

# 中国身份制及其 潜功能研究

——一个国企的  
实证分析

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**郭玉锦**，1954年生，哈尔滨人，社会学博士。先后就读于哈尔滨卫生学校大专班（1978），南开大学社会学系（1985），中国人民大学社会学系（1998）。研究兴趣领域多集中在社会学理论、组织及组织管理理论和社会心理学方面。现为哈尔滨工业大学人文学院副教授。

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## 出版说明

在幅员辽阔的中国大地上,黑龙江省虽地处边陲,但经过改革开放的洗礼,还是春色满园,各项事业蓬勃发展。在党中央科教兴国的战略方针指引下,各领域各学科的学术科研活动也空前活跃,硕果累累。

值此之际,我们推出《黑龙江博士文库》丛书,目的是进一步促进更广泛的学术交流,使专家学者们的学术科研成果得以迅速推广,并尽快转化为现实生产力,更好地为社会主义物质文明和精神文明建设服务。

《黑龙江博士文库》丛书,首批编辑出版了黑龙江省8名博士的学术专著,引起了社会学人的好评,为满足广大读者的需求,我们推出了第二批博士的学术专著,内容仍然是涉及经济、政治、哲学、历史、法律、文学等学科领域,我们真诚地欢迎更多的专家学者将你们的学术专著送到我社编辑出版,黑龙江人民出版社愿意成为你们真挚的朋友。

## 内 容 提 要

本文的研究目标设在促进本土组织管理理论发展并应用于管理实践;其主旨在于揭示中国文化中的身份规则及其与中国企业组织运作的深层关系。这其中有三个假设:1.中国身份制的存在;2.中国人有较强的身份意识;3.身份制影响中国企业组织运行。这就是本论文主题主要论述的三个方面。其中的逻辑路径是:首先诠释身份和中国身份制的涵义,并通过揭示身份的源起、身份制形成和中国身份制的结构论证中国身份制的存在;由中国身份制的持续形成意识形态,表现中国人相关身份的价值观念(意识层面)和身份情结(潜意识层面);泛化到社会生活的各个领域,较强烈地表现在企业组织成员中并作为组织的非正式结构,在成员的认知、情感和行为意向层面影响企业组织运行。

在企业组织中,成员的行为主要受两大规则体系的制约。一种是为组织目标达成而制定的规则(规章);另一种是成员在早期社会化过程中长期形成的习惯积习的规范。前者主要是在组织内对成员起作用;后者在企业组织内外都对成员起作用。前者称作组织的正式制度或正式结构;后者称作组织的非正式制度或非正式结构。在组织的非正式结构中,可能会有若干种习惯规范体系,这里提出的中国身份制只是其中的一种,是指中国社会对应一定身份所形成的行为规则(规范)体系。这些规范体系规约人们思维方式和行为方式,使社会及其中组织的社会生活秩序化。人们在长期生活实践中所形成的规范体系化构成社会制度。其中从文明

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社会初始就有强制性规范和非强制性规范,进而有正式制度和非正式制度。强制性规范和正式制度是那些国家的法律和各种规章制度,是人为制定的,是在非强制性规范和非正式制度的基础上形成的;非强制性规范和非正式制度是指,那些几千年沉淀下来一代一代传下去的,以习俗道德为基础的惯性思维倾向和行为倾向,具有较强的张力,辐射人们日常生活的各个领域,影响着人们的行为方式。非强制性规范和非正式制度是一个民族文化的基底部分,尤其在中国,具有深厚的基础。而且其中的社会成员形成的相应于所在制度的价值观念是那样根深蒂固,不易离去。

传统中国是个讲究身份的国度,中国古代社会可以说就是一个身份制社会。直到 19 世纪下半叶及 20 世纪初,中国封闭的社会发生了重大的变化,有识之士意识到中国的身份等级制度制约着中国社会的进步发展,并提出对当时既存的制度和旧的礼教的革新和革命,康梁变法、“五四运动”的“新文化”和辛亥革命的“三民主义”首开先河,开始解冻古老的中国身份制冰山;及至中国共产党的新民主主义革命,以往的身份制度受到强大的震撼。中华人民共和国成立后,在制度上形成了新的(分层)阶层次序,原本社会底层身份的工人农民军人走上社会各个领域并行使相应的权利和义务,身份的解放出现了一个大的跃迁。不难看出这是一场大的社会变迁,但是,历史上的重大社会变迁并不是相当彻底,多半是结构性的。旧的制度解体,而伴随着该制度一起发展持续的观念并没有随着制度的解体而消失。

这样我们可以说,在大的社会变迁中,社会的正式制度变迁与社会的非正式制度变迁有着不同的发展变化速率。只有新的正式制度不断地变革,非正式制度的内容才有可能逐渐淡化乃至消失。中国人长期生活在身份制社会环境中,其中的非正式制度和在其基础上的正式制度都持有浓重的身份制思想。这种社会下的成

员,其意识结构中会对应地建立一整套相关身份的价值观念体系,在他们各自的具体活动的情境中左右其行为的价值取向。即便在现代中国社会中,身份制作为一种潜性的制度(其实有些是公开的),仍然持续地影响着中国人的日常生活,并作为其文化的结构部分一代一代传递着。当现代的中国人,遵照现代制度行事时,总是带有身份意识的行为倾向;或者要做的行为与这种身份意识不符、有冲突时,行为主体会产生心理不适,我们把这种行为倾向和心理不适叫做“身份情结”。比如,不是主子就是仆人的行为倾向;与县长直接对话时普通村民的心态等。

形成这种身份意识和身份情结的身份观念体系是承继、传递下来的传统文化,通过个体成员的早期社会化过程,植入内化在个体成员的意识结构中,经常通过外显行为表现出来,这些相关于身份的行为倾向在众多的成员身上表现了相似甚至一致化,形成了有关身份的行为规范体系,已经制度化在社会生活中;表现在社会日常生活中,“入情入理”,作为社会结构的一个部分稳定地发挥着它维系社会秩序的功能;表现在家长制或身份制组织中,会是顺理成章;而表现在现代组织中,与组织中明文规定的章程和规则相对,就是组织中的非正式制度(或称组织的非正式结构)的表现了。在现代企业组织中,组织成员虽经过严格挑选、严格训练,但成员的早期社会化是在组织外且是在他们成长的早期阶段进行的。他们这种行为倾向不仅自然地表现在组织外的日常生活中,也会自觉和不自觉地表现在组织中正常的组织行为上,影响着企业组织运行。

正文第一章从理论上诠释什么是身份和身份制的涵义、性质和中国身份制的心理基础。第二章揭示中国身份制的源起、形成和中国古代身份制形态。在这一章里还根据文献论证了中国社会身份制的存在和中国身份制的结构化过程;并通过中国人伦、礼制



和中国古代有关身份的法律规定表述说明中国社会身份制的制度化过程。第三章、第四章在上章的基础上概括出中国身份制“定名、定序、定距和定性”的独特结构特征。并且认为身份社会解体始于中国近代社会,近代的震撼是强烈的,但身份制的开始解体并没有消解几千年来持续的身份规则所形成的身份观念。接着文章表述了中国人身份价值取向和中国人身份情结,由这两方面说明中国人身份观念的群体表征。第五章主要论述身份制如何在自生自发组织中“合情合理”地表现;然后,比较了家族制组织、家长制组织与身份制组织的异同;并重点讨论了身份制组织的典型特征。

第六章以哈尔滨公司为例,讨论国有企业的性质、组织的正式结构与非正式结构,在中国企业组织运行中身份制作为非正式结构的必然存在。并且重点阐述了身份制泛化到当今国有企业的心理机制和泛化的三个过程。第七章分析了身份制在企业组织运行中的功能特点。强调指出了其中的负面作用,认为身份制所形成的高身份意识强度使人紧张、容易混淆是非,讲究身份导致失去组织原则,君子小人之分使君子处于不利的境遇等。第八章和第九章通过实证数据分析,集中阐明身份制通过成员的意识活动如何在组织行为层面或者说成员的心理层面参与组织运行的。这其中使用了问卷量表测试了中国企业组织中成员的身份意识强度,数据证明中国企业组织成员身份意识强度较高,已经在相当程度上影响了企业组织运行。第十章讨论了在发展中的中国社会,身份制的张力已经开始明显地弱化。

最后为结语,由三节构成。第一节和第二节讨论中国企业组织成员中已经出现了新的契约意识。中国社会的企业组织正处在社会结构转型过程中,也可以说,正在处于从身份取向走向契约取向的过程中。但是,在组织中由于地位系统和职权的合法存在,那么身份制中的功用理论上和实际上都不能完全绝迹,而且会持

续地作用于组织运作中,只是理想的组织会发挥其组织中的积极功能。并把职能地位系统与身份地位系统在观念上分开。也许 would 像迪尔凯姆所讲,全社会共有的道德规则的持续影响,作为一种潜在的非契约性基础对于不断增加的契约关系是必要的,人们订立这种契约关系是增长了专门化和相互依赖的结果<sup>①</sup>。

但是中国的企业组织与西方的企业在文化根基上有着明显不同,理想的中国企业组织将是有中国特色的契约性组织,它有着独特的身份与契约共存的组织运作形式。

第三节作为文章的结论,认为中国古代社会是个身份制社会;中国人具有较强的身份意识及身份情结;并泛化在企业组织中,表现在组织成员的行为上。在我们企业组织中,身份将会永久地持续地存在,而身份制的正面效应却有所增强,其负面效应会相应地减弱,与此同时,新型的契约关系和契约意识将深入人心,形成一种新的制度化的东西作用在企业组织运作上。在组织中职能角色的功能正常化,需要身份方面的正面功能,形成专业分工、各司其职、人际尊重、人人向上;契约意识方面需要法理上的自由平等理念。进而二者协调发挥各自的功用,并通过强调组织中成员的职业化和职位职能化,优化组织运行。

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<sup>①</sup> 约翰孙:《社会学理论》,国际文化出版公司,1988年,230页。

## **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis is to promote the development of a native theory of organization management and its application to management practice. The main thrust is to reveal the status rules in Chinese culture and their relation to the operation of Chinese enterprises. There are three presuppositions for this research: 1. There exists a status hierarchy in China. 2. The Chinese tend to have a strong status consciousness. 3. The status hierarchy has effects on the operation of Chinese enterprises. These presuppositions also make up the three main aspects to be discussed in this thesis. The logical path of this thesis is as follows: First, it explicates the meanings of status and the Chinese status hierarchy, and proves the existence of a status hierarchy in China through a discussion of the origins of status, the formation of status hierarchy, and the structure of Chinese status hierarchy. Next, it discusses how the continuity of the Chinese status hierarchy has fostered a kind of ideology which is a representation of the values (at the conscious level) and the status complex (at the unconscious level) of the Chinese with regard to status. Finally, it shows how this status hierarchy is generalized to all areas of social life, finding its expression in the behavioral patterns of members of enterprises and becoming the informal structure of enterprises, affecting the operation of the enterprises at the level of cognition, emotion, and behavioral intention of the members.

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In an enterprise, members' behaviors are constrained mainly by two sets of rules. One set is made up of the various rules oriented toward the attainment of organization goals, while the other set consists of the habits acquired by the members through a long process of socialization in the early stages of their lives. The former has its effects inside the organization, while the latter has effects on the members both inside and outside the organization. The former is the formal constitution or structure of the organization, while the latter is its informal constitution or structure. In the informal structure of an organization, there can be several systems of conventional norms, and the Chinese status system proposed here, which refers to a set of behavioral rules or norms specific to particular statuses, is but one such system. This system of norms regulates people's thinking and conduct, giving order to the social life in society and the organizations therein. Social institutions are constructed through a systematization of the norms formed in practice through long historical periods. Civilized societies have had obligatory and non-obligatory norms since their beginnings, and as civilization progressed, these evolved into formal and informal institutions. Obligatory norms and formal institutions include laws of the state and various regulations and rules which are explicitly stipulated and based on non-obligatory norms and informal institutions. Non-obligatory norms and informal institutions are the habitual inclinations in thinking and conduct which involve a relatively high degree of tension, radiate into the various aspects of people's daily life, and affect people's behavioral patterns. The non-obligatory norms and informal institutions of a people are the substratum of its culture, and tend to have a strong basis, especially in China. In addition, the values which members of the Chinese society have formed in connection with the institutions they live in

are deep – rooted and not easy to part with.

Traditional China is a country that placed much emphasis on status. The traditional Chinese society can well be said to be a status society. It was not until the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century that momentous transformations began to take place in the formerly closed society of China and some insightful people came to realize that the development of China was constrained by its status hierarchy and proposed the reforming and restructuring of existing institutions and Confucian rites. The 1898 Reform led by Kang You – wei and Liang Qi – chao, the New Culture Movement of the May – Fourth Period, and the "Three People's Principles" of the 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yat – sen began the long process of the dissolution of the ancient status hierarchy of China, and the New Democratic Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party shook the old status hierarchy to its foundation. After the People's Republic of China was founded, institutionally a new stratification system was formed, with workers, peasants, and soldiers, who had formerly had the lowest statuses in the society, proudly entering various areas of social life with corresponding rights and duties, which resulted in a great leap in status liberation. Obviously, this represented a great social transformation. However, great social transformations in history are often not very thorough, most of them being only structural in nature. The old institutions may be dissolved, but ideas that have developed and persisted along with them are not to disappear together with them.

Thus it can be said that, in a great social transformation, formal and informal social institutions undergo changes at different rates. Only if the new formal institutions keep on changing can we expect the contents of informal institutions gradually to weaken and finally to disappear. The Chi-

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nese had long lived in a social environ of status hierarchy in which both the formal institutions and the informal institutions based on them are characterized by a status consciousness. Correspondingly, members of such a society have developed in the structure of their consciousness a whole set of status - related values. Even in modern Chinese society, status hierarchy continues to affect the daily life of people as a latent (and in some cases overt) institution, and is being passed on from generation to generation as part of its cultural structure. Today, when a Chinese tries to follow the rules of modern institutions in doing things, he is apt to show behavioral inclinations with a status consciousness; or, if what he does conflicts with such status consciousness, the actor would feel psychological strain. We define such behavioral inclinations and psychological strain as the "status complex". Examples of this include the inclination of many Chinese to act either like a lord or else like a servant, and the uneasiness of an ordinary villager when talking with his county head.

The status - oriented system of ideas consisting of status consciousness and status complex is part of the traditional culture that has come down to us. It is embedded and becomes internalized in the structure of consciousness of the individual through his early socialization process, and is often manifested through outward behavior. Such status - related behavioral inclinations, which are similar or even show the same pattern among many members of the society, have formed a system of status - related behavioral norms and have been institutionalized in social life. In everyday social life, the norm of *ruqing ruli* (being reasonable and considerate of others' feelings) has, as part of the social structure, steadily performed its function in maintaining social order. In a paternalistic organization or one organized under the principle of status hierarchy, this

norm is well adapted; but when expressed in a modern organization and in conflict with the clearly stipulated regulations and rules of the organization, it would be a manifestation of its informal institution (or informal structure). In a modern enterprise, although members are strictly selected and trained, their early socialization were completed outside the organization and in the early stages of their personal development. The behavioral inclinations they have acquired in this process will not only be expressed naturally in their daily life outside the organization, but also be expressed consciously or subconsciously in their organizational behavior within the organization, affecting its operation.

This thesis is composed of 9 chapters:

Part I of the thesis is made up of the first four chapters. Chapter 1 explicates the meaning and nature of status and status hierarchy and the psychological basis of Chinese status hierarchy. Chapter 2 describes the origins and formation of Chinese status hierarchy and the form of status hierarchy in traditional China. Using various materials, this chapter also argues for the existence of Chinese status hierarchy, outlines the structuration process of this hierarchy, and, through an examination of the ethical rules, rites, and legal stipulations regarding status in traditional China, explains the process of the institutionalization of Chinese status hierarchy. Based on the second chapter, Chapter 3 delineates the unique structural characteristics of Chinese status hierarchy as dingming, dingxu, dingju and dingxing (fixing the names of, the hierarchical order in, the distances among, and the nature of people), and argues that the dissolving of the status - oriented society of China began with the onset of modernization in China. The shocks of modernization has been strong, but though the status hierarchy has begun to crumble, people's status con-

sciousness, which had been shaped by the status rules that had persisted for thousands of years, are yet to be dissolved. The chapter continues by describing the value - orientation of the Chinese with regard to status and their status complex, thus showing the collective features of the status consciousness of the Chinese. Chapter 4 focuses on how the status hierarchy expresses itself in a "considerate and reasonable" fashion in a self - generating and spontaneous organization, and then compare the differences and similarities among familistic organizations, paternalistic organizations, and organizations based on status hierarchy, with focus on the typical characteristics of the last type of organizations.

Part II of this thesis is made up of five chapters. Taking enterprises in Harbin as an example, Chapter 5 discusses the nature and the formal and informal structures of state - owned enterprises in China, as well as how status hierarchy necessarily exist as an informal structure in the operation of Chinese enterprises. It also stresses that the status hierarchy has been generalized to the psychological mechanisms in state - owned enterprises and explicates the three processes for this generalization. Through an analysis of empirical data, chapters 6 and 7 focus on how the status hierarchy manifests itself in the operation of organizations at the level of organizational behavior and that of members' individual psychology, respectively. The questionnaires here used are designed to measure the strength of status consciousness among members in Chinese enterprises, and the data thus gathered show that members' status consciousness is rather strong and affects the operation of the organizations to quite some extent. Chapter 8 analyzes the functional characteristics of the status hierarchy in the operation of enterprises. Focusing on the negative effects of status hierarchy, it points out that the strong status consciousness resulting from



the status hierarchy causes tension among people and can easily lead to a confusion of right and wrong, and that the emphasis on status often results in a breach of the organizational principles and puts those who try to be upright and adhere to principles at a disadvantage. Chapter 9 discusses the significant weakening of the tension in the status hierarchy in the developing Chinese society.

The third and concluding part is made up of three sections. Sections 1 and 2 point out that a new contractual consciousness has begun to develop among the members of Chinese enterprises. Enterprises in the Chinese society are in a process of social transformation, or, put another way, is making a shift from being status - oriented to being contract - oriented. However, due to the legitimate presence of a status system and the powers associated with various offices, it is not possible, either in theory or in practice, for the functions of the status hierarchy to disappear completely. Rather, it will continue to affect the operation of organizations. However, an ideal organization would be able to make use of the positive functions of status hierarchy, and conceptually to distinguish the system of offices from that of statuses. Perhaps, as Durkheim theorizes, the continuing influence of a common set of moral principles of the entire society is necessary for the ever - increasing contractual relationships as their latent non - contractual basis. \* However, Chinese enterprises differ greatly from their Western counterparts in their cultural roots, and the ideal Chinese enterprise will be a contractual organization with Chinese characteristics, and will operate with a unique organizational form in which both status and contract play their parts.

As the conclusion of the entire thesis, section 3 of the concluding part points out that the traditional Chinese society is one based on a status