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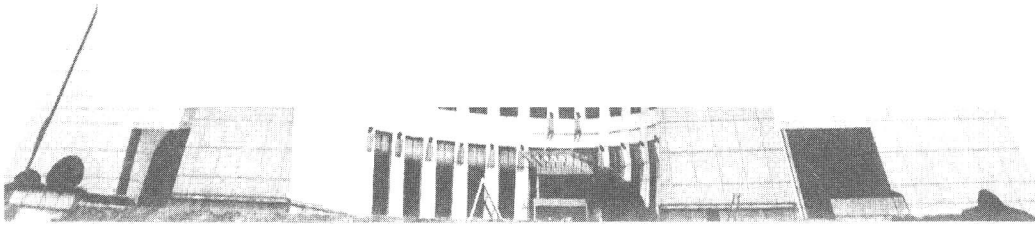
- 作者：路学仁
- 专业：社会学
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# **Structural Characteristics of the Problem of Beggars in Modern Chinese Cities and Study of Its Causation**

**Candidate:** Lu Xue ren

**Major:** Sociology

**Supervisor:** Deng Wei zhi

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# 上海大学

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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## 答辩委员会对论文的评语

答辩委员会认为,本论文以当今中国城市所面临的乞丐问题为研究对象,透过对各种乞讨现象及“问题化”案例的描述和分析,探讨了乞丐问题的主要内涵特征及其社会形成机制。尤其以“问题”的呈现结果和过程为主线,重点对解组因素、家庭功能危机与乞丐问题之间所特有的因果链关系进行了深入剖析。本文选题有较好的学理价值,而且具有重要的现实意义。

在研究方法上将个案分析与宏观分析结合起来。依据大量的乞讨现象和“问题”资料,总结了当前城市乞讨现象的根本特征和问题构成,努力把握乞丐问题所赖以产生的社会解组因素。

答辩委员会认为,论文以微观分析为起点,在行文中能够将微观现象与社会转型期的宏观背景结合起来。本文视野开阔,观点鲜明、资料翔实、逻辑性强、语言表达清晰、行文规范,符合博士论文的基本要求。答辩委员会对答辩表示基本满意。

## 答辩委员会表决结果

经答辩委员会表决,全票同意通过路学仁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: **吴锋**

2007年4月1日

## 摘 要

20 世纪 80 年代以来,随着经济社会体制的全方位改革和向纵深发展,中国在政治、经济、思想、文化等诸多领域发生了剧烈的变迁。在这个社会转型期内,以市场为主导的资源配置模式、城乡社会管理体制以及各方面政策制度的变革等,引致了整个社会利益格局、群体结构的重新调整,导致社会分化加剧,弱势群体增多。在许多领域,相应的新制度、新规范尚未完善和适应新的变革,而旧有的社会秩序、价值规范、道德体系等因受到了极大的冲击而纷纷失灵或解组。新旧体制的摩擦,各社会领域改革进度的不均衡发展,不可避免地引发了一些新的社会冲突、失范现象、社会问题。当前中国城市的乞丐问题就是在这个大背景下出现的一个令人困惑而又备受争议的现实问题。

本研究的基本对象是中国当前的城市乞丐问题,力图透过纷繁复杂的乞讨现象,来探讨其本质内涵和形成机制。在概念的理解上,我们把城市乞丐问题看作是围绕着乞丐的产生、存在及相关行动而引发的一系列社会矛盾和冲突。从整体上看,乞丐问题内容复杂,既包括乞丐群体的现实生存困境,某些个人、群体在生存道路选择方式上是否正当、行为上是否越轨的问题,也包括乞丐涌入城市后所引发的各种社会冲突和城市管理难题。从结构上看乞丐问题还表现出明显的层次性,从个人到家庭,从政府到社会,从物质利益到思想价值,从正式的规章



制度、法律政策到非正式的风俗习惯、文化规范,无不渗透着“问题”的痕迹。换言之,本研究中把乞丐问题看作一个以乞丐及其乞讨行为为中心、纵横交织起来的“问题群”。

结合乞讨行动的特点及其功能,追寻乞讨行动所具有的个人意义和社会意义,对分析乞丐问题至关重要。乞讨作为一种本能的生存方式,在一定程度上是政府和社会文化所允许和容忍的,是政府和制度在“失职”、“失效”状态下,某些陷入生存困境中的人在无可奈何、无能为力时的“救命稻草”。从乞讨运行的运行机制看,乞丐们既不依靠政府和社会组织,也不依靠家族或朋友等血缘组织、亲情关系,而是他们自己走上街头,主动寻求帮助,这明显不同于其他正式的社会性救济手段。在原始意义上,可以把乞讨看作是一种特殊的、自救与他救相结合的生存形式,对于防止某些人铤而走险,维护社会安定,具有一定的积极功能。但是,乞讨现象毕竟是一种非正常的、消极的社会现象,根据不同的标准,文中将对由此呈现出或引发的种种后果加以“问题化”分析。

文中主要对三方面的内容进行了探讨:首先根据大量的资料,通过对乞丐群体的人员构成、乞讨方式、行为方式的分析,对当今中国城市乞讨现象的表现与乞丐群体的结构特征进行描述、归纳和分析。其次,对所谓的各种乞丐问题进行澄清。乞丐问题具有复杂的内涵,不同的人、站在不同的立场、运用不同的角度,都会对乞丐问题做出种种评判。对当前的城市乞丐问题如何定性,不但会影响社会对乞丐的态度,而且是政府制定相关政策的基本依据。遵循客观、公平、独立的原则,借助于对社会各界所反映的问题资料的分析,试图揭示出当今城市乞

丐问题的本质内涵。最后,文中对当今城市乞丐问题的形成原因进行了较为系统的探讨,重点分析了家庭危机与乞丐问题之间的相互关联。

城市乞丐问题形成于改革开放后的社会转型期,在研究逻辑上,我们提出一个总的疑问:改革开放以前,我国总体经济发展水平远不如现在,为什么城市没有发生严重的乞丐问题?我们知道,伴随着城市化的迅速推进与社会的剧烈转型,乞丐问题所面临的环境与条件、所体现的社会关系与利益冲突等,从要素到结构都发生了深刻的变化,所有这些都为新时期的乞丐问题注入了新的意蕴,大大拓展了乞讨原来所具有的救济功能,丰富了乞丐问题的内涵。按照结构功能主义的解释,乞讨现象作为一种非正常的社会现象,意味着社会运行系统的不平衡和失调,造成这种失调的条件和动力必定与当时的社会体制、制度、政策、价值文化有关,比如,计划经济、平均分配、城乡壁垒、思想道德规范、价值观念、低人口流动、对乞丐的控制性措施等都对乞丐问题的发生起着某种抑制作用。鉴于上述考虑,文中在对影响乞讨行为产生的各种推动因素、抑制因素和条件性因素等进行探究时,对中国社会转型期间在关系结构、政策制度、思想文化等方面的所发生的种种解组和失范现象给予充分的关注,致力于从中发掘出社会解组现象在乞丐问题上的作用痕迹,从而试图为当今乞丐问题的产生机制寻求一个学理上的解释。

本研究运用社会解组的理论框架,从形形色色的乞讨现象和大量的乞讨案例入手,通过对乞丐与城市在互动过程中所发生的利益、价值观、矛盾、冲突和事件的分析,试图揭示出当前

中国城市乞讨现象的特征和所谓“问题”的本质内涵,在此基础上,梳理出乞丐问题的制度性成因。重点论证,在社会转型过程中,社会制度、社会结构、思想文化、价值观念等领域广泛出现的社会失范现象、失调现象,已经对中国的家庭产生了巨大的冲击,导致了家庭功能在许多方面出现了危机。家庭是社会的基本细胞组织,它处于联系社会与个人的枢纽地位,正是这些功能危机推动着诸多家庭源源不断地向社会“输出”乞丐。由此,本文提出,目前解决乞丐问题的切入点在于,要让家庭负起责任。通过完善相关制度和加强监督力度,使家庭有能力也切实负起相应的责任。

**关键词** 乞讨;乞丐;乞丐问题;社会解组;家庭危机

## Abstract

Since the 1980s, along with all-round reform of the economic and social structure and its development in depth, China has undergone a good many changes in political, economic, ideological, cultural fields and so on. During this period of social transition, the market-oriented resource allocation model, urban and rural social management system, as well as the changes of the policies at almost all levels, led to the realignment of the interest structure and the population structure of the whole community, which resulting in social polarization and increase in disadvantaged groups. In many fields, the corresponding new system and new specification is not yet perfect and adapt to the new changes, but the old social order, value criterion and ethics system become a failure or disorganization due to a major impact. The friction between the new and old systems and the unbalanced development of social reform lead to a number of new social conflicts and social issues inevitably. The problem of urban beggars in today's China just comes forth in this background, and it's a perplexing and controversial reality.

The basic object of this study is the problem of urban beggars in today's China. It's trying to explore its essence and forming mechanism through the complex phenomenon of

begging. In the understanding of the concept, we treat the problem of urban beggars as a series of social contradictions and conflicts triggered by beggars' appearance, existence and actions. From an overall perspective, the problem of beggars is complex. It involves the difficult position of the beggar groups, whether the choices are correctly made in survival mode for certain individuals and groups, whether the actions are aberrant and various social conflicts and urban management problems arisen after the influx of beggars. From a structural point of view, the problem of beggars also shows a remarkable characteristic of level, from the individual to the family, from the government to society, from the material interests to mental values, from the formal rules and regulations, laws and policies to the informal customs, and cultural norms, all are permeated with a "problem" at the scene. In other words, this study treats the problem of beggars as a "problem cluster" which takes the begging act as a center.

Pursuing the personal meaning and social significance of the begging action is the starting point for the analysis of the problem of beggars. Begging as a means of survival instinct, it's permitted by the government and the social and cultural to some extent, and it's somebody's "last straw" when they fall into the plight of survival in the condition of government and system's "dereliction of duty" and "failure". Formally, beggars neither rely on the government and social organizations, nor on family or friends, relatives, instead,

they take to the streets to seek assistance, which is different from other formal means of social relief. In the original sense, we could look at it as a special, combining self-help with the rescue survival form, it plays a positive role in preventing someone from risk and maintaining social stability. However, the phenomenon of begging, after all, is a non-normal, negative social phenomena. According to different standards, this article will put all kinds of consequences into "problem".

This paper discuss the problem mainly from three aspects: Firstly, describing and summarizing the performance of the urban begging in today's China and the characteristics of the structure of the beggar groups, through the analysis of the groups' composing, ways of begging, and behaviors, based on a lot of information. Secondly, analyzing the so-called problem of beggars. The problem of beggars has complex content, it will make the problem of beggars of all judges for different people from different positions using different perspective. Taking the phenomenon of begging as a clue, we're trying to show the essence of contemporary city beggars. Finally, discussing the reasons for the formation of the problem in a systematic way, and analyzing the relationship between the family crisis and problem of beggars emphatically.

The problem of urban beggars forms in the period of social transformation, in the study of logic, we present a general queries: Before the reform and opening-up policy,

China's overall economic development was much worse, but why no serious urban problems of beggars took place? We know that with the rapid urbanization and transformation, the beggars problems facing the environment and conditions embodied in the social relations and conflict of interest, from the elements to the structure, have undergone profound changes. All of these have injected new meanings into beggars problems in the new period, broadened the original function of the relief and enriched the connotation of beggars problems. According to the explanation of, begging as a non-normal social phenomena means imbalances and asymmetries of the social operating system. The condition of the imbalance and momentum is certainly associated with social systems, policies and the culture of value. For example, the planned economy, average distribution, barriers between the cities, ideological and moral standards, values, low population flow and control measures to the beggars will play a inhibiting role in the beggars problems. According to this, the paper integrates driving factor, inhibition factors and conditions which will impact begging to analysis the phenomenon in the relationship structures, policies and systems and the ideological and cultural during the period of China's social transformation, thus trying to find an academic explanation for the cause of the current problem of beggars.

In this study, we take the theoretical framework of social disorganization, from all forms of begging and a lot of begging cases, through the analysis of the interests, values,

contradictions, conflicts and incident in the interactive process between beggars and cities, trying to reveal the characteristics of China's current urban phenomenon of begging and the essential content of the so-called "problem", and on this basis, sum up the problem of beggars in the system causes, demonstrate emphatically the tremendous impact on the China's family due to the phenomenon in the social system, social structure, ideology and culture and values during the process of social transformation, thus leading to the function of the many families into crisis, and the families with problems is one of fundamental reasons for formation of the urban beggars problem. As family plays a importance role in linking community and individuals, this paper proposes that the starting point for solving the problem of beggars is to make the family responsible.

**Key words** Begging; Beggar; Problem of Beggars; Social Disorganization; family crisis



# 目 录

<b>第一章 导论</b>	1
1.1 研究缘起	1
1.2 研究问题及基本思路	11
1.3 研究框架	15
1.4 研究方法	15
<b>第二章 主要理论、研究现状及相关概念界定</b>	19
2.1 社会问题的理论阐释	19
2.1.1 社会问题的一般理论观点	19
2.1.2 社会问题的构成要素及认定过程	27
2.1.3 社会问题的类型	28
2.2 乞丐问题的相关理论	30
2.2.1 社会转型论：一种宏观解释	31
2.2.2 社会交换论：乞讨行动何以可能	32
2.2.3 理性选择理论(rational choice theory)： 职业乞丐的理性动机	34
2.2.4 社会剥夺理论(social deprivation theory)： “前乞丐”是被剥夺者吗？	38
2.2.5 社会排斥理论(social exclusion theory)： 社会对“前乞丐”在就业方面的排斥	39
2.3 相关概念的界定	42
2.3.1 乞丐与乞讨	42
2.3.2 职业乞丐、假乞丐、“前乞丐”	45
2.3.3 乞丐群体、丐帮与黑社会	47