



当代中国研究论丛

丛书主编：周晓虹 谢曙光 黄 平

# Changes of Phoenix Village

Re-study Daniel Kulp's Phoenix Village

周大鸣 / 著  
《华南的乡村生活》追踪研究

## 凤凰村的变迁



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## 丛书主编寄语

当代中国研究 (Modern China Studies) 是自 1949 年后在西方尤其是美国社会科学界形成的有关当代中国社会、经济、政治与文化诸方面的多学科研究，今天它已经成为包括中国学者参与的有关中国社会变迁与发展的一门综合性社会科学。

当代中国研究与传统的汉学 (Sinology) 研究迥然有别。它们之间的区别不仅表现在研究对象上 (后者侧重于中国历史、传统文化典籍和文学作品的研究)，而且也表现在研究方法上。如果说汉学是一门以中国传统文化为研究对象的人文学科的话，那么，当代中国研究则是一门建立在现代社会科学及其方法论基础之上的社会科学。

当代中国研究始于 20 世纪 50 年代，以美国社会学家赵文词 (Madsen, R.) 的话说：“当代中国 (即自中华人民共和国成立以来的中国) 研究，是美国社会学中一个较新的分支，至今不过 40 余年。” 尽管当代中国研究是一门社会科学，它与传统的汉学迥然有别，但是这一领域的创建者却是一位卓越的汉学家、历史学家、中国人民的老朋友费正清 (John King Fairbank) 教授，而他当年创建的哈佛大学费正清东亚研究中心自然也成了美国研究当代中国的重镇。

纵观当代中国研究近 50 年的发展，我们可以发现，构成这一领域的发展动力在前 30 年和后 20 年是不同的：具体说来，在

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1949 年后的 30 年间，美国及其他西方社会科学家建立当代中国研究的目的，是因为 1949 年是一个分水岭，中华人民共和国的成立不仅结束了旧中国的战乱和分崩离析，而且宣告了一种崭新的社会制度的确立。这种社会制度是一种高度整合的体制，它不仅与旧中国迥然不同，与美国等西方国家不同，甚至与当时的苏联也有很大的区别。共产主义在中国的发展，使美国政府、一些基金会和学术机构意识到了发展有关当代中国研究的迫切性和必要性，因此在传统的汉学研究之外，有必要建立一门新的社会科学。尽管从主观上来说，当代中国研究是“冷战”时代的产儿，但在客观上它却为一门大有前途的社会科学领域的建立开辟了道路。

同前 30 年相比，1978 年后的当代中国研究的发展动力不但来源于西方世界，也来源于中国本土尤其是中国知识界，但其共同的背景是此间中国社会发生的巨大变化。中国社会改革开放以来的成就和困窘并存的现实，在引起全世界瞩目的同时，自然也引起了西方从事当代中国研究的学者和中国本土的社会科学家的共同关注。自改革开放以来尤其是 20 世纪 90 年代以后，许多主流社会科学家也开始涉足当代中国研究，用裴宜理（Elizabeth J. Perry）教授的话来说：“在这种情况下，当代中国研究就有可能从一个‘消费领域’（依靠来自其他国家的研究来获得分析的洞察力）成长为一个‘生产领域’（即有能力产生令一般比较研究者感兴趣的原创性分析）。”正是如此，在西方学界涌现出了一大批具有原创性的有关当代中国研究的学术著作，越来越多的有关中国经济与社会变迁的学术论文也成为诸多主流社会科学学术期刊的扛鼎之作。

正是鉴于海外当代中国研究在以往的 50 年中获得了巨大的进步，并随着中国经济的发展和中国的崛起而成为一门有着社会

科学原创能力的显学，对中国大陆的社会科学研究也产生着越来越大的影响，为了更好地向中国学界推介海外当代中国研究的优秀成果和主要学术观点，我们经过多次协商，决定联袂编辑出版“当代中国研究译丛”，专门收录、翻译、出版由海外社会科学研究者撰写、以非汉语言文字首度出版的有关中国社会、经济、政治、文化、历史、教育、传播等诸领域研究的学术著作；同时配合编辑出版《中国研究》杂志和“当代中国研究论丛”，在当代中国研究领域形成由研究论文、研究著作和翻译著作立体合成的一个比较完整的知识体系，增进我们从不同视角入手对中国社会的理解与认识。所幸的是，我们的倡议获得了包括本译丛编委在内的海内外学者的积极呼应。而现在我们推出的《中国研究论丛》就是这一计划的重要组成部分。我们希望，《中国研究论丛》能够收录海内外华人社会科学家在中国研究领域中的精品之作，不仅展现包括大陆学者在内的华人社会科学家对自己祖国的认识 and 解读，也能够通过这种展现带动华人社会的中国研究的进一步开展。我们相信，经过若干年的不懈努力，发端于西方的当代中国研究一定能够在中国本土扎下根来，成为增进中外学界交流的桥梁，并为中国与西方、与全球各民族的相互理解和信任作出自己的独特贡献。

周晓虹 谢曙光 黄 平

2006 年 3 月于北京

# Preface

Zhou Daming

## Introduction

The present book is a re-research of a Han Chinese village, applying Marxist historical materialism and cultural anthropological theory. By studying the situation and changes of the village, I hope to explore development issues concerning the countryside as well as methodology issues about social anthropology regarding the study of rural communities.

The village of my study is called the Phoenix Village, which sits in Chaozhou, Guangdong Province. The Phoenix Village is a familiar name to many sociologists and anthropologists. In the 1920s, American sociologist Daniel Harrison Kulp came to this village and conducted in-depth anthropological and sociological investigations. In 1925, he published his studies in the book titled *Country Life in South China*,<sup>①</sup>

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① Kulp, Daniel Harrison. 1925. *Country life in South China; the sociology of familism*. Volume I. *Phoenix village, Kwantung, China*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. In this book, I opt for the current usage "Guangdong" instead of "Kwantung".

which recorded in details the situations of economy, family, religion, education, population and community organization. It is one important work in early sinological studies and has been frequently cited since its publication.

What is presented here is based on a series of field research in the Phoenix Village that was carried out in the January and December of 1995, July 1996, and the March, May and July of 1997 after the village was rediscovered in October 1994. <sup>①</sup>

### Prelude: the resolution of an academic conundrum

As an anthropologist living in Guangdong Province, I often meet both Chinese and foreign colleagues who ask me about the current situation of the Phoenix Village. Two years ago, I came to North America as a visiting scholar and frequently encountered inquiries about the Phoenix Village. I had nothing to say since all I knew about it was bits and pieces cited in various publications. Therefore, I made up my mind to find this village and study it. Though there are many precedents of *re-research*, it is relatively rare to revisit a case after 80 years have elapsed. It would be very meaningful if I could find the Phoenix village and study its changes in nearly a century's time.

At the same time, I met Professor Zhuang Yingzhang, who worked

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<sup>①</sup> Zhang Feng, Huang Shuping, Zhuang Yingzhang, Sun Jiuxia and other four undergraduates in the class of 1992 participated in all of the fieldwork. The data used in the present book contained their work and I am grateful to them. The author, however, was responsible for initiating the project, applying for research funds, and organizing field trips. The field trips received support from Hong Kong Zhongshan University's Research Center in 1996 ~ 1997, from the Lingnan Foundation, and the C. C. K Foundation in Taiwan.

at the Institute of Ethnic Studies of the Central Research Academy of Taiwan. He shared my interest in re-researching the Phoenix Village. He had looked for the village several years before, and was led by local officials to a place called the Phoenix Township. The Phoenix Township, however, was not identical with the Phoenix Village. When he heard that I was to look for the Phoenix Village, Professor Zhuang immediately expressed his support and allocated some funds to me from his own research projects.

The promise was made, but I could not help worrying. Some American colleagues told me that Kulp had never been to the Phoenix Village himself and that the field research was done all by his students, which, if true, would make problematic the reliability of what was recorded in Kulp's book as well as the actual existence of the Phoenix Village. Even if the Village had once existed, how much chance was there for it to survive about 80 years of drastic changes? Furthermore, even if it survived to the present day, how were we able to tell it was the Village? Therefore, our study would have to begin by resolving the academic conundrum regarding the issue if Professor Kulp had been to the Phoenix Village himself.

In 1994, we included the Phoenix Village on the list of the study sites for the Project on Comparison of Rural Cultures on the Southeast China Coast, and hence started the search for it. The search process was the following.

In October 1994, we came to Chaozhou, bringing with us the book by Professor Kulp and a detailed map that we borrowed from the Geography Department of Zhongshan University. We interviewed some people who worked at the office in charge of files, the local gazetteer

office, and the committee on cultural management. There was no record of Professor Kulp's visit. We had to rely on a sketchy map in Professor Kulp's book and estimate that the location would be in Guihu Township, Chao'an County.

The Township Government at Guihu warmly received us. The director of the Township's Cultural Station was designated to assist us. While we were discussing how to look for the village, the deputy chief of the Township, who was in charge of education matters, went by. As soon as he saw the pictures and maps in Kulp's book, he said it was the village where he lived. He then put aside the book and drew a map of his village. The roads, old temples and the places for clan worships were identical with what was in the book's map. We came to the village, and identified some places that were mentioned in the book, e. g. , the small market nearby the ferry along the Phoenix Brook, the Fuling Temple, the clan worship place for the Dai Family, and the Baoshulou Readers' Building.

We interviewed the oldest man in the village, whose name was Dai Xiankun. He was 92 and yet healthy. He remembered well the visit by two foreigners. <sup>①</sup> A college student who was a member of the Dai clan led the two foreigners to the village. <sup>②</sup> They came in Dai Xiankun's father's boat. Dai Xiankun also remembered that the foreigners offered his father two silver dollars, and his father declined. Dai recognized his father in a picture in the book, and the picture was

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① Dai died in 1995. When we met him for the first time, he was healthy, cooked for himself, and lived with a grandson.

② That member was Dai Tianzong, who then worked as a senior staff in a bank in Shantou City and now resides in Hong Kong.

identical with the portrait in Dai's room. At this point, we concluded that we were in the Phoenix Village and that Kulp had been here.

The following recollection by Chen Songli resolved the conundrum: "Of the western scholars who have conducted field studies of village communities in Chaozhou, Daniel Harrison Kulp II, an American professor and former dean of the Sociology Department in Hujiang University, is the pioneer. Kulp asked his students to carry out investigations according to the tables when they came home for the summer vacation in 1918 and 1919. In 1923, Kulp went to do the investigation in person and revised the preliminary study. In 1925, he sent the results to Columbia University in New York City for publication. The book, *Country life in South China: the sociology of familism*, is a pioneer study of village community cultures in China." ①

Therefore, the investigations during 1918 ~ 1919 were by Kulp's students, while Kulp only paid a brief visit in 1923 to the Phoenix Village. The pictures and the story about visiting the Phoenix Village in the book should have been about the year of 1923. The materials were collected by students who had received sociological training and examined by Kulp, and therefore should be deemed reliable. The uncertainty surrounding his visit was caused by the fact that the book does not mention a word of his students.

The original name of the Phoenix Village was Xikou. It stands by the Phoenix Brook and looks at the Phoenix Mountain in the north.

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① Chen Lisong. 1995. *Studies Prior to 1949 on the Clans and Village Communities in Chaozhou*. Shanghai Guji Publishing House.

The name used by Kulp not only indicated the location of the village but also connotes the characteristics of Chinese culture. In 1997, there were 1132 villagers. The ancestors of the Dai family moved here from Jiangxi during the Song Dynasty and prospered thereafter. The villagers speak the Chao dialect. Matters of marriage, family and religious activities preserve unique local features in the Phoenix Village, and are influenced by the neighboring She ethnic group. The village maintains the major features of the time of Kulp's study, and is an ideal site for anthropological re-research.

But a lot had changed after over 70 years. New houses were built along the highway and around the village. As a result, the old houses were still kept in the inner village. The Fuling Temple was rebuilt in the 1980s, but at a different location and with different materials. The worship place for the Dai clan was renovated in the 1990s. Parts of the old worship place were turned into factories, warehouse, and stalls. The Baoshulou Building for readers was desolate and stuffed with all kinds of things other than books. The ferry was still there, but boats had disappeared after the highway brought in the bridge over the brook. The market was no longer a market but homes for the outsiders. The Tan village was mentioned in the book as a prosperous ferry and market. It was already destroyed by the Han River, only some remnants of the old houses were in sight.

The social cultural environment changed even more dramatically. Population increased from 600 to 1100. Extended family has been replaced by core family. The old survives by seeking shelter from their children in turn. The gap became wider between population growth and land shortage. While men went to Southeast Asia for a living

before, young people today migrated to the Pearl River Delta for work. The village can be reached both by land and by water. Telephones and televisions entered villagers' home. Guihu Township extended and got closer to the boarder of the village, and created intimate interactions between town and village. Villages sold homegrown vegetables and open shops in the town. Some bought a township household registration and became factual residents in the town. Political transitions and movements left their marks in the village. The village school moved into a new building, but resumed the name it used before the Liberation. The Dai family once had many scholars. Villagers of today actively donated for the village school with the hope to regain prosperity. Committees were set up to recover records of family trees that were destroyed during the Great Cultural Revolution in order to remember ancestors and inspire descendants.

Ever since, the author has been to the Phoenix Village every year in order to finishing the re-research. This book is part of the re-research.

## Main Conclusion

Kulp's Summary of Findings	Changes of Now
1. Floods and droughts recur with sufficient frequency to keep the people living under deficit economy.	The people have never been threaten by floods and droughts, because built dykes and dams, irrigation and drainage pumping station.
2. The sub-tropical climate favors fruit growing, which is the main industry.	Fruit growing is important industry but transportation, vegetable growing, factory and service are developing.

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续表

Kulp's Summary of Findings	Changes of Now
3. The daily ferry between the village and Chaozhou enlarges the area of social participation and contact, which injects new stimuli into the village life.	The daily bus, mini-bus between the village and Chaozhou and other towns, especially the steamboat goes a round-trip to Chaozhou only 45 ~ 60 minutes.
4. Emigration results from these contacts and the condition of deficit economy.	Densely populated, household registration control, forbidding emigrate to abroad, there are many labors looking for works in Chaozhou and Shantou.
5. Half the people in the village live under poor economic conditions and upon familist organization.	All villagers got rid of poverty after responsibility system in 1978.
6. Extremes of poverty and wealth exist because of the importation of wealth from the areas of emigration.	Extremes of poverty and wealth are developing because of individual owe enterprise and for business.
7. The village maintains its own economic life in production and distribution with the exception of a limited number of special articles secured from Chaozhou or elsewhere.	Most of products are from market except that the village maintains its own economic products.
8. Almost as many people are engaged in service functions as in production functions.	The characteristics of the economy are promoting a diversified economy, and developing side occupation and non-agriculture.
9. Racially, the people exhibit connections with the tapes of Zhejiang and Shandong and differences from both.	Don't make human measurements.
10. An ancestor founded the sib who was an official and who migrated into northern Guangdong from Shanxi.	The ancestor migrated into Chaozhou from Jiangxi.

续表

Kulp's Summary of Findings	Changes of Now
11. Founded in Chaozhou in Song dynasty, 1000 ~ 1280 AD, the sib was moved to its present site towards the end of the sixteenth century.	Founded in Phoenix at the end of Yuan dynasty, in the middle of the fourteenth century.
12. The village has always had a reputation for learning and scholarship.	The village built new school buildings and set up the fund of scholarship.
13. Village polity is shifting in its traditional bases from age and scholarship to youth, wealth, and qualities of natural leadership.	The party and management district is the leadership; the leader of "left" idea lost power; the power of formal organization is being weak.
14. The village is practically independent of state government except in the matter of taxes and the major crimes and necessity of registering marriage.	The management district is an office of government; the village heads are ordered by the town administration.
15. The authority of the village lodges in the hands of the two members of the council of the leaders, who rest their control on the support of the heads of sub-groups.	The authority of the village lodges in the hands of the secretary of the party committee.
16. Both public and private matters of all kinds within the village are subject to the control and supervision of the leaders backed by social opinion.	The public matters of all kinds within the village obey the polices and institutes of government, but the social opinion is important.
17. Authority is integrated through the heads of the various groups in the village for effective control of each member.	With individual economy developing, authority of heads in the village is weak for effective control of each member.
18. Customary classification of persons on a kinship basis defines the status and functions of all members of the village.	The kinship is one of the bases to define the status and functions of all members of the village.

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续表

Kulp's Summary of Findings	Changes of Now
19. The village is occupied by one sib, a uni-lateral kinship group, exogamous, monogamous but polygamous, composed of a plurality of kin alignments into four families; the natural-family, the economic-family, the religious-family, the sib.	There are several sibs in the village but one of the sibs is main population. A patrilineal kinship group, only monogamous, few people intermarried with those with the same family names, composed of families; nuclear family, extended family, stem family.
20. Membership in these familist groups vary according to the function that the group performs at the moment.	Membership in the village has changed.
21. Filial duties to elders and ancestral worship are the central attitudes of sib members.	Filial duties to elders and ancestral worship are popular, but these are not the central attitudes.
22. Mating is not a personal but a conventional matter of familist perpetuity and ancestral worship.	Mating is not a personal but a lineal successor.
23. Sons are preferred to daughters because of their potential functions as contributors to familist income and performers of ceremonial rites for departed ancestors.	Sons are preferred to daughters too.
24. Marriage by purchase exists only among the poor people.	No purchase marriage exists now.
25. Betrothal is effected when the children are between eight and ten years of age; marriage, when between sixteen to eighteen years.	Betrothal and marriage is effect when the boys and girls are between eighteen and twenty-two years of age.
26. Previously, marriage was purely a matter of family concern but now the law requires the securing of a marriage license and registration of the ceremony.	Now the law requires a marriage license and registration.
27. Marriage is never dissolved by divorce, only by separation, which is temporary dissolution, and by death.	Marriage is very seldom divorce.

续表

Kulp's Summary of Findings	Changes of Now
28. Blood relationship and lineal status determine the organization of the familist groupings, which, in relation to spiritual community, are the criteria of all aspects of village life.	Family system departs from the village life gradually.
29. In addition to these natural groupings there are six kinds of intentional or voluntary groups: Mutual Aid Club, Parent Burial Association, Society for the Manufacture of Sugar, Irrigation Club, Boxing Club, and Music Club.	There are three kinds of groups: Elder association, the Temper Committee, Burial Association, and Music Club.
30. These groups form to meet specific needs in village life and last until the need is met. They supplement the regular familist groups and provide satisfaction of wishes that otherwise would be obstructed.	These groups are with the same functions but they are no longer supplementing for familist.
31. The satisfied in order of predominance in these associations are the wish for security, dominance, new experience, and personal recognition. The groups are first of all economic, then for personal rivalry, recreation, and finally, friendship.	These groups satisfy the needs of social psychology. The groups are first of all recreation, friendship.
32. The greatest Changes in the village in the last twenty years have occurred in places, policies and methods of education.	The greatest Changes in the village in the last twenty years have occurred in politics, transportation, communication and urbanization.
33. Education of the formal type carried on in schools is mainly for boys only and is for participation in national but not village culture. It is "face-education".	Boys and girls can go to school. The education is united system of national.