

Bian jiang miao zu zi fa yi min wen ti zhi li yan jiu

边疆苗族自发移民 问题治理研究 ——以云南K县为个案

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摘要

苗族群众的自发迁移现象由来已久。在各民族历史发展的进程中，苗族是迁徙最为频繁的民族之一，其足迹几乎遍及大半个中国，甚至已经跨出国门，成为一个世界性的民族。历史发展到今天，苗族自发迁移的步伐并未停止。自国家在农村地区实行家庭联产承包责任制后，在 K 县仍旧有来自四面八方的苗族群众纷纷迁入，且已渐成规模，形成了多个苗族自发移民聚居村落。这些苗族群众的自发迁移现象与普通的人口迁移活动有显著的不同，苗族是山地民族，其迁移不仅有着特定的地域特点，也具有同族相聚的族群特性。不仅如此，苗族自发移民之所以迁入 K 县的荒山与森林之中，除了受到个体经济理性、公地管理悲剧等因素的影响外，更是其传统游耕式刀耕火种生产方式的一种延续。

苗族自发迁入 K 县后，获得了一定的生存资料，改善了原有的生活。但是，他们相对于 K 县本地原住民而言，不过是外来户，身份差异使他们很难为 K 县社会所接纳。这不仅表现在他们贫困的经济生活上，其在民主权利行使、公共服务分享等方面都无法获得基本的保障，处于社会的边缘地位。深究起来，苗族自发移民会之所以陷入社会边缘，这与其自身文化调适的滞后性有关，但更与社会排斥的作用密不可分——现行户籍制度以及与此相适应的公共资源配置方式，乃至人们形成的价值观念都促使苗族自发移民无法融入主流社会。可令人惊奇的是，这种边缘化的处境并没有阻止苗族群众自发迁移的步伐，直至今天，他们很多仍还在延续这种漂泊的生存形态。

对于 K 县来说，苗族群众的自发迁入虽然增补了其区域发展所需的部分劳动力，但他们的到来也引发了很多环境治理与社会管理的问题，成为地方社会难以下咽的“苦果”。因为苗族自发移民的不断迁入，一些森林资源、山地植被等遭遇严重的破坏甚至衰竭，由此导致 K 县的生态环境问题日趋突出；加之由苗族自发移民引发的人口膨胀问题、治安问题、利益冲突事情、社会安全隐患等社会问题不断加剧，对 K 县社会管理形成了极大的冲击。可是，这样的结果也并非苗族自发移民主观所愿，乃是其生存方式高度依赖森林与土地，而生态的自我修复能力无法满足不断增长的人口，生态破坏就成为必然；且其对社会管理的冲击也主要是苗族自发移民与原住民生存空间竞争失序所导致的，并非苗族自发移民无端生事的结果。

随着苗族自发移民规模的扩大，其边缘化的地位以及引发的突出问题都受到越来越多的关注。很多组织和个体都参与到问题的治理实践之中，并发挥了自己的作用。K 县政府不仅时刻关注苗族自发移民问题的动向与走势，在制度弹性空间范围内为其提供了很多急需的公共服务，也正着力采取新的措施，希望从更深层次满足苗族自发移民的利益诉求；非政府组织不仅对苗族自发移民的生存状态密切关注，也在其适龄儿童教育、基本生活设施改进等方面发挥了较大的作用；苗族精英也参与其中，不但适时掌握其动态发展形势，也通过他们在不同领域的优势，在其中发挥着自己的作用，不仅为苗族自发移民解决了很多现实的难题，也为其在政府、原住民、非政府组织等多元主体间搭建了一个沟通平台，使苗族自发移民的诉求获得了一定程度的回应与满足；苗族自发移民自组织基于基本秩序的需要而建立，在村寨社会中发挥了秩序供给、基本公共设施建设等作用。可以说，正是因为多元主体的积极行动才使得 K 县苗族自发移民问题并没有引起重大的社会后果，其贡献是十分巨大的。

遗憾的是，多元主体参与治理的实践并没有解决很多根本的问题——主要是苗族自发移民的生存与发展问题，其形成的治理网络也呈现出“碎片化”的形态，无法形成合力。可以说，这样的治理从结构与结果来看都没有达成治理的目标。之所以会如此，最根本的原因在于治理的实践没有获得制度的合法性支持。而制度的形成又有着深刻的历史根源与价值基础，这也由此引发了我们对苗族自发移民问题治理的改善有了更进一步的思考。

K县苗族自发移民问题治理涉及到一个十分根本的价值问题，即如何看待苗族自发迁移现象。从国家治理的视角来看，苗族自发迁移是其在历史的长期发展中逐步形成的游耕文明的延续，而这与国家的现代化进程又是相矛盾的。最根本的表现其在自发迁移需要宽松的资源环境与松散的管理，而国家的现代化则会促使资源更加集中、产权更加清晰、管理更为规范。因此，治理的价值基础事实上成了如何在国家治理的框架下促进其包容性增长的问题，即如何在国家现代化的进程中推进苗族自发移民的生存保障与发展需求。这不仅涉及到国家的一体化与包容性的关系问题，也与国家治理包容性增长的价值取向密切相关。

为了从更大程度上消弭国家的现代化与苗族自发移民的利益保障之间的矛盾与鸿沟，我们不仅需要在基本的价值层面取得共识，尤其是苗族自发移民的公民权保障问题，也需要在制度建设上有所作为，包括户籍制度以及与之相关联的公共服务供给方式、公共财政资源配置制度、政府绩效评估制度等方面。同时，在治理机制上，我们也应该促进多元主体的合作共治，使得治理获得更加广泛的社会支撑与力量聚合。

可以想见，苗族自发移民问题治理的改善并非一蹴而就，问题的最终解决必然需要一个相对漫长的时间周期，我们需要有足够的耐心和持续的行动。同时，我们发现，在现代化浪潮

的冲击下，很多少数民族都会表现出一定的不适，一些与此相伴生的民族性社会问题也会随之而生。其实，苗族自发移民问题就是在这样一个现代化过程中凸显出来的一个典型的民族性社会问题，对其治理的分析和讨论不仅可以让我们更加理性地认识部分社会问题的民族性，也能为我们深入研究民族性社会问题的治理打开一扇窗户，希望远见的政治家与思想家们能够通过这扇窗户看得更远。

关键词：苗族自发移民 治理 边缘化 包容性

Abstract

The Hmong spontaneous migration phenomenon has had a long history. The Hmong migration was one of the most frequent in the process of historical development of various ethnic groups. Their footprint throughout nearly half of China, has even taken the country, which enable them to become a global nation. Hmong spontaneous pace of migration has not stopped until today. The Hmong which from all sides have moved to K county since the national household contract responsibility system in rural areas. There has formed a number of villages inhabited by the Hmong spontaneous migrants. Hmong is a typical mountain ethnic groups, their spontaneous migration activities not only with specific geographical features, also has the characteristics of living together. Hmong spontaneously moved to the barren hills and forests of the K county by the factors of individual economic rationality, the tragedy of the commons. At the same time, it was also a continuation of the Hmong traditional travel farming slash and burn mode of production.

The Hmong spontaneous migration in K county has a certain degree of survival data to improve the life. However, relative to the K county residents, they are the foreign population, because identity differences make it difficult for them to be accepted by K county socially. They are living in poverty, in addition, Their democratic rights and public services can not be protected, They are in the margins of society. This situation occurs because the

Hmong cultural adaptation lag, but more inextricably linked with the role of social exclusion – the current household registration system, as well as public resources allocation compatible with this, even people's values ?? have all contributed to the Hmong spontaneous migrants be accepted by mainstream society. Surprisingly, this marginalization of the situation did not stop the pace of the Hmong spontaneous migration, until today, many of them still continues as the survival of this Wandering way of life

For K county, the Hmong spontaneous migrants added to the part of the labour necessary for its development, but their arrival have also caused many Issues of environmental management and social management, this became a " bitter pill" that Hard to swallow for he local government. Along with the Hmong spontaneous migrants continue to move into, Some of the forest resources and mountain vegetation suffered severe damage and even failure, This led to the K county ecological environment problems have become more prominent. Coupled with population explosion caused by spontaneous Hmong immigrants, the security problems, conflict of interest matter, social security risks and social problems are growing, Which greatly impact the K county social management. However, this is not the Hmong spontaneous immigrants willing, But their survival is highly dependent on forest and land,, but the ecological self – repair capacity can not meet the growing population, This will inevitably lead to ecological damage; On the other hand, the impact of social management is the disorder Competing for space caused by Hmong spontaneous migrants and aborigines living space, not blame to the Hmong spontaneous migrants unprovoked trouble.

Hmong spontaneous immigrants have been expanding, their

marginalized status and outstanding problems caused by more and more attention. Many organizations and individuals are participating in the governance management of the problem, and play their role. K county Government is very concerned about the Hmong spontaneous migration trends and movements,. provide much needed public services within the scope of institutional flexibility , also strive to adopt new measures in the hope that spontaneous interest demands of migration from deeper to meet the Hmong; NGO not only pay close attention to the survival status of the Hmong spontaneous migrants in its school – age children's education, improvement of basic living facilities has played a larger role; Hmong elites involved, not only timely grasp the dynamic development of the situation, but also by their advantages in different areas in which to play their own role, solve many realistic problems, Also set up a communication platform between government, Aboriginal peoples, NGO, to meet the demands of the Hmong spontaneous migrants to a some extent. The Hmong spontaneous migrants self – organization based on the needs of the basic order of the establishment of village society has played a role of the orderly supply of basic public facilities. It can be said that precisely because of the positive action of the plural subjects that makes the the K county Hmong spontaneous migration has not caused major social consequences, their contribution is enormous

Unfortunately, the practice of multiple subjects to take part in the government does not solve the fundamental problem , this is survival and development of Hmong spontaneous migration, and now the current governance also showing a " fragmentation" of the form, Unable to form a joint force. It can be said that this governance structure and the results did not reach the goal of governance.

The fundamental reason of this is that the practice of governance does not get the support of the legitimacy of the system. The formation of the system has deep historical roots and basic values, which also gave rise to our further thinking. about a better governance of the Hmong spontaneous migration .

The Governance of Hmong spontaneous immigrants in K county related to a fundamental value problem, which was how to treat the Hmong spontaneous migration phenomenon. The Hmong spontaneous migration was a continuation of its long – term development of the history of the evolving travel farming civilization, which was contradictory with the modernization of the country in the perspective of national governance, The most fundamental contradiction was that the spontaneous migration of the Hmong needed to loose Resources, Environment and loose management, however, the modernization of the country would promote resources more concentrated, property rights become more clear, management has become more standardized, which is how to promote the survival protection and development needs of the Hmong spontaneous migrants specifically in the process of national modernization. This involves not only inclusive of national integration and national relations, but also closely related to the value orientation of the inclusive growth of the national governance.

We needed not only to reach a consensus in the basic level of value, especially the Hmong spontaneous immigrants citizenship guarantee, but also a breakthrough in building systems, including household registration system, and associated with the supply of public services, public finance resource allocation system government performance evaluation system, which is to eliminate the country's modernization and the Hmong from the greater degree of

spontaneous conflict between the protection of the interests of immigrants. In addition, we should promote the cooperation of multiple main administration building of governance mechanisms, making our Governance more extensive social support and strength polymerization.

We can foresee Hmong spontaneous migration improved governance can not be accomplished overnight; the final settlement of the problem necessarily requires a relatively long period of time. We need to have enough patience and sustained action. At the same time, we found that many ethnic minorities would show some discomfort in the modern impact of the wave, and accompanied by some ethnic social issues followed. In fact, the spontaneous migration of the Hmong is a typical ethnic social problem in such a process of modernization. The analysis and discussion of its governance not only allows us to more rational understanding of the part of the social problems of ethnicity, but also open a window for our more in – depth study to better governance of ethnic social problems. We hope that the far – sighted politicians and thinkers be able to see farther through the windows.

Keywords: Hmong spontaneous migration; governance; marginalization; inclusive

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导 论

第一节 研究缘起及意义

学术研究的意义是任何研究者都需要追问的。否则，他就无法在自己的研究中凸显其成果的学术价值，更不可能会对学术研究有什么贡献。对于任何一项学术研究任务而言，或者需要在研究方法、论证逻辑以及基本结论上有新的发现；或者需要在社会价值上对现实社会问题有着理性关照；如果能够两者兼备，那就更好。这是学术研究者对自己研究命题最基本的价值追问。对云南 K 县苗族自发移民问题治理这一研究命题的落定正是从这样的追问和求索中获得的。

一、现实关怀

人口迁移是人类历史上屡见不鲜的普遍现象。在人类发展史上，人口的跨国界迁移与在一国内的迁徙都是十分常见的。在中国，“中国移民的历史同中国的历史一样悠久，也同中国的历史一样丰富”^①。不过，在不同时期的人口迁移，其形式、内容和意义都会有很大差异。在当代中国，人口迁移主要表现为两种主要形式：政府有组织的计划移民与民众的自发性移民。这种界分主要依据人口迁移的组织形式。从目前来看，国内研究者更为关注政府组织的移民，包括政策性移民、工程移民、生态移民等，而对自发移民似乎并不感兴趣，即使给予一定的学术关照，也多是人类学、史学层面的。

近些年来，包括宁夏、四川、云南等在内的一些西部边疆民族地区，普遍存在着少数民族自发移民群体（比较典型的