



大智慧学术文丛
DA ZHI HUI XUE SHU WEN CONG

谢建社 著



冲突与和谐

——转型时期赣西村宗族与乡村政府互动关系

C HONGTU YU HEXIE



华文出版社

广州市社会科学界联合会第九次资助社会科学出版项目

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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

冲突与和谐:转型时期赣西村宗族与乡村政府互动关系/谢建社著.
—北京,华文出版社,2007.9

(“大智慧”学术文丛.第1辑/李正堂,江红辉主编)

ISBN 978-7-5075-2281-5

I. 冲… II. 谢… III. 家族—关系—乡镇—地方政府—
研究—江西省 IV. K820.9 D625.56

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2007)第 165807 号

冲突与和谐

——转型时期赣西村宗族与乡村政府互动关系

——华文出版社出版——

(邮编 100055 北京市宣武区广安门外大街 305 号 8 区 2 号楼)

网络实名:华文出版社

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责任编辑电话:010-58336222

新华书店经销

河北省高碑店市鑫宏源印刷包装有限责任公司印刷

32 开本 8.25 印张 222 千字

2007 年 9 月第 1 版 2007 年 9 月第 1 次印刷

*

(全八册)定价:180.00 元

摘 要

当代中国乡村社会正处于从传统社会向现代社会转型时期，乡村群体性冲突事件正是这个转型时期农村社会冲突的重要表现形式。在乡村群体性冲突事件中，利益冲突增加，且冲突的形式逐渐升级。重新登上地方权力平台的宗族权力，现在基本上无人怀疑它是地方权力运行中的一种不可低估的力量。宗族权力是对地方正式权力运行产生直接影响、且有组织、有族规、有家谱的一种地方非正式权力。宗族精英也应运而生，且作用愈显突出。乡村群体性冲突事件之所以时有发生，究其原因，主要是乡村社区资源配置不合理，利益关系不协调，农民负担过重。与此同时，乡村基层政权整合能力差，造成干群关系紧张，使得村民不满情绪日益强烈。^① 农民的利益与权力的矛盾得不到及时、合理地解决，势必产生地方正式权力与非正式权力的冲突。

由于农村经济改革与政治改革的不同步、经济与社会发展的不协调，使得乡村社会从礼治秩序向法治秩序转变成为一个较长的过渡时期。在这个转型和过渡时期，其最大的特点就是整个社会呈现出一定程度的无序状态，即原有的秩序已无法维持，而新的秩序的产生又需要一个过程。^② 处在这种序间状态的乡村社区，出现了代表国家的乡村社区党支部和半国家半社会乡村自治委员会的正式权力，

① 于建嵘：《我国农村群体性突发事件》，《山东科技大学学报》2002年第4期P10。

② 汤敏轩等：《转型时期利益集团对民主政治的正面影响》，《社会科学》1999年第7期。

以及代表乡村族民的宗族权力和乡村非治理精英权力，它们存在于乡村社区的公共权力场域。因此，地方权力在社会转型中形成冲突网络格局，乡村社会秩序面临新的挑战。本文以赣西村乡村宗族与乡镇政府权力冲突为个案，采用田野调查、半结构性访谈、实地观察等方法，对地方权力冲突进行分析，力图寻找乡村社区记忆与和谐秩序的建构。

2000年8月18日，赣西A和B村宗族对抗乡镇政府的“8·18”群体性冲突事件暴发，虽然国家对它没有明确的定论，但是民间已经将它称之为“秋收暴动”，其性质自然明了。然而，事隔多年，国家和政府仍然不断派出工作组和调查组，专门驻扎此地，一方面，密切注视赣西村宗族的动态，另一方面做调查研究。令他们不解的两大问题是：第一，为什么“8·18”群体性冲突事件找不到发动者和组织者，难道是村民自发地和自觉地社会行动？第二，在此之前，赣西W村有一宗族精英王某（该村是一个几千人口的王姓大村），通过在省城打工所获得的一本期刊，名为《尚方宝剑在手，农民兄弟牢牢抓住它》，这是一本国家和省市关于减轻农民负担为主要内容的专集。王某如获至宝，于是通过自己的老板调了一大批，回村散发，不料被当地政府一一收购。问题是，在“8·18”群体性冲突事件中却没有W村人参与，原因何在？

通过赣西宗族对抗乡镇政府的“8·18”群体性冲突事件进行调查、分析、研究，我们认为利益冲突和地方正式权力行为失范造成的乡村认同权威结构失衡，形成地方权力冲突网络利益的不平衡。利益冲突是乡村社会群体性冲突的根源；而制度错位、利益分配不公、权力行为失范，都使地方权力膨胀并在体制外造就了一批农民利益代言人——非治理精英，这是“8·18”群体性冲突事件最为中坚的力量。宗族精英所做的党和国家政策的宣传，给乡村农民以知识信息，他们要求掌握话语权，要求乡村掌权的干部认真、准确地执行党和国家政策，当时最突出的政策是：不给乡村农民打白条。

此外,乡村干部对农民的权力剥夺,如收缴宣传期刊、农民卖粮款不能兑现等,这都是权力与利益失范而产生的。可见,乡村秩序重建,乡村利益整合,权力资源调配,这都迫切需要对乡村经济资源、政治资源、权力资源、社会资源进行合理配置,其中最为重要的手段就是将具有冲突性的地方权力网络纳入到乡村民主自治体制的运行之中。^① 通过调查分析,我发现在赣西村地方权力中,不仅存在着像“8·18”事件的显性权力冲突,而且还存在着大量的隐性权力冲突、共公权力冲突、边缘权力冲突,以及乡村“两委”的同级权力冲突、治理精英与非治理精英的同类权力冲突。因此,我将“权力的冲突网络”作为论文的理论工具。通过赣西村地方权力网络结构的“麻雀解剖”,透视出地方权力运行的全景。本文在前人研究成果的基础上,进行文献分析与脉络梳理,以期对地方权力运行实态进行全面考察,来说明地方秩序的建构。

由于宗族权力在“8·18”群体性冲突事件中产生了一定的影响,因此有学者提出要坚决打击或者彻底消灭宗族。但是,宗族有它发生、发展与自然消解的历史过程,它不以人们的主观意志为转移。宗族在其历史发展进程中具有一定的正面功能,它一贯以尊重社会道德教育后代,注重人伦建设;宗族文化经过调整、改造,能够为现代文化所吸取;宗族权力对于维护乡村社区居民利益、民主权力、社会秩序将继续发挥着重要作用。由此可见,在社会转型时期,由逐步恢复乡村“权力的文化网络”,到“权力的组织网络”,进而到“权力的冲突网络”,再到“权力的和谐网络”。即形成这样一个发展轨迹:权力的文化网络→权力的组织网络→权力的冲突网络→权力的和谐网络。

值得继续关注的是,随着“民工潮”的产生、发展,一个新的

^① 于建嵘:《利益!权威和秩序——对村民对抗基层政府的群体性事件的分析》,《中国农村观察》2000年第4期。

产业工人阶层在崛起，乡村宗族权力结构正在发生重大变化。一方面，导致乡村宗族的政治基础、经济基础、文化基础、组织基础的丧失，它将自然而然地退出历史舞台。另一方面，一个新的权威在诞生。这种新权威通常是以乡村中的精英姿态出现，他们往往在市场经济和现代文明的大潮到来的时候，最早最准确地把握住时代的脉搏，并取得了一定成就。他们或做生意或办企业，在本地拥有较强的经济实力；有的则是在外出打工的过程中开阔了视野，经过多年历练，掌握一定的经济资源和社会资本，成为外出打工者的领袖。他们正在由地方非正式权力代表向地方正式权力代表迈进，由冲突的权力网络走向和谐的权力网络。

关键词：社会转型；乡村社会；正式权力；非正式权力；冲突与和谐

LOCAL POWER CONFLICT

—*Exchange Action Between Tribe of GanXi Village and
Village Government*

ABSTRACT

The contemporary village society is changing from tradition society to modern society. village group conflict affairs are an important kind of conflict in this period. In village group conflict, benefit conflict increases, form of conflict comes to upgrade. Tribe power which mounts on local power platform again is a kind of important strength. Tribe power is kind of non-formality power having organization, rules and family tree, which directly affects the operation of local official power. Tribe elite comes up and has evident impact. Because of unreasonable resource setup, uncoordinated benefit relationship, too heavy farmer burden, village group conflict takes place constantly. At the same time, the poor strength of village local government results into tense relationship between cadre and masses which makes villager more dissatisfied. Contradiction of farmer's benefit and power can't be resolved reasonably and timely. Conflicition between officeial and inofficeial power brings up.

Because rural political reformation is slower than economical reformation and economy development is not coordinate to society development, there is a long interim in rural society when it tranforms translates from Li' government to law government. In this period, the outstanding feature of the society is out of order, because the old order can't be maintained and the new order needs time to come into being. Rural community in this pe-

riod has party branch of village community on behalf of nation and village self – government committee on behalf of both nation and community which are formality power and tribe power on behalf of villager and village non – government elite. They consist in public power place in village community. So local power forms conflict net in transformation period. harmony of village society faces to new challenge. The article manages to find memory of village community and construction way of cosmos order by field investigation to group conflict of GanXi village.

On eighteenth of august in 2000, “8 · 18” group conflict between A tribe and B tribe in GanXi village took place. It is called “festival rebellion” by the masses, in spite of no definite conclusion by the Government, its character is clear. Nation and Government send out working team and investigation team to here in following years, on one hand to pay attention to tribe changing of GanXi, on the other hand to do some investigation. There are two confusing questions for them: firstly, why can’t find launcher and organizer, isn’t it spontaneous and voluntarily? Secondly, why no villager in W village to join in “8 · 18” affair? Before the conflict, Wang someone who is elite in W village (which is a village having thousands Wang villagers) got a journal named < ShanFang sword in hands, farmer brothers catch it > during working in state city, this is a journal about Government reduce farmer’s burden. Wang someone liked to get a treasure, he allocated and transported a bulk of journals to hand out in W village by his boss, but the journals were drawn in by the Government.

By investigating, analyzing “8 · 18” affair, the article found that benefit conflict and unnormal behaviour of local power resulted in unbalance of village identity authority, formed benefit unbalance of local power conflict. Benefit conflict is source of village group conflict; Institution mal-

position, unreasonable benefit allocation, wrong power behaviour made the local power bulged and produced non – government elite out of the system on behalf of the farmer, who were the most important strength in “8 · 18” affair. Popularizing government policy by the tribe elite gave farmer knowledge. They asked for say – so. They claimed that local cadre should carry out accurately policy of Party and Government, for example: not to put off payment to farmer. Besides, village cadre couldnot deprivating farmer’s power, such as taking over popular journal, the money of saled grains should be paid in time etc. All of them came of abnormality between power and benefit. It was seen that, reconstruction of village order, village benefit reorganization, power source allocation need to reasonably allocate village economy resource, policy resource, power resource and social resource, and the most important means was putting the conflict net of local power into operation of village democracy self – government system. By investigation, the writer found that there existed conflict not only like “8 · 18” which was obvious but also existed much concealed power conflict, public power conflict, edge power conflict, village “Liang wei” power conflict, government elite and non – government elite power conflict. By “sparrow anatomy” to local power conflict in GanXi village, the writer uses “power conflict net” as the article’s theory tool to find out the operation of local power and the construction of local order.

Because tribe power produced some effect in “8 · 18” affair, some scholars put forward to thump and eliminate tribe. But tribe has its history of taking place, development and disappearing, it can’t be changed by person’s volition. Tribe has some good function in the history of development, it always educate the posterity to have respect for social morality and pay attention to morality construction; Tribe culture can be absorbed by modern culture after adjusting and transformation; Tribe power goes on to

take important effect on asserting villager benefit, democracy power and social order. It is seen that the village will go through the process: recovering village “power culture net” —— “power organization net” —— “power conflict net” —— “power harmony net” .

With the development of “MingGong tide”, a new producing worker stratum comes into being, tribe power structure in village have changed greatly. On one hand, with the disappearing of political base, economical base, culture base and organization base of village tribe, it will drop out history. On the other hand, a new power turns up. The new power turns up in the form of village elite, they always get some achievement in the beginning of marketing economy and modern civilization. Some of them have strong economy ability in village by doing business or making corporation.

Some of them open their vision in the period of working - out and have some economy ability and social capital, they become leader of working - out worker. They are making a step from local non - formality power delegate to local formality power delegate.

key words: social transformation; village society; formality power; non - formality power; conflict

目 录

摘 要	(1)
-----------	-----

ABSTRACT	(1)
----------------	-----

上篇 社会转型：赣西村地方 非正式权力空间拓展

第一章：绪论	(3)
--------------	-----

一、研究的问题	(3)
二、研究的目的与意义	(17)
三、研究个案	(20)
四、宗族研究与分析	(22)
五、研究设计	(31)
六、研究资料与方法	(48)
七、研究的重点、难点和创新点	(51)

第二章：转型时期的赣西村宗族	(53)
----------------------	------

一、社会变迁中的赣西村宗族村落	(54)
二、转型时期赣西村宗族权力结构演变	(58)
三、赣西村宗族在社会变迁中的兴衰历程	(68)

中篇 权力互动：赣西村宗族权力 与地方正式权力冲突

第三章：赣西村宗族权力与地方正式权力的冲突 (91)

- 一、赣西村群体事件：地方权力冲突 (91)
- 二、赣西村宗族权力与地方正式权力冲突的理性思考 (98)

第四章：群体性冲突事件

- 赣西村镇农民利益表达与地方政府社会动员的博弈
..... (108)
- 一、群体性冲突事件 (108)
- 二、农民利益表达与地方社会动员 (117)
- 三、农民利益表达的逻辑 (130)

第五章：赣西乡村地方权力冲突网络 (143)

- 一、地方隐性权力冲突 (143)
- 二、地方边缘权力冲突 (147)
- 三、地方公共权力冲突 (148)
- 四、地方同级权力冲突 (149)
- 五、地方同类权力冲突 (156)

第六章：转型时期赣西乡镇地方权力及其互动关系

- (165)
- 一、转型时期赣西村地方正式权力 (166)
- 二、转型时期赣西村非正式权力 (169)
- 三、转型时期地方权力的互动关系 (171)

四、乡土秩序建构：赣西村宗族权力与地方正式权力的互动	(183)
----------------------------------	-------

下篇 权力消解：赣西村宗族权力 逐步退出历史舞台

第七章：赣西村宗族权力消解	(201)
---------------------	-------

一、社会转型：赣西村宗族社会基础丧失	(201)
二、新产业工人阶层崛起：赣西村宗族权力分化	(208)

第八章：结语	(218)
--------------	-------

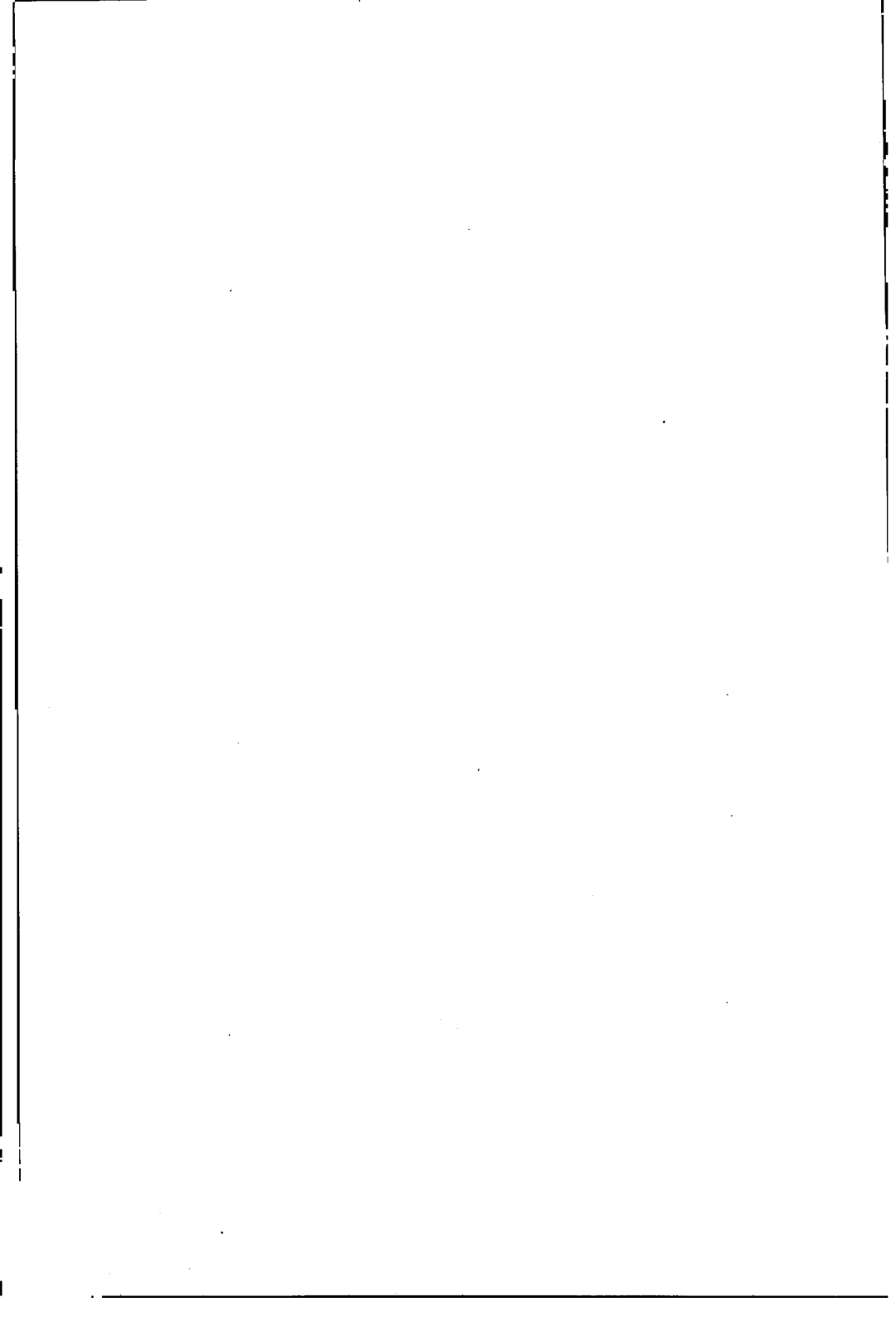
一、主要的研究结论	(218)
二、群体性冲突事件的社会学思考	(222)
三、尚需进一步讨论的问题	(229)

主要参考文献	(232)
--------------	-------

后 记	(243)
-----------	-------

上 篇

社会转型：赣西村地方 非正式权力空间拓展



第一章：绪论

一、研究的问题

当代乡村社会正处于从计划型社会向市场型社会转变，由于农村经济改革与政治改革的不同步、经济与社会发展不协调，使得乡村社会从礼治秩序向法治秩序转变成为一个较长的过渡时期。在这个转型和过渡时期，其最大的特点就是整个社会呈现出一定程度的无序状态，即原有的秩序已经无法维持，而新的秩序的产生又需要一个过程。^① 处在这种序间状态的乡村社区，出现了代表国家的乡村社区党支部和半国家半社会的乡村自治委员会正式权力、以及代表乡村族民的宗族权力和乡村非治理精英权力，它们存在于乡村社区的共同场域。由于利益的不均衡，资源配置的不合理，势必产生这些权力之间的相互冲突。

本文将社会转型为背景，目的是以此考察中国乡村社会在转型时期地方权力网络的内在关系。社会转型是中国社会学研究本土文化的重要资源，也是中国发展的内在逻辑。我国社会学学者对社会转型的理解，主要有三方面的内涵：一是指体制转型，即从计划经济体制向市场经济体制的转变。二是指社会结构变动，持这一

^① 汤敏轩等：《转型时期利益集团对民主政治的正面影响》，《社会科学》1999年第7期。