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基层权力运作的逻辑

——上海社区实地研究

- 作者：金 桥
- 专业：社会学
- 导师：李培林



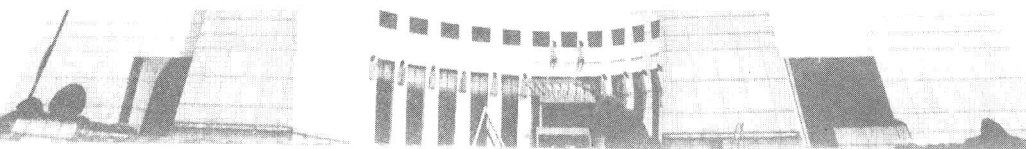
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本论文经答辩委员会全体委员审查,确认符合上海大学博士学位论文质量要求。

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	沈吴宝	教授,上海大学	100732
导师:	李培林	教授,中国社会科学院	
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评阅人名单:

徐永祥	教授, 华东理工大学	200237
卢汉龙	研究员, 上海市社会科学院	200020
张文宏	教授, 上海大学	200444
胡守钧	教授, 复旦大学	200433
杨 雄	研究员, 上海社会科学院	200020

答辩委员会对论文的评语

金桥同学的学位论文《基层权力运作的逻辑——上海社区实地研究》主要借助组织决策分析的视角,以社区居委会为切入点,使用微观动态的权力概念,对城市基层权力运作的基本图景与内在逻辑进行了理论研究和实证分析。作者通过考察居委会工作者与不同行动主体的互动过程,展现出多种形态的权力面相,并把城市社区权力运作的特殊逻辑概括为依附逻辑、协商合作逻辑、精英主导逻辑、人情逻辑和服务交换逻辑,较为完整地揭示出权力运作的内在机制。作者的研究结论对于认识城市社区建设、社区治理的行动基础,对于了解城市基层民主建设和社会发育的前景具有重要意义。

答辩委员会认为这篇文章主题明确、资料翔实、分析得当、结构层次分明、逻辑严密、行文流畅,在理论视角和基本结论上有一定的创新,具有学术价值和现实意义,已达到了博士论文的要求。在答辩过程中,作者较好地回答了答辩委员会委员们提出的问题。答辩委员会同时认为,该论文在理论的探讨等方面还需要进一步提高,实证分析的材料也有待进一步的提炼和运用。

答辩委员会表决结果

经答辩委员会表决,全票同意通过金桥同学的博士学位论文答辩,建议授予法学博士学位。

答辩委员会主任: **徐永祥**

2007 年 7 月 9 日

摘 要

社区是社会的基础,社区成员之间的互动及在此基础上形成的社会关系是社区概念的内在含义。本文把行动者之间的互动看作是一种权力运作,认为互动过程中必包含权力的行使。本文假设,城市社区具有自身独特的权力运作逻辑,而“这种权力运作逻辑是怎样的”正是本文力图回答的问题。这一逻辑就存在于行动者之间的互动过程之中。

本文选择居民委员会作为研究的切入点,通过考察居委书记、居委委员、居委干事与其他组织的成员、居民区积极分子、普通居民以及某些特殊群体之间的互动过程,力图得到对城市社区权力运作图景的基本认识。本文的主体内容就是对权力运作或互动的过程及其背后的逻辑进行分析。这种背后的逻辑体现在居委会工作者与居民的日常交往当中,体现在居委会工作者努力完成大量琐碎任务的过程当中。对居委会工作者与各类居民互动关系的考察有助于了解社区的真正含义、社会的发育情况和基层治理的行动基础。

互动是一种权力运作,行动者是互动或权力运作的主体。行动者带有不同的背景特征、拥有不同的资源,这些特征与资源中蕴含着结构文化因素的制约,但行动者就是在这样的制约框架内,依然是自由的。权力是立足于资源地位并依存于互动过程的一种针对他人贯彻自身意图的权变性的能力,这种能力有赖于对行为的可预见性或不确定性领域的把握,而权力作用

的发挥即权力运作。权力运作的内容包括资源作用的发挥、某种策略的选择、对不确定性领域的掌控等等,权力运作的逻辑正体现于其中。这是本研究的主要理论基础。

本文以地处浦东新区陆家嘴街道的梅园小区为实地考察的对象,收集资料的方法包括观察、访谈、文献、问卷等。梅园小区是一个高档住宅小区,居民表现出的四个基本特征:全球化的色彩、经济精英的身份、高度的社会流动和较强的独立意识,正与浦东新区与陆家嘴街道的发展变化相适应。通过对资料的分析,本文获得了以下认识。

在居委会开拓、发展的历史过程中,工作者发挥主动性,在资源的限制下,针对不同的对象运用不同性质的权力实现自身的目标,使居委会表现出不同的面相,其性质也更为复杂。除了初期要追求在小区立足,居委会主要在街道的压力下发挥主动性,改造着小区生活。自身的组织资源虽然有限,但可以寻求组织间的资源支持;既充分发挥个人的能力与魅力,更要借助一种朋友式的关系网络开展工作。在与骨干分子、组织精英、普通居民及某些特殊群体的交往过程中,居委会工作者展示出了多种形态的权力,包括人情交往的权力、半科层化的权力、资源交换的权力、组织合作的权力和各种策略性的权力等等。其中,“人情逻辑”的作用最为明显。最终,在不同主体、不同组织以及不同类型的居民看来,居委会的面相或偏于行政,或偏于服务,其自治性却少有人提起。

由此可以概括出城市社区权力运作的五种逻辑,即依附逻辑、协商合作逻辑、精英主导逻辑、人情逻辑和服务交换逻辑。“依附逻辑”主要是指:居委会作为社区建设的发动机,居委会

工作者作为社区权力运作的主体,表现出了强烈的对政府、街道的依赖性。“协商合作逻辑”则是指包括居委会在内的社区组织及其成员追求组织间关系平衡以“共赢”的努力,这种关系平衡以组织资源为基础,以精英联合为保障。“精英主导逻辑”是指多数组织精英具有名副其实的精英地位与权力,在此基础上,精英间的联合也加强了他们在社区权力运作过程中的主导作用。“人情逻辑”依托于人际关系,随着互动双方熟悉程度的高低发挥着不同作用,熟悉程度的高低大致与感情、面子、关照义务等因素的作用大小相统一。“服务交换逻辑”的含义主要是:居委会工作者通过服务积累组织与个人的权威,扩张活动空间,获得自身地位,并最终赢得居民和其他组织的信任与认同。

上述几种逻辑的存在反映出自组织逻辑与民主逻辑的缺乏。可以说,就调查地点而言,城市社区的权力运作逻辑具有自身的独特性,不同于政府、乡村社区和西方社区的权力运作逻辑。

关键词: 权力;行动者;权力运作;互动;居委会

Abstract

The community is society's foundation and its concept intrinsic meaning consists of the community member's interaction and the social relations based on it. This article regards the interaction between actors as one kind of power operating, and believes that the interaction process must contain the power's exercising. The supposition of the article is that the city community has own unique logic of power, but "how this power's operating happens" is precisely a question which this article tries hard to reply. This logic right exists in the interaction process between actors.

This article chooses the residents' committee to begin this study and tries hard to obtain basic understanding to the prospect of city community's power-operating. through the inspection of interaction processes among branch secretary, committee member, committee workers, other organization's members, activists in the community, the ordinary inhabitant as well as certain special community's groups. This article emphasizes on the analysis to the power operating or the interaction process and it's behind logic. This kind of behind logic is manifested in the daily contact between the residents' committee workers and the inhabitants, and in the massive trivial tasks diligently completed by the residents' committee

workers. The interacts relation inspection to the residents' committee workers and each kind of inhabitant is helpful to understand the community's true meaning, the situation of society's growth and the motion foundation of community's government.

The interaction includes power's operating, in which the actor is the main body. Although the actor has the different background characteristics and different resources, which containing the structural-cultural restriction, he still is free. The power bases on the resources status and depends on such kind of ability which implements one's own intention in view of the others in the interaction process and also depends on the control of the foresight or indefinite domain field of the behavior. To display the power's function can be called the power's operating. The power's operating includes displaying the resources function, choosing some kinds of strategies, controlling the indefinite domain field and so on, which all presents the logic of power's operating. Such is also this research's main rationale.

This article takes the plum garden plot situated at Lu Jiazui Subdistrict, Pudong New Area as the on-the-spot investigation object, and collects the data by the observation, interview, the literature, and questionnaire, and so on. The plum garden plot is an upscale residential district, which displays four basic characteristics: the color of globalization, the economical elites' status, high social mobility and a stronger independent consciousness. The plot's development

change adapts with the Pudong New Area and Lu Jiazui Subdistrict. Through the material analysis, this article obtains as following:

In the development historical process of the residents' committee, the worker displays the initiative, under the resources limit, achieves own goal in view of the different object utilization difference archery target power, causes the residents' committee to display different appearance, its nature is also more complex. Except the initial period, the residents' committee mainly displays the initiative under the street pressure, and transforms the inhabitants' life. Although own organization resources is limited, they may seek the organization's resources support, even make use of individual ability, charm and support from one kind of friends — like relations network . In the contact processes between the backbone members, the organization elites, the ordinary inhabitants and certain special groups, the residents' committee workers demonstrates many kinds of authority shapes, including human sentiment contacting power, half-bureaucratic power, resources-exchanging power, organizational cooperating power and each kind of strategy power and so on. Among them, "human sentiment logic" brings out the most obvious function. Finally, to the different main body, the different organization as well as the different type inhabitants, residents' committee's appearance is or to the administration, or to the service, its autonomy is actually seldom mentioned.

We may summarize five kinds of logics of city community power's operating, namely the attachment logic, the consultative cooperation logic, the elite-leading logic, the human sentiment logic and the service logic. "The attachment logic" mainly refers: residents' committee as the engine of the community construct, its workers is the main body to operate the community power and displays the intense relationship to the government. "The consultative cooperation logic" refers the "altogether wins" endeavor done by the residents' committee, the community organization and its member. This kind of relational balance takes the organization resources as the foundation, takes the elites' joint as the safeguard. "The elite-leading logic" refers most organizational elites have its worthy status and power. In this foundation, union between outstanding persons also strengthens them in the community power's operating process as leading role. "The human sentiment logic" depends on the interpersonal relationship, which is playing the different role along with the interaction develops, and the familiar degree approximately relates with the sentiment, the face, look-after factor, and so on. "Service exchange logic" is: the residents' committee workers take service as the weapon to accumulate organization's and individual authority, to expanse activity space, to obtain own status, and finally to win the inhabitant and other organization's trust and approvals.

The above several logics reflect the lacking of the auto-organizing logic and democratic logic. It can be said that, as

to the investigation spot, logics of the city community power's operating has its own distinctive qualities, are different to the government's, the village community's and the western community's.

Key words Power; Actor; Power's Operating; Interaction; Resident's Committee

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