

in Taiwan



台灣的社區與組織

Communities and Organizations in Taiwan 李天賞 / 主編

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序言

在經濟的快速發展、科技的日益革新、以及產業結構的不斷變遷下,台灣的鄉村和都市,以及存在其中的人民和組織,都逐漸遠離土地,農業,和農業時代祖先傳承下來的宗教信仰和活動。政府的運作,特別是教育的普及和擴充,加工區和工業區的設置,以及外資的引進,終於陸續帶來製造業,石化業,服務業,和電子業,以及外籍勞工和外籍新娘,也塑造了後來遠赴中國大陸和其他國家投資的台商。從中國大陸傳入的大乘佛教、佛光山、法鼓山、中台禪寺、一貫道,以及本地自己孕育而成的慈濟功德會,不但深入社區之中,而且還以台灣爲基地擴展到世界各地,呈現一股讓世人注目的台灣力量。台灣的鄉村和都市之間也隨著交通的建設和溝通管道的更新,而出現水平和垂直面的計會流動。

這股力量牽動社區和組織的解組和重組,也影響到內部的結構,制度,和運作。其中,農業本身以及農業與土地的關係所受到的衝擊可能最大。無庸置疑地,生活其中的個人,家庭,和團體也很難不受波及。現在的社區和組織的社會體系是如何建構的?建構的因素是什麼?它們的凝聚力何在?如何協調與維繫?在全球化的浪潮下,傳統與現代之間如何替代、並存與消長?社區與行政區域之間有何不同?兩者之間維持一個什麼樣的關係?社會的公平和正義有沒有因爲社區和組織的變遷,而受到正面或負面的衝擊?社區的發展和生活的改善又如何診斷和切入?

國立中山大學中山學術研究所針對這個現代社區發展議題,於 92

年11月21日各大專院

校和研究機構的專家學者和研究生,舉行「台灣的社區與組織」學術研討會。在此,我們特別非常感謝高雄市政府民政局和國立中山大學中山學術研究所,以及高雄市政府教育局,研考會,小港區公所,和大眾銀行的贊助和支持。自國內外來的學者專家有幸在高雄市空中大學發表和討論相關的議題。雖然有些問題尚有待未來繼續思考,研究,和發展,研討會中的討論非常熱烈,收穫也多。因限於篇幅,這本論文集所搜集的僅是部份精選之作而已,難免有遺珠之憾。第一篇的回顧與前瞻所收錄的三篇文章分別從社會互動,政治經濟,和社區研究的經驗論述未來的研究方向。第二篇的文章是以社區發展和社區營造的動力,機制,和政策爲討論的重心;而第三篇的文章基本上是以實證觀察的結果做爲檢驗組織論述的依據。無論是從政治經濟觀點,社會互動論,或其他的理論依據,這些論文的作者都很用心去分析社會行動和運作的過程,以及與社會結構之關係。

李天賞

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COMMUNITY IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY 全球經濟中的社區

Harry K. Schwarzweller*

李天賞**譯

Introduction

Thank you very much for the opportunity to speak with you here at this conference on community and community organizations in Taiwan. It is an honor. And I appreciate the efforts and aims of those who have made this event possible — National Sun Yat-sen University (and its president, Dr. Chang), The Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies, The Civic Affairs Bureau of your Municipal Government, the Social Science College (and its Dean), and Dr. Stan Lee. I have known Dr. Lee and his family for a long, long time – at West Virginia University and at Michigan State University. He is a dear friend, a wonderful person, and a very good sociologist – and I wish him and his family great happiness in the years ahead.

引言

感謝您們給我在這個「台灣的社區和組織研討會」中論述的機會。 這是一個榮譽。我也感激所有對這個研討會有努力和貢獻的人,特別是 國立中山大學,中山學術研究所,高雄市政府民政局,和李天賞博士。 我在很早以前在西維吉尼亞大學和密根州立大學的時侯就已認識李博 士和他的家人。他是一位好朋友,一位好人,也是一位很優秀的社會學 家。我祝福他和他的家人未來生活愉快。

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Many of the papers at this conference, directly or indirectly, touch on the idea of "community" — as a context for social action, and/or as an instrument for the amelioration of social problems. Often, if not invariably, community participation is regarded as a "good thing." Consequently, but especially because I am curious and concerned about how the everyday inter-relationships of ordinary people are being effected by the powerful, impersonal forces of change in our contemporary world, and also because I have become increasingly wary about the relevance and sociological usefulness of the concept of "community," I have elected to focus my attention here on the broad, extremely complex question of "community in a global economy."

在這個研討會中有許多論文直接地或間接地把社區視爲社會行動的境界,以及/或解決社會問題的工具。通常,若不是普遍的話,社區參與都被認爲是一件好事。因此,我特別好奇和關心一般人日常生活中的人際關係如何受到現代社會強而有力沒有人性之變遷力量的影響;而我近來也開始擔心社區概念在社會學上的相關性和適用性。我今天特別把我的討論重點放在全球經濟中一個相當複雜的社區問題。

Community Conceptualized

From the very beginning, "community" has been one of the fundamental concepts in sociology, firmly planted in the discipline by the early founders of sociology – Comte, LePlay, Marx, Toennies, Weber, Durkheim, and Simmel. As I'm sure you too have done and may yet be doing, we in graduate school debated the classic works of these giants, their critics, and the perspectives of later scholars, such as Robert Redfield (1941) and Charles Galpin (1915). Sometimes with anxious desperation, we, as serious students, tried to formulate our own principles of social organization

and our own system for explaining the local context of social action. In those days, "community" was a central problem in the field of rural sociology, and rural sociologists, many of whom leaned strongly toward human ecology, regarded "community" almost in awe, as a vital social grouping or "ecological entity" affecting the lives of rural people (Ensminger and Polson: 1946; Sanderson, 1936). We neophytes believed deeply that the sociological enterprise should observe the basic rules of scientific inquiry, so we pressed our teachers for help in specifying a reasonable conceptual and operational definition of community and appropriate methodologies to study this phenomenon.

社區概念

首先, 社區是孔德, 雷波烈, 馬克斯, 杜尼斯, 韋伯, 涂爾幹, 和 辛末爾等早期社會學所耕耘出來的社會學基本概念。我相信您們像我就 讀研究所時一樣,目前或曾經都爭論過這些大師的大作,以及諸如雷飛 (1941 和高彬(1915)等晚輩學者對他們的評論和觀點。有時在非常的失 望之下我們這些用功的學生會自創品牌,形塑我們自己的社會組織原理 和體系,以解釋社會行動的地方境界。在那一段日子裡,「社區」是鄉 村計會學領域的中心問題,而鄉村社會學家中的多數者都以敬畏的態度 而把「社區」當作一個影響鄉村人民生活的社會團體或「生態的重要實 體」(Ensminger and Polson: 1946; Sanderson, 1936)。我們這些社會學 生手深深相信社會學大業應該觀察科學探討的基本規則,所以我們才求 教於我們的老師,提供合理的社區的理論和操作定義,以及研究這個現 象的適當方法。

In a theory seminar at Cornell University, long, long ago, I mustered the courage to raise my timid student hand and to ask Professor Robin

Williams, author of one of the great books on "American Society" (1970), a rather pointed question: "Professor Williams, you've been talking about boundary-maintaining systems and you've mentioned 'community.' Please, how do you define community? "Professor Williams looked at me with his kind but piercing gaze, took a long drag on his ever present cigarette (in those days professors and students often smoked in class), lifted his head toward the ceiling, and blew a cloud of bluish gray smoke into the air. "A community," he said, "is a vast Chinese garden in the sky." Williams had student of Talcott Parsons at Harvard, and Parsonian structural-functionalism, despite drawing heavily upon the works of Durkheim and Weber, referred to community only in passing; locality groupings (territoriality) and the spatial setting of institutionalized human social behavior (the site of social action) did not receive much attention in Parsonian theory (Parsons, 1951). Professor Williams, I believe, was simply saying to me "Not to worry. You should focus instead on social interactional systems."

很久以前我在康奈爾大學的理論專題討論課中鼓起勇氣,向著有「美國社會」(1970)之大作的威廉斯教授舉起顱抖的學生之手,而問一個相當重點的問題:威教授,您已經談到邊界維護系統,而且您也提到社區,但能不能請界定什麼是社區?威教抬起頭來瞪著我看,而深深吸了一口香菸(那時侯班上的老師和學生都會抽菸),抬頭向天花板,然後吐向空中一股濃濃的白煙。社區,他說,是好大的空中中國庭院。威廉斯是派深斯在哈佛大學的學生,也是派深斯結構功能主義的信徒,既使他在談到社區時也會引用涂爾幹和韋伯的著作;地方團體(區域)和制度化人類社會行為的空間舞台(社會行動的地址)並沒有受到派深思理論(Parsons, 1951).的多大注意。威教授,我相信,只是要我不要擔心。你們應該反而把注意力放在社會互動體系上。

But, over the years, I and many other rural sociologists did worry about "community" — its vagueness and validity as a sociological concept, the methodological difficulties that one encounters in researching community structure and change, and, much more importantly, what seems, even to the casual observer, to be the demise and decline of community as a meaningful social ecological entity and social psychological construct in America and throughout the world – not only in the sprawling metropolises of the world's major cities, such as Detroit, Taipei, Sydney, Lima, and Frankfurt, but also in the rural villages and hinterland localities.

但是多年來,我和許多其他鄉村社會學家確實擔心「社區」--這個社會學概念的模糊性和效度,研究社區結構與變遷時所遭遇到的方法論問題,以及更重要的是,既使不是專業的觀察者也看得出來,社區好像將無法成爲或不再是一個有意義的社會生態實體和社會心理建構的現象已經出現在美國,和整個世界一不僅是在世界主要都市正在擴張中的都會中心如底特律,台北,雪黎,利馬,和法蘭克富,而也發生在各個鄉村和內陸地方。

My good friend and former colleague, the late Professor George A. Hillery, published a fascinating and often cited paper in 1955 that searched out areas of agreement in definitions of community (Hillery, 1955). Ninety-four definitions, pulled from the existing literature, were laboriously analyzed and classified. Not surprisingly, he observed that there was no complete agreement as to the nature of community, except that "people are involved." Social interaction, however, with people united by one or more social bonds, was generally regarded as a main element, whether with or without reference to territoriality.

我的好朋友和以前的同事,已逝的喜來瑞教授,在 1955 年曾經發表一篇很精辟而且經常被引用,探討社區定義中大家有相同看法之地方的論文(Hillery, 1955)。從出版的文獻中他找出 94 個定義,並且加以分析和歸類。沒有出乎意料之外,他觀察到除了「涉及到人」之外,大家對社區性質完全沒有一致的看法。然而,不管有沒有沒牽涉到區域的情形,由一個或多個社會關係所連結的人的社會互動才是社區的主要要素。

I was never very enthusiastic about operationally defining this extremely variable social entity. Rather, for teaching purposes and to guide my own research in rural localities, I focused on a range of elements that should be considered in studying the human community, such as "composed of people and social agencies, integrated through common experiences, an ability to act together as a social organization, consciousness of local unity, and located within a contiguous territory." (For further background, see : Fear and Schwarzweller, 1985; Leonard, et.al, 1993; Wilkinson, 1991.) Probably because of my research on rural migration from Appalachian Kentucky (Schwarzweller, et.al, 1971), where migrant families in the urban areas of destination remain closely attached to their kinsfolk, friends, and social networks at the rural place of origin, I came to believe that spatial contiguity (people residing near each other, sharing a common geographic domain) is not an essential condition for creating and maintaining "community" in a social interactional sense (i.e. in terms of the basic social-psychological requisites of "community" organization and behavior.) But I remain convinced that "a sense of place," whether territorially based (residential environs, homeland, ancestral origins) or deriving from identification with an ethnic, religious, and/or cultural (language) grouping, is vital to shaping the social person. And the latter, identification with an

ethnic, religious, and/or cultural (language) grouping is becoming ever more critical and problematic in this era of economic and cultural globalization, where technological change is accelerating and new ideas and different ways of thinking swirl about us all in a dizzying manner.

我一向不熱衷在操作上如何界定這個變異性非常大的社會實體。不 過,爲了課堂上的目的或爲了自己的研究方向,我會把重點放在研究人 類計區時必須考慮的一些要素上,例如「包括的人和計會運作者,經由 共同經驗的整合,像一個社會組織而一起行動的能力,地方單位的意 識,以及在一個綿廷不繼的領土中的位置」(欲知詳情請看: Fear and Schwarzweller, 1985; Leonard, et.al, 1993; Wilkinson, 1991.)。可能是因爲 我研究肯塔基州阿帕拉契山地區的鄉村移民(Schwarzweller, et.al, 1971),而發現那些家庭移到都市之後還是繼續與原來鄉下的親戚,朋 友,以及社會網絡有往來的連繫的原因,所以我才相信從社會互動的觀 點來看(也就是以社區,組織與行爲的社會-心理的先決條件來說),空間 上的相聯爲鄰(大家住在附近,有一個共同的地方)不是建構和維護「社 區」的重要條件。但是,我一直相信,不管是不是有地緣上的立基點(厝 邊,故鄉,故居),還是從族群,宗教,和/或文化(語言)的團體運作的 認同上的緣由而來,「地方的感受」是塑造社會人絕對不可或缺的。而 且,在加速科技變遷,新思潮,和不同想法一再衝擊著我們的經濟和交 化全球化的時代裡,從族群,宗教,和/或文化(語言)的團體運作上之認 同的後者正變得更加重要和難以捉摸。

Let me note that my general orientation to the social issues and theoretical challenges that are represented by the problem of community in a global economy has been influenced greatly by the writings of Ferdinand Toennies and his classic formulation of the "Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft"

typology (Toennies, 1887, 1940, 1988, 2001; see also, Atoji, 1984; Cahnman, 1995; Heberle, 1941). Gemeinschaft relationships, as Toennies saw it, have temporal depth: they are familiar, comfortable, and enduring. Gesellschaft relationships, on the other hand, are characteristic of social interactions in the public sphere; they are more transient and superficial (Harris, 2001: 18-19). The two forms of social interaction co-exist, but in varying degrees. Gesellschaft type relationships have been documented in the most traditional rural communities, and Gemeinschaft relationships play an integral and vital part in the lives of all of us, even in the relative chaos of mass society. Toennis typology, explains Harris (2001) "-- focuses on the universally endemic clash between small-scale, kinship and neighborhood-based 'communities' and large-scale competitive market 'societies." I shall refer to this later, for I believe that: 1) economic globalization appears to threaten what little communal relationship structures remain woven into the fabric of life in most neo-modern, industrial societies; 2) communal relationship structures, of the kind represented by Toennis' conceptualization of "Gemeinschaft," are essential to the stability and meaningfulness of social life; and 3) the loss of communal relationships cannot be compensated for by the more impersonal associational interactions characteristic of a frantic, export-import oriented market economy. On the other hand, perhaps I am just a romantic, longing for times past, when neighborhoods were not simply a collection of cordial "neigh-dwellers" and when the local marketplace was a warm and friendly place to do the family's shopping.

我要在此聲明,我對全球經濟的社區問題有關的社會議題和理論挑 戰的基本想法主要是來自杜尼斯的著作,和他在社區-組織的古曲分類 法(Toennies, 1887, 1940, 1988, 2001; see also, Atoji, 1984; Cahnman, 1995; Heberle, 1941)。誠如杜尼斯所認識的一樣,計區關係是有時間上的長 度:這些關係是大家所熟悉的,可以接受的,而且是可長可久的。在另 一方面,組織關係是公共領域中之計會互動的特性;這些關係是比較會 善變的,而且是比較表面的(Harris, 2001: 18-19)。 這兩種互動關係相 依相存,但有不同的程度。組織類型關係已有記錄證實出現在大部份的 傳統鄉村社會中,而社區關係則扮演著一個整合和關鍵的角色於我們所 有人的生活當中,甚至是在相當混亂的社會裡。杜尼斯的類型,依照哈 禮斯的解釋(2001),『--著重在小規模,親屬,以及鄰里之社區與大規模 競爭性的市場社會之間普遍存在的磨擦』。我會在後面對這個現象再做 說明。 但是,我以爲:1) 經濟全球化可能會有把小、社區式的關係結 構之殘遺編織入大多數工業社會之生活的危害; 2) 代表杜尼斯所說的 社區的計區關係是維護計會生活之穩定和意義不可或缺的重要要素;3) 社區關係的流失是無法從支離破碎、進口-出口導向的市場經濟中較沒 有人性的互動聯繫護得補償。在另一方面,我只是一位追求過去彼此之 間有濃厚鄉情的「鄰居」,和一家人覺得有人情溫暖和友誼的購物市場 的過往雲煙的羅曼蒂克理想主義者而已。

Globalization and Community

The literature on what we refer to as the processes of "globalization" is huge and growing. In the past few years there has been a flood of books, conference papers, and journal articles in the social sciences (political science, economics, sociology) that deal in one way or the other with the problems and challenges associated with globalization, and as well a comparable stream of publications and magazine articles relating to the financial and business sectors – including management guides for the new wave of corporate executives – which provide prescriptions for adjusting to