



博硕士文丛

(第三辑)

王锡苓 著

互联网与欠发达地区社会发展研究

——互联网在西部农村的两种应用模式的探讨

*Research of Internet and the Social Development
in the Developing Regions*

——Discussion of Two Internet Application Modes in the Western Rural China



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摘 要

由于中国城市、农村二元结构的对立,城市与农村呈现着显著的不均衡发展,特别是西部农村的发展水平与沿海地区存在着巨大的差异。从社会形态上看,大城市、沿海地区、西部农村几乎涵盖了从信息社会、工业社会到农业社会三大不同的发展阶段,这就意味着在严重的不均衡格局中,西部农村发展面临着来自内部与外部的双重困境。

18至20世纪,社会学发展理论、传播学发展研究及其实践的探索,部分地解答了贫困落后地区的发展问题。这些研究认识到,促进欠发达国家和地区社会发展不能照搬西方模式。如何利用传播技术,尤其是互联网促进贫困社会的发展的研究就显得十分重要和必要。为此,本研究有针对性地选择了位于欠发达省份甘肃省河西走廊的古浪县黄羊川镇(乡)和金塔县作为研究对象,探讨互联网之于贫困地区社会发展的作用,以期分析传播技术与政治、经济、文化等因素的复杂关系。甘肃古浪县黄羊川镇和金塔县是农村数字化建设中比较有典型意义的地区,对这两个典型案例的探讨,有助于我们理解互联网技术对贫困农村社会发展的影响和作用。

古浪县地处甘肃省河西走廊(丝绸之路在甘肃的主要路段)东端门户,是国家级贫困地区。黄羊川是古浪县最贫穷的乡之一,生产水平和社会形态属于典型的农业社会。就在这样一个靠天吃饭、世代农耕的前工业社会里,却出现了后工业时代的文化技术——互联网络。这是台湾英业达集团副董事

长温世仁和英业达集团(天津)公司总经理林光信博士在“西部开发,十年可成”理念支持下,于2001年投巨资建成的。投资者认为,美国西部开发用了百年的历史进程才得以成功。中国西部的开发,只要引进互联网技术,用互联网技术将黄羊川式的传统农业社会与国际信息网络对接,就可以跨越工业化社会,直接进入以知识和信息为特征的信息社会(本文将这种理念及其实践称为“黄羊川模式”)。“黄羊川模式”走的是“以校领乡”的路子,通过着重培养黄羊川职业中学学生的数字化能力,使之成为其软件工业园区的技术力量。英业达的作为并不仅是慈善事业,而是“利他”策略的实施:开发黄羊川成为英业达公司的软件园区,园区使用英业达开发的软件,为该软件的推广运用创造了空间。在这个过程中,每个人都是赢家,即所谓的W·W·W模式:孩子们获得了数字化技术运用的能力和未来的就业机会,政府推动了当地的经济增长,英业达因此拓展出了巨大的新市场。除了投资建立“网络城乡”外,英业达公司还在贫瘠的黄羊川土地上投巨资兴建了五星级酒店式的“黄羊川国际会议交流中心”,以举办和接待海内外各种学术会议。黄羊川国际交流中心的建立旨在向黄羊川人展示一种全新的生活方式,以刺激和唤醒他们的奋斗意识。同时,新建的国际会议中心为解决当地农村剩余劳动力发挥了重要作用。

沿着这条古丝绸之路继续西行五百多公里,在绵延千里的甘肃省河西走廊的西北端,就是被誉为“塞上明珠”的酒泉市金塔县。自1999年以来,在政府支持与一群热爱互联网事业的精英群体的努力下,金塔县以“网络连乡村、信息进万家”为目标,实施了农村信息化建设工程。这个工程的建立得益于时任金塔县挂职副县长、原甘肃省政策信息处干部沈

俊涛个人的执著努力,并得到了当地政府的积极协助,成立了金塔县网络信息服务中心。该网络服务中心借助兰州市电信局的服务器,通过设置“虚拟”服务器,实施低成本运营。在欠发达地区发展网络技术,终端节入是关键问题。沈俊涛与金塔网络信息服务中心巧妙、可行地利用了当地学校的资源,使每个村级小学成为互联网伸向家庭的末梢:网络服务中心为每所小学(无偿)配置速印机和纸张,学校负责接收网络服务中心每月出版两期的《经济信息导报》。《经济信息导报》是网络服务中心通过互联网信息搜索为当地农民量身定做,以提供农业信息与农业技术为主的刊物。学校接收、下载,并将《经济信息导报》打印后,交给学校的每个小学生,由小学生带给他们的父母和邻居。农民免费阅读《经济信息导报》,并通过以下两种方式回馈他们的意见和需求:其一,中心每隔一个季度下发一次调查问卷,询问农民对网络信息传播内容的满意程度与需求;其二,有特殊信息需求的农民,可将其具体需求或意见写在纸张上,通过家里或邻居的小学生带回学校,学校网络管理人员上网查询并解决其需求,不能解答的问题,可通过电子邮件回馈到中心,由中心统一解答。互联网与纸质媒体的巧妙结合,解决了农村互联网难以入户的“最后一公里”问题。

可以看出,第一,这两个县乡以不同方式依靠互联网促进当地社会发展的社会实践,积累了不同的经验,不同的模式对社会发展的作用不尽相同,为研究互联网技术与欠发达地区发展提供了天然的实验场地。第二,初步的调查显示,“黄羊川模式”中的“以校领乡”,除了对学生和部分村民提供一定的网络培训外,对当地发展尤其是经济发展并无明显效果。“黄羊川国际会议中心”竣工已半年有余,至今还没有承接接待活

动,也没有产生经济收益。经过计算机和互联网技术培训后的村民,使用计算机和互联网者寥寥。有人甚至用“网络乌托邦”来比喻黄羊川的“网络城乡”计划。这种模式究竟为当地的社会发展带来了什么样的影响?互联网技术如果没有产生人们所期望的作用,原因何在?另外,“金塔模式”对当地农村经济发展的作用是显著的,据调查,金塔县在2003年由于网络介入直接带来的经济效益达到23亿人民币。我们认为,经济发展终将改变人们的文化观念,促进社会的进步。那么,“金塔模式”为什么对当地经济发展甚至社会发展产生了一定影响,是如何产生的?

通过实地调查和入户问卷访问,本研究发现,由于经济发展水平十分落后、农业市场远未发育成熟、农民观念保守陈旧、农民受教育程度低下等因素的作用,尤其是当地政府对新传播技术的推广和使用,缺乏清晰的认识和有效的推动举措,“黄羊川模式”与其所设计的蓝图相比仍存在较大差距。另外,由于“金塔模式”提出伊始,就得到了地方政府的积极响应,并被纳入政府的制度化管理之中,致使这一创新应用模式的推广和普及有了可靠的制度保障和运行基础。《经济信息导报》又以切合当地农村生产生活的实际需求,向农民传播农业实用技术、种植养殖管理技术,根据农时发布、预测农产品价格与市场变化趋势,为农民提供了适当、切合的农业发展信息。而“最后一公里”不仅解决了网络信息入户的问题,也同时解决了为谁传播的问题。

本研究指出,在应用互联网技术推动欠发达地区农村社会发展的过程中,应明确以下问题。首先,在以网络技术促进欠发达地区农村社会发展的过程中,强有力的政府主导作用不可或缺。西部农村信息化发展既需要国家的资金扶持和政

策倾斜,也需要地方政府的全面介入,创新意识是政府权力推动农村信息化发展的首要条件。其次,欠发达地区农村传播体系主要由电视传播和人际传播构成。但在目前,传统的大众传播媒体在西部农村的状况不尽如人意:表现在电视媒体在传播农村农业信息方面与农民的信息需求之间有一定差距、报纸媒体的传播范围狭小,对农村信息化全面、立体、多途径发展产生了一定的制约作用,也不利于包括互联网在内的新技术、观念的扩散和普及。再次,欠发达农村经济落后、农民受教育程度低下是影响其社会发展的主要制约因素。改善农民受教育环境,提高农民学习、吸收新知识的能力和技巧,促使他们分享人类社会进步的最新成果,是农村社会发展中不可忽视的问题。第四,互联网技术在推动农村社会发展的过程中,并非唯一的决定因素。网络技术与一定的社会、政治、经济、文化等有着复杂的互动关系,只有与这一特定社会环境的诸多复杂因素相协调,网络技术才能与之形成合力,有效地推动当地社会发展。因此,那种认为把网络技术引进传统农村社会,便能引起该社会超越工业社会、进入信息社会的发展观念,不是陷入“数字乌托邦”的幻想,就是落入“技术决定论”的巢穴。最后,为谁传播的问题是农村信息化进程中必须正视的,结合了农民实际生产、生活需求的网络传播,才能成为促进其经济发展的助力。

关键词:互联网技术 西部农村“黄羊川模式”社会发展“金塔模式”

Abstract

Due to the conflicts existing in the dualistic structure of the city and the countryside in China, remarkably unbalanced development has been going on between the urban and rural areas, especially between the western part of the country and the coastal regions. As far as social patterns are concerned, the metropolitan cities, coastal regions and the western part almost cover the three different stages of development, i. e. the information society, industrial society and agricultural society, which indicates that in such a structural disparity, the western rural areas are faced with both internal and external dilemmas.

Theories on and practice in the development of sociology in the 18th and 19th centuries and studies on mass communications in the 20th century can, in part, account for the problems for development in those impoverished and backward places, from which we have come to the realization that the social development in underdeveloped countries and regions cannot follow the western patterns. Therefore, it is of prime importance and necessity to utilize the technology of communications, especially the Internet, to promote studies on the poverty-stricken communities. For this purpose, the author of this dissertation has selected the Huangyangchuan Township in Gulang County and Jinta County, both in the Hexi Corridor of Gansu, as subjects of

study and has discussed the role that the Internet can play in the advancement of the social life, so as to analyze the complicated relations between the technology of communications and the political, economic and cultural factors thereof.

Gulang County, located in the east end of Hexi Corridor which used to be a major part of the Silk Road in Gansu, is one of the nationally designated poor counties in China and Huangyangchuan Township, being one of the poorest places in this county, is still in the typical agricultural stage as shown by its production level and social status quo. But the Internet has already arrived in this pre-industrial community and it has been established with investment in 2001 by Wen Shiren, vice chairman of the board of Inventec Group, Taiwan and Dr. Lin Guangxin, general manager of Inventec's Tianjin branch, with the idea of "developing the western part of China in ten years' time" and, as the investors said, it took one hundred years to develop the west of the United States. In the process of developing western China, only by introducing the Internet technology and by connecting through it the traditional agricultural society of Huangyangchuan with the global information network, can the place jump over the industrial society and enter directly into the information age. This can be designated as the Huangyangchuan mode, which is based on using the digital capacity of the vocational schools in that place as the technological force of its software industrial park. What has done by Inventec is not only a charity act but also an altruistic strategic measure: to develop Huangyangchuan into a software park for Inventec

and to use the software of Inventec within the park, so as to create a new space for software services. In this process every part would be a winner, as indicted by the W·W·W mode. That is, the children will have the opportunity for digital application and career development, the government will propel the local economy and Inventec will, therefore, develop a huge new market there. Besides investing in an urban-rural network, Inventec has built in Huangyangchuan a five-star International Conference and Exchange Center, for the purpose of holding various domestic and international symposiums. The establishment of such a center has shown a wholly new life style to the local people, inspired and awoken their striving spirit and, at the same time, make use of the extra local labor.

Going further westwards along the ancient Silk Road for about 500 kilometers to the northern end of the Hexi Corridor, we come to Jinta County in Jiuquan Prefecture, which has been dubbed as "a bright pearl in northwestern China". Since 1999, with support from the government and efforts by a group of Internet lovers, Jinta County has implemented a project of rural informatization, with the goal of "connecting the network to every village and sending information to each household". The accomplishment of the work has been due to the strenuous efforts of Sheng Juntao, then vice head of Jinta County who used to be the director of the Information Bureau of Gansu provincial government, with active cooperation from the local government, the Jinta Network Information Service Center was established, which is using the server of Lanzhou Telecommunications Bu-

reau at a rather low cost. Terminal setup has been a key problem in the development of network technology in an underdeveloped area. The center has made good use of the resources in local schools, so that the school in each village has become a tip end of the network extending to different households. It has also equipped (free of charge) each school with a fast printer and paper supply and the school will receive two issues of Information Guide in network edition every month, so as to provide the farmers with the information they need. The school receives, downloads and prints the paper and then asks the pupils to take it home to their parents or neighbors. The farmers read the paper and feedback their suggestions and requirements in the two ways: first, the center distributes questionnaires to them once every two seasons, to investigate about whether they are satisfied with the transmission of network information; second, those with needs for special information can write their requirements on a piece of paper and give it to the school through the pupils. The school net-workers will search for answers on the net and if they are not able to do so, they will e-mail them to the center for answers. The marvelous combination of the Internet and paper media has solved the problem that has hindered the transmission of information to every household.

Through on-site investigation and household questionnaire, this study has found that the dominant role played by the government is of vital necessity for boosting, with network technology, the social development of underdeveloped areas. The informatization in western rural regions of China needs financial

support and favorable policy from the state and also the participation of local government. The innovative spirit of local government provides the primary condition for quickening rural informatization and, at the same time, the major means of communications in the vast underdeveloped areas should be composed of television and human transmission. But, at present, the status quo of conventional media of mass communications in western rural regions is far from satisfactory in that there is still a gap between the capacity of television media and the needs of farmers for information and that the scope of communication provided by newspaper media is much too narrow, which together have restricted the comprehensive, multi-dimensional and multi-approach development of information in rural areas. Neither can they actively contribute to the dissemination of new technology and new ideas, including the use of the Internet. What's more, the low education level in those places adversely affects the social development and, therefore, it has become more urgent to improve the farmers' educational environment, enhance their ability in learning and digesting new knowledge and skills and enlarge their share of the newest achievements of the social progress of mankind. We should also be aware of the fact that the Internet technology is not the sole decisive factor in promoting rural social advancement. Rather, it forms a complicated interactive relationship with the social, political, economic and cultural factors of a certain area and only through a good coordination between the two can network technology presents a driving force for local development. Therefore, the idea that

presupposes the introduction of network technology to the traditional agricultural community will help a place transcend the industrial period and enter the information age is either illusorily utopian or technologically deterministic. Finally, the question of for whom is information to be transmitted is to be dealt with properly and it is quite obvious that only the network information needed by farmers in their production and life can be applied to push forward the economic development.

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