



社科新视点

单位中国

—— 社会调控体系重构中的个人、组织与国家

刘建军 著



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Abstract

Danwei (workplace) is the basic unit of city in contemporary China. Everyone lives in danwei as Chinese lived in clan in the old days. Danwei constitutes a special type of life and provides space for urban inhabitants. There is no sphere for people's survival and development else than danwei. Everyone is a factor of his danwei(workplace) rather than a citizen. This can be regarded as the truth of urban civilization in contemporary China. So the consciousness of state, class and family is either the supplement to danwei consciousness or its substitution. In a word, Danwei becomes the origin for Chinese people's life.

Danwei has three aspects and features. First,

danwei is the basic unit of social regulation system in China according to the relationship between danwei and state. It carries out the policy ultimately as well as supports the whole political system and distributes resources eventually. Second, danwei can be regarded as an institutionalized organization that strives to preserve its benefits and its sovereignty. So danwei obtains a relative autonomy position in the social regulation system. Finally, danwei plays a special role that can help Chinese people to settle down and get on with one's pursuit relied on cultural tradition, because the Chinese obtain the legitimacy of action by depending on the status endowed by danwei. So we can draw a conclusion that danwei is a joint between state and individual, but at the same time danwei is an organization to realize its own interests and protect its own Sovereignty by running some mechanisms. So there is a hidden tension between state and danwei. This can be regarded as the unintended consequences of the modernization in contemporary Chinese cities.

The contemporary Chinese cities go through a rebuilt and recombined process after the foundation of People's Republic of China. Danwei comes into an institutionalized organization to cope with the mess left,

and to provide a way for individuals to return to public life. Danwei is the only means for people to make socialization when the social integration and political order is successfully established. Through the reform to capitalist industry and commerce and the establishment of socialist public ownership, danwei, as a sole replacement to the banned clan or extended family, is conceived to be agent of an all-powerful Party-State. Danwei plays both a political (statist) role and an economic (social) role. Therefore we can summarize contemporary China as "Danwei China" according to its features.

Danwei is founded as a strong institutional organization in the modernization of "the post-revolution society". Danwei system, consisting of danwei organizations, helps state realize modernization with the shortage of the gross social resources. China establishes its modernized political and economic system by extracting resources coercively and putting them in the major projects relying on danwei system which was highly controlled by state.

Danwei, the extension or part of state power, has the responsibility for collecting resources and providing public products. By danwei system, state makes

resources redistribution and regulates society smoothly. Just depending on danwei system, Chinese government can realize the modernization strategy successfully. It is proved that the danwei system was most effective within the context of the shortage of gross social resources in 1950s. But the limit of resources on which danwei system depends is likely to be broken along with the expansion of gross social resources after the socialist market-oriented economy works. So it is time to reform danwei system. How to transfer its former functions to society and how to recover the capacity of danwei for expanding social resources become the key to danwei system reform, because the affluence of social resources satisfies the demand of new social regulation system gradually and supports the operation of that. Though we cannot think highly of this trend, it is inevitable to reform the danwei system. So we can come to the conclusion that the change of danwei organization and danwei system reflects the affluence and shortage of social resources in ultimate sense.

The final form and establishment of danwei system is the institutionalized result of regulating super-large Chinese society. But contradictions hidden in danwei system causes the ponderous burden and ten-

sion for state and danwei in the following evolution of danwei system. The friendly relations among state, danwei and individuals are broken by the fragmentation and monopolization of resources, and many new problems hidden in danwei system arise because of maladjustment of the relation among state, danwei and individuals. In brief, danwei regarded as an organization to expand social resources is transformed into an organization to exhaust social resources as a result of having no timely reformation of danwei system along with the expansion of social resources. Meanwhile the dynamics mechanism to promote the development of productivity in danwei system tends to decline.

Chinese government has carried out the reform to make the innovation of danwei organization and the vitality of danwei system since 1978. So as the aim of reform is to renovate the inner logic of danwei system in order to provide a new-type system and a solid resources basis for the development of socialism market-oriented economy rather than disavow that completely. The rationality of danwei system, which is propitious to regulating the super-large society, cannot be spurned easily but gradually intensified instead. Many

new problems that come forth now exactly result from the loss of the reasonable factors and expansion of unreasonable ones in danwei system.

Therefore, the success of modernization in China lies in reconstructing social regulation system successfully, which leads more organizations to return public life in a legal structure, and by which to promote the affluence of gross social resources. In order to achieve this goal, China must carry out reforms such as innovating danwei organizations, cultivating the sturdy social system outside danwei, and establishing new-type plural-authority structure that can contain all social factors.

前 言

在当代中国，每一个城市人均生活在单位之中，就像传统的中国人生活在家族中一样，它构成了一种特殊的生活样式和生活空间。因此，国家意识、阶级意识、家庭意识要么是对单位文化的弥补，要么就是被单位意识所取代。单位构成了中国人生活的原点。

正是因为这一原因，单位才成为中国人日常话语系统中出现频率最高的一个词汇。日常话语并没有掩盖其学理上的内涵，反而不断折射出“单位”一词的特有魅力。

但是，当我们试图对“单位”这一词汇进行一种学理意义的探讨时，发现这并不是一个简单的任务。首先面对的一个困惑就是如何界定单位这一概念，然后又是运用什么样的方法进行研究，最后则是对单位的未来命运作出一种什么样的前瞻性预测。

单位作为一种特殊的组织形式和社会调控形式，是中国社会在制度和结构两个层面上超越传统社会的重要体现。单位具

有政治性、多重性、功能性、受令性、体系性、全能性、依赖性等特点。从单位与国家的关系来看，单位作为国家调控体系的基本单元，既是国家政策的最终落实者，又是整个政治体系的支撑者和资源的最终分配者。从单位与个人的关系来看，它充当了个人安身立命的公共空间这一特殊角色，任何一个中国人必须依靠单位赋予的身份才能获得行动的合法性基础。但是，在单位联结国家与个人的同时，由于单位与国家之间存在着一种隐蔽性的紧张关系，导致了单位又是一种维护自身利益、保障其主权范围的实体。在中华人民共和国成立之后，城市也经历了一个被改造和重组的过程。单位就是在“革命后社会”的整合中，为了摒弃旧中国零乱、分散的制度遗产，为个人回归公共生活建构起来的一种制度化形式。经过对资本主义工商业的改造和公有制的确立，单位作为城市中的基本单元，逐渐获得了其完整的表现形式。作为传统城市中封闭家族和封建性社会组织的世俗化的替代品，单位被认为是强而有力的党和国家的代理者，扮演着政治（或国家）和经济（或社会）双重角色。正如费孝通先生用“乡土中国”来概括传统中国的面貌与特色一样，我们用“单位中国”来概括当代中国的面貌与特色。

由单位组织所构成的单位体制，迎合了中国在社会资源总量不足这一状态下实现现代化的战略需要。中国正是依靠这种国家高度统合的制度形式，通过对资源的强性提取和重点投放，确立了现代化的政治体系和经济体系。对于国家而言，单位是当代中国政治体系的最坚实的支撑者和巩固者；对于个人而言，单位又是个人社会化及其价值实现的唯一通道，因此，单位也就成为一种不可替代的组织形式。

在社会资源总量处于明显贫弱的境况下，必须通过权威对

资源的强提取和再分配来满足现代化的要求,单位体制的形成自然是这一战略设计的一个重要产物。因为单位作为国家政权的延伸或者本身就是国家政权的一部分,直接承担着汇聚资源和支撑整个政治体系的功能,国家权力就是通过单位作为中介实现对资源的再分配,达到对社会有效调控的目标的。换言之,国家权力调控社会的有效性也正是通过单位得以实现的,在当时社会资源总量所能允许的范围和程度内,单位化的调控模式可以说是最为有效的。当中国推行社会主义市场经济之后,随着社会资源总量的增升,单位所能依赖的“资源极限”便有被突破的可能,于是单位调控模式的改革时代也就到来了,原先由单位所承担的职能就可相应地转移到单位之外的社会来解决,单位向单一化功能组织转化的迹录开始出现。因为社会资源总量的富足已经满足了新的社会调控形式的要求,并能支撑社会化的调控模式的正常运作。所以,单位本身乃至单位体制的变迁,在终极意义上反映了社会资源总量的贫富。

单位体制的成型与确立,是中国对这一超大型社会进行有效调控的制度化成果。但在单位与单位体制后期的演化过程中,单位体制中隐伏的内在矛盾,使国家与单位承载着沉重的负担和压力,国家—单位—个人之间良性关系被单位体制中的资源分割机制所打破,单位体制中潜伏已久的不合理因素也因国家、单位、个人三者关系的失调而凸显。总之,由于没有在社会资源总量扩充的基础上实现突破性变革,因此使单位从一种扩充社会资源的组织蜕变为一种消耗资源的组织,与之相适应,单位体制所容纳的促发生产力发展的动力机制趋于衰退。

正是在这样一种背景下,中国推行的市场化改革,就成为单位组织创新与开发单位体制之生命力的重大举措。但是,市场化

改革的最终目的并不是否定单位体制，而在于通过其内在逻辑的更新，为中国社会主义市场经济的发展提供新型的制度保障和坚实的资源基础。单位体制作为一种适合于超大型社会调控的制度形式，其内在的合理性不会因市场力量的扩展而被摒弃，反而被逐步强化。中国目前城市变革过程中许多问题的出现，恰恰是根源于单位体制中合理性成分的丧失和不合理成分的扩展。

因此，中国现代化的成败取决于在市场化的过程中，能否实现社会调控体系的再造，即使单位体制局部性松懈之后的单位组织在法治结构中重新回归公共生活，并以此促发社会资源总量的富足。我们认为，这一再造要想取得成功，依赖于三重因素：一是单位组织的创新；二是单位外社会体系的丰满；三是确立将所有要素包容其中的多元化的新型权威结构。因为只有如此，才能达到社会有效调控和促发社会资源总量增升这一双重目的。

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