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Liangshan Yi Nationality Autonomous Region**

郭佩霞 著



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## 凉山彝区政府反贫困研究

郭佩霞 著

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## 摘 要

贫困一直是困扰凉山彝区社会发展的难题。随着形势变化,彝区贫困问题日益复杂化,政府反贫困工作也越来越艰巨。深入研究这一地理、人文都颇具特色地域的贫困与反贫困,便成为探讨彝区社会发展的一个重要议题。但就目前的研究状况而言,学术界甚少涉足该领域。因此,笔者欲在回顾彝区政府反贫困历史与考察其贫困现实的基础上,结合特定时期民族发展要求与发展内涵,捕捉凉山彝区独立个性,并从新的视角特别是民族文化角度重新审视其贫困与反贫困问题,从而构建一个切合地域特性的政府反贫困框架。

全书由六章组成,主要内容及观点如下:

第一章:导论。陈述本研究的背景、意义及研究目的;按照社会学分析框架评述民族贫困的相关研究状况;介绍研究视角和研究方法,提出本研究的前提假设、逻辑思路和文章结构。

第二章:民族贫困问题的一般分析。本章主要由梳理、归纳各学科视野中的贫困理论入手,探悉“贫困”与“民族贫困”内涵,并根据“民族贫困”内涵选取切合彝区地域特性的经济社会学分析框架与方法。第一节从经济学、政治学、社会学三个学科角度探讨其各自的贫困理解,同时回顾了反贫困理论发展的基本轨迹,并简要概括了各种理论的贫困消除路径主张。第二节通过学科视野中的贫困解读导出“贫困”内涵和“民族贫困”特殊内涵:贫困是客观存在的非自愿社会现象,它是动态层递过程,在不同阶段和地区有不同特点,主要起消极影响,其基本特征是社会公认的匮乏并体现为生理形式和社会形式的剥夺;“民族贫困”除了具备一般“贫困”内涵外,还具有特殊的主客观构成要素,它以民族关系为

依托,具有浓厚的政治色彩。第三节由“民族贫困”的特殊内涵导出适用于彝区政府反贫困研究的经济社会学分析方法。本书在简要梳理经济社会学发展脉络的基础上,提出经济社会学研究理念和方法论特点,并具体到民族贫困研究的经济社会学重点:在静态性和分类性等形式主义研究基础上,以民族文化氛围为轴线,关注历史累积变迁过程,主张形式分析与历史描述的结合,强调习惯与社会规范、集体意识与行动、行动主体的互动性、民族文化的特殊性等。

第三章:凉山彝区政府反贫困的历史回顾(1950~2000年)。本章分别介绍了1956年前、1956~1978年、1978~2000年三个阶段凉山彝区政府反贫困的历史背景,包括社会结构与分层、文化与医疗卫生、经济基础等,在此基础上,进而从政府和社会力量两大反贫困主体,对1950~1978年、1979~1985年、1986~1993年、1994~2000年间凉山彝区反贫困进程和模式进行了简要归纳、评论,指出彝区反贫困历史演进具有下述特点:(1)地区间贫困消除的非均衡性;(2)反贫困演进中的典型外源型;(3)地域民族文化影响的深远性。由此,我们认为,从彝区政府反贫困的历史演进中可以得到如下启示:引导“家支”组织使其成为民间反贫困主导力量是地域性要求;应在增加扶贫资源投入的基础上引入地域差异指标以实现资源合理配置;政府主体应与社会力量形成和谐互补;置贫困人口与扶贫主体于同等地位的政府反贫困行动更有效;彝区政府反贫困需要注意政策衔接过渡选择。

第四章:凉山彝区政府反贫困的现实考察(2001年至现在)。本章主要按照作为过程的贫困、作为行动的政府反贫困和作为互动的政府反贫困三大板块,分别论述2000年后彝区贫困状况、特点、趋势、原因和政府反贫困行动内容、运作方式,并在此基础上提出彝区政府反贫困行动存在的主要问题。第一节从地缘维度出发,分别论述低坝区、二半山区、高山区的贫困状况,重点考察社区、住户、资源三个方面的贫困特点,指出彝区贫困发生深度和政府反贫

困难度先后顺序为高山区、二半山区、低坝区,进而分别就彝区三个地带的贫困变化特点进行归纳,得出结论——低坝区贫困有程度深化、结构年轻化、复杂化趋势;二半山区贫困有政策性分化、女性贫困人口淡化特性;高山区贫困具有程度深、政策分化显著特性。在此分析基础上,本书认为彝区三个地带贫困发生原因分别是:低坝区——土地短缺、人口素质低下、扶贫政策误区;二半山区——环境恶劣、因病致贫、宗教性支出庞大;高山区——环境恶劣、人口素质低下等综合性原因。第二节为作为行动的政府反贫困解读。本节在回顾彝区反贫困的政策性保障,包括财税优惠政策、产业发展政策、扶贫开发政策、开放联合政策的基础上,分别评析了它们的作用,指出当前的政策体系在反贫困目标上还欠完善;提出当下彝区贫困线确定和目标瞄准设计与地域特性有所偏差,不仅绝对贫困线标准过低、评价指标单一,而且低收入线也存在问题,这导致彝区政府反贫困“瞄而不准”现象发生;然后,对彝区政府反贫困的主要内容和取得成就进行简要梳理,并重点评析扶贫管理体系的组织结构、运作方式,指出其因循的是中央计划经济系统多年来的管理模式,该管理模式存在诸多缺陷。第三节为作为互动的政府反贫困解读。该部分主要从政府与市场、政府与贫困社区、政府与 NGO 三大关系分析入手,在简要回顾其各自发展状况的基础上指出,彝区政府反贫困行动缺乏市场化运作;政府过分注重其主导作用的发挥从而忽视了社区贫困人口的参与性;彝区政府与 NGO 之间合作领域过于狭窄,二者间缺乏有效互动。在此基础上,本书得出结论:彝区今后政府反贫困行动需要强化上述三者间的互动性。第四节为彝区政府反贫困现实问题分析,具体分析了彝区政府反贫困行动中的三大突出问题,即文化冲突、生态建设与产业转型矛盾、扶贫资源分配与管理不当,并进而论述其在扶贫行动中的具体表现,指出政府扶贫行动漠视了彝族贫困人口智慧和地方性知识的应用;开发式扶贫在一定程度上深化了彝区“环境—贫困”恶性循环;生态环境建设工程对彝族贫困

社区居民生计造成困扰；扶贫管理体制造成政府反贫困资源浪费和分配偏差。

第五章：凉山彝区政府反贫困的历史演绎。本章立足于第三章和第四章彝区贫困与反贫困的历史与现实考察，引用历史比较分析方法，提取凉山彝区政府反贫困的历史差异、现实共性与个性，从而为构建彝区政府反贫困行动框架做铺垫。第一节从宏观环境局势、微观社会氛围、利益群体格局三个方面具体分析彝区政府反贫困行动所面临的历史性差异，指出经济增长速度放慢、增长方式转变、生态环境政策出台、地区性照顾政策调整是今后彝区政府反贫困行动之宏观环境与历史相区别所在，它们都对彝区政府反贫困行动形成了较大冲击。在此基础上，从彝文化在现代化过程中的冲突入手，指出当下彝区处于“多元复合”的微观社会氛围之中，传统文化调适能力降低、毒品问题猖獗、“家支”盛行是其基本特性；除了文化氛围外，彝区政府反贫困的微观社会氛围还包括资金、技术、人才稀缺等。最后指出，当下彝区利益群体格局已不是改革前的“两个阶级一个阶层”的简单结构，尽管其社会具有浓厚的“身份制”分层特点，但利益群体格局已围绕十大阶层而构建，其中，“家支”又作为一个比较独立的利益群体贯穿于社会各个方面。第二节从经济基础、政治基础、文化基础三个方面分析彝区过去与现在政府反贫困行动所面临的共性，指出当下彝区仍然是一个以农业为主的村落社会，商品经济不够发达，社会缺乏流动；血缘关系是主导性社会关系，“家支”在国家正式权力体系内维护着社会秩序，是彝区具有现实意义的功能性群体；传统的宗教信仰仍然是彝族民众日常生活之重心；“德古”等精英阶层是彝区自然权威的归集，在社区生活中具有强大的号召力。宗教性、礼俗性、血缘性、聚居性、等级性、农耕性、自给性、封闭性仍然是彝区社会基础的概括。第三节从彝区经济发展与传统文化的冲突和调适归纳当下彝区政府反贫困行动之独立个性，即传统与现代之冲突。本节在阐述彝文化衰退和张力膨胀的具体表现基础上指出，现代化不



是对个性的泯灭，政府反贫困要力戒片面追求物质文明，它应立足于民族文化土壤。

第六章：凉山彝区政府反贫困的理性选择。本章内容主要从反贫困民族文化资源整合和地缘维度的反贫困立体行动两大板块来设计彝区富有特色的政府反贫困行动框架。第一节为政府反贫困与民族文化整合，在界定“贫困文化”和“文化贫困”概念的基础上，着重分析并梳理了彝区“贫困文化”，指出彝区“贫困文化”是彝人对环境适应的结果，它不是彝人之天性。进而，基于反贫困视角，提出消除“贫困文化”必须实现彝文化的现代转型，具体措施包括：改善彝区物质条件，发展教育和信息交流，倡导民族文化自觉，深化文化体制改革。最后，从彝文化现代转型和反贫困视角提出了政府反贫困行动和彝文化互动的一系列具体措施，包括：在政府反贫困管理机构设计中引入“家支”组织；借助彝区自然权威推进扶贫行动；利用地方性知识设计扶贫项目；彝文化的产业化开发，并具体梳理了彝文化中可与经济相嫁接的因子且分别就其开发提出对策建议。第二节为彝区政府反贫困行动框架设计，从彝区反贫困目标瞄准机制重构、地缘维度的反贫困主导行动立体建构、反贫困辅助行动选择三个方面设计彝区政府反贫困行动框架。在目标瞄准机制上，本书认为，当下彝区穷人识别机制过于软弱、贫困指标体系也不符合彝区社会，建议在今后彝区贫困线确定方法上增加返贫率、面积等变量；在穷人识别指标体系中增加土地指标和性别敏感指标；建立允许穷人参与的穷人识别机制；强化扶贫工作者的穷人识别培训。在政府反贫困主导行动立体建构方面，本书从地缘维度出发，指出彝区三个地带的政府反贫困行动重点：低坝区——开展就业扶持、职业培训、农业产业化经营、增加救济式投入；二半山区——发展基础设施建设、自然灾害救助、消费引导和引进妇女反贫困项目；高山区——开展移民扶贫、牧林扶贫、外贸扶贫工程。在政府反贫困辅助行动设计上，本书针对彝区毒品泛滥和基层政权建设缺陷，分别进行了富有地域特色的设计，指出彝区

应以彝族阻隔吸毒社会仪式活动开展禁毒运动；从规范乡镇政府职责、依托彝区自然权威强化乡村治理和增强乡镇财权三个方面完善基层政权建设。

凉山彝区政府反贫困研究所涉及内容是如此庞杂，加上可参阅的资料不多，系统地研究彝区贫困问题，其难度之大超过预想。尽管如此，本书仍然在下述几个方面进行了创新研究：

1. 社会学的贫困分析框架。将凉山彝区贫困分解为过程、互动和行动三个相互关联的板块，重点关注贫困与反贫困基础、贫困的发生与再生机制、反贫困的多维主体探讨等问题。

2. 多学科视野与历史比较分析方法。本书将凉山彝区政府反贫困问题的分析起点延伸到1950年。这一起点选择，充分考虑了社会转型、制度变迁等对贫困的影响。通过历史与现实的对比分析，深入把握凉山彝区贫困与反贫困的历史性因素。

3. 重视民族文化处理。就民族文化与贫困的这一互动研究来看，本书在倡导民族文化尊重与自觉的基础上，其贡献主要包括：梳理彝族“贫困文化”；阐释彝族“毕摩”文化、“家支”组织等资源与反贫困的互动；在文化变异和衰退的宏观背景中探讨彝文化的现代转型。

4. 地缘维度的政府反贫困行动体系建构。本书在构建彝区政府反贫困行动时，分别根据低坝区、二半山、高山区地理人文差异和贫困特性设计政府反贫困行动框架。此外，除了主导性反贫困行动设计外，本书还指出，彝区政府反贫困行动必须开展富有地域色彩的禁毒运动，并强化彝区基层政权建设，建议增强彝区自然权威在乡村治理中的作用。

5. 贫困线与目标瞄准设计。本书在分析彝区特性的基础上，重新设计了彝区政府反贫困目标瞄准机制，提出在现有基础上引入土地、性别等指标，并建立容纳穷人参与的贫困识别机制。

6. 重视反贫困与环境建设的互动性。本书深入分析了彝区环

保政策的贫困影响，指出今后彝区应发展环境—贫困项目，并就二者之互动性进行了探讨。

**关键词：**反贫困；彝族；民族文化；框架设计；政府

## Abstract

Liangshan Yi Nationality Autonomous Region has always been beset by poverty. As the circumstances change, the poverty becomes more and more complicated and the antipoverty work becomes more and more difficult. Deep research into regional poverty and antipoverty with geographic and humanistic features has become an important topic for discussion on Yi Region's social development. But as far as current researches are concerned, the academic community has seldom set foot in this field. Therefore, on basis of the retrospection of the antipoverty history in Yi Region and the current investigation in Yi Region's poverty, the author will grasp Liangshan Yi Nationality Autonomous Region's unique individuality in combination with the requirements and contents of ethical development, and survey its poverty and antipoverty from a new standpoint, especially from the standpoint of ethical culture in order to set up an antipoverty framework that fits in the regional features.

The whole book is composed of six parts, and the main contents are shown as follows:

First part, introduction. It describes the background, significance and research objective. Review the related researches according to sociological analysis framework; introduce the dissertation's research standpoint and method; bring forward the dissertation's precondition and assumption, logical thought, and structure of the dissertation.

Second part, general analysis of ethical poverty. This part starts with poverty theories in various subjects, find out the connotation of "poverty" and "ethical poverty", and hereby select sociological analy-

sis framework and method that fit in with Yi Region. First section discusses poverty respectively from economic, political and social standpoints, looks back at the development of antipoverty theory, and gives a brief description of poverty elimination allegation of various theories. The second section learns the special connotation of “poverty” and “ethical poverty” through academic standpoint, namely poverty is an objective and non-voluntary social phenomenon, and a dynamic step-by-step process. In different steps and areas, it has different features. It mainly plays a passive role. Its basic feature is widely recognized deficiency and physiological and social deprivation. Besides the poverty in common connotation, “ethical poverty” has special objective and subjective constitutional factors. It is based on ethical relationships and has deep political tint. Third section, applicable social analysis method on poverty and antipoverty in Yi Region can be derived from the special connotation of “ethical poverty”. On basis of brief sorting of sociological development, the book brings forward the sociological research theories and methodologies, and sociological focus of ethical poverty research. Based on formalistic research such as static state and taxonomy, ethnical cultural atmosphere, the book pays attention to historical accumulation and transition, advocates for the combination of formal parsing and historical description, focuses on the interaction between habit and social norm, collective consciousness and action and action subject, and the particularity of ethical culture etc.

Third part, retrospection (1950 - 2000) on the government anti-poverty in Liangshan Yi Nationality Autonomous Region. The book respectively introduces the anti-poverty historical background in three stages: before 1956, 1956 - 1978 and 1978 - 2000, including social structure and hierarchy, cultural education and medical treatment, economic basis etc. Based on these, the book makes a brief induction and comment on

the anti-poverty modes and processes in 1950 - 1978, 1979 - 1985, 1986 - 1993 and 1994 - 2000 by two major anti-poverty main bodies: the government and social force. And thus it points out the following features of anti-poverty history: (1) non-balance of elimination of regional poverty; (2) typical extraneous sources of anti-poverty evolution; (3) depth of influence of regional ethical culture. Therefore, the book suggests that the following revelations can be found in the anti-poverty history of Yi Region: to introduce to become the dominant nongovernmental antipoverty force is the regional requirement; based on increasing anti-poverty resources investment, introduce regional difference indicator to realize reasonable collocation of resources; the government should complement with social force; anti-poverty actions characterized by the same position of poor population and anti-poverty subject will be more effective; anti-poverty in Yi Region should pay attention to policy transition.

Part four, current investigation (2001 up till now) in the anti-poverty in Liangshan Yi Region. According to poverty as active process, antipoverty as active action and antipoverty as active interaction, this part mainly respectively discusses poverty status, features, trend, reason, and contents and operation method of antipoverty action after 2000. On basis of these, the book abstracts the main problems existing in the antipoverty action in Yi Region. In the first section, the book discusses the poverty state in Diba area, Erbanshan area and Gaoshan area, investigates in the poverty features of community, households and resources, points out that the poverty depth and antipoverty difficulty are in the sequence of Gaoshan area, Erbanshan area and Diba area. Furthermore, the book makes induction and conclusions on the poverty change features in the three areas. Diba area is in a trend of deepening degree, juvenilizing and complication of structure; Poverty

in Erbanshan area is in the trend of policy differentiation, poor female population decreasing; Poverty in Gaoshan area is in the trend of deepening degree and policy differentiation. On basis of this analysis, the book finds out the three reasons for the poverty in these three areas: Diba area - lack of land, low human quality, and mistakes in anti-poverty policies; Erbanshan area - vile environment, diseases, and large religious expenditure; Gaoshan area - comprehensive reasons including environment, human quality, etc. The second section discusses anti-poverty as active action. The book looks back at the policy support of anti-poverty in Yi Region, including finance and taxation preferential policies, industrial development policy, antipoverty development policy, opening policy, respectively reviews and analyzes their effects, and points out the incompleteness of current policy system in regard to anti-poverty. It points out that the determination of current poverty line in Yi Region and objective design differ with regional features. The standard of absolute poverty line is too low, assessment criterion is monotonous and low-income line is also inappropriate. These lead to the incompleteness of antipoverty objective in Yi Region. Then, the book gives a brief sorting of the main contents and achievements on the antipoverty in Yi Region, focuses on the comments and analyses of the structure and operation method of antipoverty management system, points out that it follows the old management mode of the central planned economy system, which has many flaws. Third section discusses antipoverty as active interaction. This part mainly analyzes the relationships of government and market, government and poor community and government and NGO. On basis of brief retrospect on their respective development, the book points out that the antipoverty actions taken by Yi Region government lacks market operation; government pays too much attention on its own guiding role but disregards the participation from poor population; and that

the cooperation between Yi Region government and NGO is limited on a excessive narrows field, and both party lacks effective interaction. On basis of these, the book suggests that the future antipoverty action in Yi Region should strengthen interaction among the aforementioned three parties. The fourth section analyzes the current problems of antipoverty in Yi Region. This section makes detailed analyses of three outstanding problems in antipoverty in Yi Region: cultural clash, conflicts between ecological construction and industrial mode change, and inappropriate distribution and management of antipoverty resources. And furthermore, it discusses their performance in antipoverty action. The book points out that the antipoverty action disregards the application of wisdom of poor Yi people and regional knowledge; development-oriented antipoverty deepens the vicious cycle of "environment - poverty" in Yi Region; ecological environment construction project impacts the living of residents in the poor community in Yi Region; antipoverty management system leads to a waste of antipoverty resources and distribution deviation.

Part five is about the history of Liangshan Yi Region. On basis of the historic and current investigation on poverty and antipoverty in part three and part four, this part introduces historic comparison analysis method to find out the historic difference, current generality and individuality of antipoverty in Yi Region, so as to lay a foundation for the antipoverty actions in this region. The first section analyses the historic difference from macro environment, micro social atmosphere and interest group layout, points out slowing of economic growth, change of growth mode, issuance of ecological policy and adjustment of regional preferential policy will be historic difference with current macro environment, and all of these factors have a full impact on antipoverty actions in Yi Region. From the Yi nationality cultural clash in the process of modernization, the book pints out that at present Yi Region is under the micro social atmos-



phere of “diversified complex”, and that the inadaptability to traditional culture, drug problem, “jiazhi” is its basic features. Besides cultural atmosphere, Yi Region’s micro social atmosphere of antipoverty also includes capital, technology, human resource lack, etc. At last, the book points out that the current Yi Region’s interest group layout is far from the simple structure of “two classes and one stratum” prior to the reform. Although its society is characterized by “status system”, the interest group layout has been built up on ten stratums. Among them, “jiazhi” is a comparatively independent interest group that exists in every aspect of the society. The second section analyses the generality in the antipoverty actions from economic, political and cultural foundations, and points out that the current Yi Region is still a village community dominated by agriculture, and that the commodity economy is not developed, and the society lacks fluidity. Blood lineage is the dominant social relation. “jiazhi” maintains the social order within the system of state power, and is a significant functional group in Yi Region. The traditional religious faith is still the center of Yi people’s everyday life. The elite stratums like “degu” hold the natural authority, and they have strong appealing power in community life. Yi Region’s social foundation can be generalized by religion, etiquette and custom, blood relationship, hierarchy, agriculture, self consistency, closeness and stability. From the clash of Yi Region’s economic development with the traditional culture, third section concludes the independent individuality of antipoverty actions in Yi Region, i. e. clash between tradition and modernization. On basis of Yi cultural recession and strain expansion, the book indicates that modernization is not elimination of individuality, and that instead of chasing material progress alone, antipoverty should be rooted in ethical culture.

Part Six is about the rational selection of antipoverty in Yi Re-