

理性农耕

大德苗族村的发展与变迁



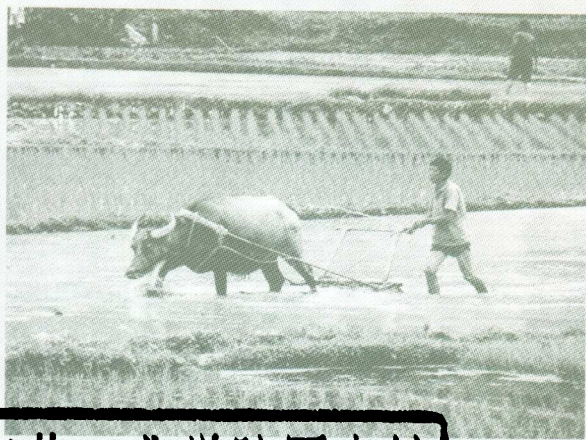
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Development and Change
in Dade Miao Community

贵州人民出版社
The Guizhou People's Publishing House

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RATIONAL FARMING:

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YANG CONG MING

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作者简介

杨从明，苗族，1971年生于贵州锦屏。1993年毕业于泰国清迈大学社会学院，可持续发展硕士。1993年4至5月赴美国加州大学伯克利分校培训学习。现在贵州省政府办公厅工作。主要从事农村发展、自然资源管理、少数民族传统文化等研究。主要著作有：《森林资源冲突管理培训者手册》（合编）、《村规民约与森林资源管理》，已在国内外期刊发表《传统知识在植树造林中的应用》（英文）、《森林采伐指标与社区可持续生计》（英文）、《参与式方法在退耕还林工程中的应用》、《自然资源管理新取向：参与和共管》、《生态补偿理论起源与演变初探》、《关于社区林业在中国发展的再认识》等30多篇中英文学术论文。

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序 一

这是一个非常有意义的研究,它反映了中国贵州台江县大德苗族村在市场影响下经济、社会和文化发生的变化。作者系统地调查了从计划经济到市场经济中国农村生产、生活以及农民观念的巨大变化,比较全面深入地描述了台江县大德村耕地和农民行为的变迁,同时分析了当地村民经济发展战略和生计的选择过程。

台江县大德村的主要变化是从传统以杉树种植为主的农业实践转向以果树为主的农业发展。作者不仅仅是简单地描述这一变化过程,而且在他的研究框架里还包含了资源准入分析、需求决策分析以及具体的决策模式等理论和概念,这样的研究使我们十分清晰地知道当地社区为什么和怎么样选择果树种植和传统农业模式等不同的发展战略。作者不仅用了许多图表以及统计数据来反映大德村的发展和变迁,同时也考虑了当地的乡土知识、土地分配机制和复杂的决策关系,他通过个体调查、面对面的访谈当地农民,使我们知道了许多当地人对生活和身边事物的真实感悟。

这是一个非常专业的研究,他给我们介绍了苗族文化特别是苗族社区的森林文化,反映了当前农村土地拥有不均衡、树木产权以及由于产权带来的矛盾和冲突等问题;反映了当前中国农村发展的新变化和新问题,包括开私人餐馆、男人外出打工等找钱机会的多样化以及农村因男人外出打工而导致的“农业女性化”和“生产老龄化”等问题;反映了在耕地和社会变迁所带来的社会性别、长辈和年轻人的关系变化。作者十分关注社会性别、不均衡的土

地准入等问题,注意调查社会发展创造新的需求,而新的需求导致农村发展生计多样化的过程。

佃农耕种、雇用劳动力、外租土地导致农村社会生活复杂化和多样化,同时也导致了不同的收入、不同的农业生产活动。作者调查了树木种植的生计模式、半商业化模式、商业化模式等具体的农耕模式,同时也调查了五个自然村不同的发展选择,反映了土地使用的多样性是怎样出现的,特别强调了农民决策的过程以及在决策过程中反映出来的就业和收入的不同。因此,书中不同资源准入方面的数据特别有用,企业、公司和个体农户之间的关系也非常重要。

苗族社区社会结构最大的变化是从以家族为基础的社会关系变到更加个性化、以个人家庭为主的生产组织管理。作者在书中反映的苗族家庭本民族语言衰减、传统习俗丢失就是个性化发展的一部分,这也就是作者提到的苗族社会“现代化”的过程。这一研究同时展示了展示了一些村民的实际需求,如村民们都期盼村干部能多为他们办事,但村干部又不得不为自己家庭的生活而奋斗,很少有时间来管理村里的事务。

这项研究在发展理论创新方面有很大的突破,他为运用解释学的方法进行农业系统研究开创了一个非常好的先例,同时也为发展工作者和政策制定者开展农村发展研究提供了多种选择模式。农村发展中的复杂性和多样性,包括不同的认知、不同的资源条件,从不同的家庭、不同的社会和经济状况等在这里都可以找到答案。此外,研究对农村发展商业化过程也作了简单的描述,这对今后进行农业系统研究提供了一些线索。研究不仅仅局限于村和县的层面,同时也打开了村民与外部联系的窗户,如大德村村民销售果子社会关系网络和因为打工与外部建立的联系。这些网络反映了根据形势的变化,传统苗族社区的社会关系网络和社会结构已经发生了明显的变化。为了达到共同的经济目的,一种新的社

会关系——合伙人出现了,而这也给我们提示研究农业、农村社会问题必须了解当地的经济、社会、历史和文化。杨的这一研究为我们了解国家与市场对农村社会影响提供了一个样本。一个最值得注意的是当我们做发展计划和援助工作时,需要更深入地考虑农村的思想和观念、考虑农村社会的复杂性。

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FOREWORD I

This is a fascinating study of economic and social change under the impact of the market economy for the Miao farmers of Taijiang County in Guizhou, China. The author demonstrates a deep and sympathetic understanding of local conditions and rural perceptions of the radical changes which have taken place in the transition from a planned economy to one based on a significant orientation towards market forces. The study throws considerable light on China's rural agrarian transformation as a whole, besides providing an in - depth account and analysis of the economic strategies and livelihood options pursued by the local farmers of Taijiang.

In Taijiang, a major transition has taken place from the traditional agro forestry practices of cultivating China Fir trees, towards new strategies of fruit tree cultivation, but the author does much more than merely describe this process. Within a framework of political ecology which encompasses a resource access analysis together with a discourse-based analysis of needs and aspirations and decision-making models, we learn how a variety of completely different strategies have been adopted at the local level towards fruit tree cultivation and more traditional forms of agroforestry. Careful diagrams and tables, based on statistical surveys as well as Mr. Yang's considerable local and historical knowledge, illustrate the mechanics of this process of land

distribution and the complex and difficult decisions relating to it. At the same time the views of Miao farmers themselves are expounded through individual case studies and frank personal interviews which tell us a great deal about how local villagers really feel about things.

This is an expert and professional study, which also introduces us to the topic of Miao culture and its traditional care for and understanding of the forest. The account of unequal forms of land distribution, the importance of property rights in trees, the competition and sometimes conflicts which have developed over this, and the range of new income earning opportunities including the opening of restaurants and male out migration to urban centres (resulting in what Yang calls a 'feminization of agriculture') is fascinating. In the process of agrarian transformation far reaching changes have been introduced into gender relations and also in the relations between the senior and younger generations. The author pays full attention to these issues of gender and unequal access, and examines the social creation of new 'needs' resulting in new local exigencies which feed into the adoption of particular livelihood strategies.

Sharecropping, hiring of labour and renting out arrangements have resulted in the deepening complexity of local social life and an overall lessening of the proportion of household income derived from forest related activities. The author examines a subsistence model, a petty commodity model, and a commercial model of tree cultivation in five different villages and shows how diversification of land use has occurred, paying detailed attention to the processes of decision-making and choices under which these options are employed. The data on the variety of different types of access to agroforestry resources is particularly valuable; so too is the account of the variety of contractual

arrangements and of the relationship, in different contexts, between state enterprises, private companies and household units.

For the Miao, a huge change has taken place from a clan-based social structure towards a more individualist, household-oriented one, and the author charts a familiar process of the loss of Miao language and traditional indigenous knowledge as part of what is, after all, a much more general process of modernization for the Miao as for the majority of China's farmers. This study throws considerable light on how villages actually work, for example with villagers still expecting some organisational inputs from cadres who are now themselves struggling to make a living for themselves and may have little time to spare for village affairs.

The work will be valuable not only for theoreticians, as it provides an excellent example of an interpretive approach towards farming systems research, but also for development planners and policy makers in that it shows so clearly the very diversity of economic alternatives and social forms at the level of the village community. Very different perceptions, very different solutions to common problems, from very different types of households in very different social and economic situations are highlighted here, in a study which nevertheless illuminates the apparently inevitable overall movement towards a wholly commercialised economy.

Moreover, the study is not completely confined to the villages or the county, but reaches out to give us some idea of life in Guangdong for the young workers now no longer available for formwork, and the networks of trading contacts which are now necessary to supplement the traditional means of kinship connections through 'pal families' (*hehouren*) which a farmer who opens a restaurant for bus drivers near

the main road may utilise for the speedy sales of his pears in the city , for example , so that we have an idea of how the village is linked to a much broader economy. Overall this major work shows that an appreciation of economic rationality must be combined with an understanding of the social , historical and cultural context in rural sociology ; it provides an exemplary model of a study which takes into account local priorities and knowledge and agency as much as it does state and market forces , and it forms an important argument for the need for a deeper consideration of rural perceptions and the complexity of local social organisation at the village level when planning developmental interventions and rural assistance programmes.

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16 JUNE 2006

序 二

本书是杨从明先生在泰国清迈大学攻读可持续发展硕士的论文。这篇论文2003年被清迈大学研究生院评为最优秀的留学生毕业论文之一,在清迈大学甚至国际社会发展学界有一定影响。文章不仅向我们展示了1979年后中国实施家庭联产承包责任制和市场开放以来中国农村发展和农民行为的变化,更重要的是作者从生产和文化两个视角来观察和反映农民行为的变迁,这在当前社会学和发展学研究中是比较少见的。本书对于国际社会更好地了解中国特别是中国农村发展和农民行为变迁的问题有重要的参考价值。作为杨从明先生的导师,我深深感受到他对学术研究的执著,也再次体验到中国学生的勤奋和优秀。现在得知他要将论文翻译整理出版,感到特别的高兴。

坦率地说,我对中国农村特别是1979年以后的农村发展并不十分了解,尽管早在二十多年前,我在斯坦福学习时读过费孝通先生等学者关于中国农村问题的文章,但印象并不深刻,也正是因为受这些传统思想的影响,我对中国特别是对中国农村的认识基本上停留在上世纪70年代的水平,总喜欢把人民公社、大集体的事与中国发展联系在一起。1983年夏天我去过北京和上海,在指导杨从明研究的过程中,2001年秋天也有幸到了他的研究点贵州台江县大德村,两次感受和体会截然不同。正如杨在他的文章中所提到的,随着经济、社会结构的变迁,特别是市场的引入,中国已经发生了翻天覆地的变化,城市和农村充满着发展的生机和活力。

理性化和个性化是市场经济发展的一个必然,尽管我不是学经济的,但从世界许多国家发展的历程已经证明这一事实,而市场与人的行为变化特别是理性化问题正在受到许多学者的关注。中国是一个新兴的市场经济国家,当前反映市场引入后人的行为特别是农民行为变化的文章并不多见,而杨的这一研究以台江县大德村为例,采用实证和比较的手法,通过大量的田野数据,从生产和文化两个方面全面真实地反映了市场条件下大德村农民行为的变迁,这是一个非常有意义的主题。从大德村的个案,使我们看到从生产大队到家庭联产承包责任制,中国农村的农耕实践,包括土地耕种模式、生产组织管理和思想意识形态发生了巨大的变化。研究采用了资源准入、土地应用决策等理论和概念,调查了农民对市场作出反应时怎么样改变他们的行为,同时还运用解释学的言法,通过调查农民的话语体系变化,认识农民为什么调整、改变他们的行为。研究把生产系统、话语系统以及农耕决策系统很好地结合在一起,而三个系统相结合来研究农耕实践,在社会学研究中是比较少见的,这也是这篇论文优秀的原因之一。另外一方面,研究反映的是一个苗族村寨的农耕变化,文章对苗族社区的传统农业、乡土文化、社会结构等也作了一些描述。所以,本书不仅值得从事中国问题研究和从事社会研究的学者一读,同时对从事少数民族发展的工作者也有许多值得学习的地方。

由于文章是硕士论文,所以在理论方面考虑得较少,加之时间有限,文章中必然会有不足之处。衷心希望各位朋友对我们多提意见。

Chayan Vaddhanaphuti 博士
泰国清迈大学区域社会学与可持续发展中心

FOREWORD II

The book is a thesis that Mr. Yang Congming studied for his Master's degree in sustainable development at Chiang Mai University, Thailand.

It was identified as a excellent thesis by the graduate school of Chiang Mai University in 2003 for oversea students, where it impressed the University, as well as international scholars of social development widely. It presents rural development and change in China while local areas implemented the Household Contract Responsibility System and market introduction after 1979. The author looked at the farmer's behavior and responses to change both from productive systems and cultural system, which is always special challenge in social research.

This a valuable book for international society and understandably for China, especially the realisations of rural change in China. As his advisor, I realised Mr. Yang to be a good student on social science research, and his workings made me also recognize the diligence and exception of Chinese students. Recently, Mr. Yang informed me he would interpret and publish the book and so I am very happy to be writing the preface paper.

In fact, I am not an expert about development in China; even though I have had the opportunity to read some papers while I studied in the Stanford University twenty years ago; such as by Professor Fei

Hsiao-Tung. But I still had few ideas about Chinese social change after 1979, so that I always used a conventional perspective to glance at China's development in line with most concepts maintained in the 1980s. It meant that I often use the ideas that were gained from the commune and collective periods to study the country's development.

I have been to Beijing and Shanghai in the summer 1983, and have had the chance gone to Yang's research site in the Dade community of Taijiang County, Guizhou Province in 2001, during cooperating with him. However, my receptions and perceptions were very different during the two trips. For as Yang mentioned in his thesis, China has been the target and product of dramatic change after introducing market economy as a social structure change.

Rationalization and individualization are necessities of market economy development. Despite my not being an economics scholar, I am sure that if we look at the way many countries have developed around the World, that a market economy will be change human behavior as a rational process. China is a country of recent economic development of markets, so articles that present human behavior change, especially action changes in farmers after market introductions are considerably lacking. Mr. Yang's study, a case study in Dade community of Taijiang County, presents a form which from production and culture aspects reflects farmers' behavioral changes after introduction of the market economy.

The study identifies this through extensive data arising from fieldwork, and applies the methods both positively and comparative research as a very interesting topic. From the case study in Dade community we can see the rarming practices changed hugely after adopting the Household Contract Responsibility System, include land

use patterns, labor arrangement, and social values. The study applied several concepts, such as resource access, land use decision-making, and needs discourse, to investigate how and what farmers' behavior adapted as they responded to the market economy. The study also applied the theory of interpretation to identify why the farmers' actions change through surveying change in local social meanings, as a discursive practice.

Thus, the study put the three systems together, including productive system, discursive system, and decision-making, in order to understand transformation of local actions. It is not easy to use three tools to study farming systems in social research, thus it is one reason that the thesis was regarded as excellent in Chiang Mai University. In addition, this report presents farming system change in a Miao, ethnic community, so it introduces some knowledge about traditional culture and social structure in a Miao community. Thus, this book is not only of value to scholars of China and of social studies, but also is a relevant book for development workers among ethnic minorities. As thesis for a Master of Arts, it goes well beyond the theoretical aspect. We all welcome readers' comments in order to let us better understand the systems and behaviour discussed about a unique of China's contemporary rural development.

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