展少数民族语言，尊重和保护少数民族宗教信仰自由，保持和改革少数民族习俗以及安排和管理自治经济发展和公共事业等。而且，其自治区内的少数民族也可以实行区域自治，担负起发展教育、科技、文化和其他各项社会事业的职责。尽管少数民族的概念往往意味着特殊

① 译者：梁远翥，琼州学院外语系讲师。

需要,可他们并不总是在经济上或政治上孤立的。除了享有少数民族特权之外,在少数民族人口问题上,中国政府放宽计划生育的限制以鼓励少数民族地区发展。因此,少数民族地区的人口增长率高于汉族,也高于全国的平均增长率。

少数民族地区的发展

在过去30年里,中国是世界经济发展最快的国家。随着经济的超速增长,中国出现了经济和区域间发展的不平衡。如果不考虑少数民族地区的社会和政治发展,这种经济增长是不可持续的。而且,在发展进程中要实现民族地区的发展是一个十分艰巨的任务。虽然民族地区总体情况比过去是好多了,但只有个别地区实现了较好发展,大部分少数民族地区还是相当贫困的(Mackerras, 2005年)。历史上走过的弯路告诉我们,中国发展面临的一个最重要的挑战就是要实现少数民族的平等权利和增强他们的社会凝聚力并保持两者之间的微妙平衡,特别是在以少数民族为主的地区。

显然,民族地区发展是与国家的社会经济条件改善密切相关的(高,2004年;唐和高,2004年)。张(2000年)认为,要实现中国的均衡发展关键是要发展少数民族地区。如上所述,在过去的50年里中国政府大力支持这些民族地区并使他们得到一定的发展,但民族地区和汉族地区的社会经济还存在差异。Mackerras(2005年)指出,这些差异可能是以下原因造成的:不利的自然条件,较少受教育的机会,贫穷的社会环境,不平衡的产业基础设施,通信网络的欠缺以及城市化进程的缓慢。地区差异继续阻碍这些地区的发展。

少数民族及其地区

由于少数民族还保持着传统的生活方式,并在历史上的竞争失

利，他们往往占有较为不利的地区。但这并不否认民族地区具有改进的机会和其经济具有发展潜力，尽管这样的机会很有限。虽然所有社会都有欠发达的地区，但这些地区往往是少数民族地区。有时是因为国家没有实行一体化的政策，对当地的需要和社会缺乏敏感性。这是一个重要的提示：发展不能脱离政治的现实——无论是在观念，政策，执行，或结果上。例如，我们已注意到，政策是与社会经济差距密切相关的，而这些差距会阻碍建立一个共同的良好的有活力的社区，其结果会是“尖锐的利益冲突”（Gupta et al., 2004 年, p. 30）。通常这类纠纷会最终促使政府将这些边缘社会群体列入其发展政策和计划中，但许多国家的政府没有能力或不愿意充分分析冲突的内在原因。

尽管如此，重要的是要避免把少数民族分类成贫困群体和被麻烦困扰的群体。Li 对各地社区的研究告诉我们要克服对他们刻板的印象——“无辜者，受害者或坏人”，这有利于我们更充分地了解其社会结构，并有助于了解少数民族的宗旨和目标（Li, 1999 年, p. xv）。不过，话虽如此，尽管我们已逐步意识到少数民族所面临的问题，经济和物质上的贫困仍然是一项重大而长期存在的问题。

幻想单单依靠市场和国家是行不通的，许多观察家已开始意识到增强地方自主权，以克服其边缘化之良策（Rigg, 2003 年; Rist, 1997 年）。基于这个原因和其他原因，许多发展中国家已采取权力下放的大政方针，满足当地群众的需要并适应当地的情况，从而促进其发展。中国已实施了一些政策，旨在发展少数民族地区，使他们能公平地获得一些社会服务，如教育。1984 年，制定了《民族区域自治法》。在其他方面，强调指出自治的地方政府有权决定将当地的少数民族语言作为教学语言（Zhou, 2001 年）。2000 年，中国政府实施西部地区发展战略，以解决发达的东部和落后西部的差距，那里居住着中国 80 % 的少数民族。由于发展少数民族地区一直是中国政府的优先战略，在过去的几十年里，在坚持不懈的努力下，已取得了一定的成就。然而，要实现均衡发展，

仍然是一个非常艰巨的挑战。在这一背景下,这一研究著作汇集了目前对中国少数民族发展的研究成果,以及世界上一些少数民族地区发展成功经验的案例研究。

概 要

几十年来的发展告诉我们,如果不考虑弱势群体的社会和政治发展,经济就不能实现可持续增长,包括对建立多民族和谐社会的重要性的更进一步的认同。因此,该著作的目的是围绕与少数民族(尤其是在中国)发展相关的研究进行多学科的研讨。此书阐述了国家中不同地区少数民族面临的问题,旨在消除各民族之间发展的不平衡,从而使各民族能和谐共处。另外,著作也收集了一些成功案例,汇集了其他国家在少数民族发展方面的成功经验,从而为中国少数民族发展提供典范。此书汇集了来自中国各省的学者和来自加拿大、日本、芬兰和英国等世界各国的学者的真知灼见。这些学者有着各种学术背景,对少数民族的发展从不同的文化需求和情境方面进行多学科的论述,并创新地提出解决问题的方法。

我们探讨了四个大的主题,这些主题涉及少数民族及其发展,即少数民族历史及文化、少数民族地区的社会经济发展、少数民族的教育及医疗、少数民族地区发展的政府和非政府组织的作用。第一部分回顾了中国少数民族的历史和文化。王献军综述了海南省少数民族的历史、文化和社会发展。他总体介绍了海南岛上黎、苗和回族的起源、民间文化和传统,回顾了他们的社会发展历程。以大理白族“三月街”为例,张丽剑详细论述了要在“节日经济”中对民族文化进行保护、继承和发展,并就经济发展和民族文化保护提供解决办法。田建强、李华和刘素芳探讨了海南黎族竹竿舞丰富的历史信息、文化内涵、社会功能和社会价值。另外,康森阐述了贵州省肇兴东村民族特色旅游及其发展,她就民族旅游在民族发展中的作用提出自己的看法。夏敏慧、骆冰和陈华研究了民族旅游的

其他方面，主要论述海南少数民族体育旅游的开发。海南具有独特的黎、苗族的特色风情，未来开发潜力巨大。

此书第二部分论述了与少数民族地区社会经济发展相关的问题。安瓦尔·买买提明和曹沪华讨论了中国西部城市化的进程，该地区居住着中国全部少数民族的 80%。利用地理信息系统（GIS）和数理统计方法，他们对城市化的结构和空间发展进行分析，强调指出在过去 20 年里中国西部城市化的不平等。陕立勤和马海英主要分析了西北少数民族创新的供求。二者通过对落后地区和发达地区的比较，揭示了西北民族地区技术创新能力落后的原因。马生全和韩瑞波通过把“模糊集”这一概念运用到中国西部宁夏回族自治区的经济发展分析中，继续思考，建立了一种方法来论证宁夏各县经济发展水平的不均衡。张诚一对海南少数民族地区经济发展进行实证分析，也运用了模糊数学方法和信息论方法构建一个综合评判模型，对海南省七个少数民族市县经济发展水平进行评估。冯静利用空间分析方法探讨甘肃省各地区发展不平衡的各类型，他的分析主要集中在从 1990 到 2005 年间的少数民族地区和非少数民族地区间的城乡收入差距的问题。

第三部分侧重论述为中国几个少数民族提供教育和卫生保健。本章以曹颖轶和孙雅健的研究开篇，指出人口分布对经济和文化的变化的影响，以及对全国各地教育水平的影响，为省份之间存在的差异提供历史依据。谢慧盈、汤善芳和申开敏讨论了海南省少数民族地区中学存在的性别平等问题。Peter Fogglin, Marion Torrance 和 Marc Fogglin 则关注社会服务的另一方面，例如卫生保健。与青海海南三个县作比较，他们分析了为西藏高原地区牧民提供医疗保障的可能性。曹沪华和雷凤莲通过探讨甘肃省女童受教育的权利和质量问题来关注教育。通过分析甘肃农村地区的文化和人口等情况，指出地域是导致该省女童低入学率和辍学率高的因素，特别是在少数民族地区。

第四部分介绍了有关政府机构和非政府组织在少数民族地区发