

本土知识在当代的兴起

——知识、权力与发展的相互关联

The Rise of Indigenous Knowledge in the Contemporary World:

Interaction of Knowledge, Power and Development

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The Rise of Indigenous Knowledge in the Contemporary World: Interaction of Knowledge, Power and Development

Abstract

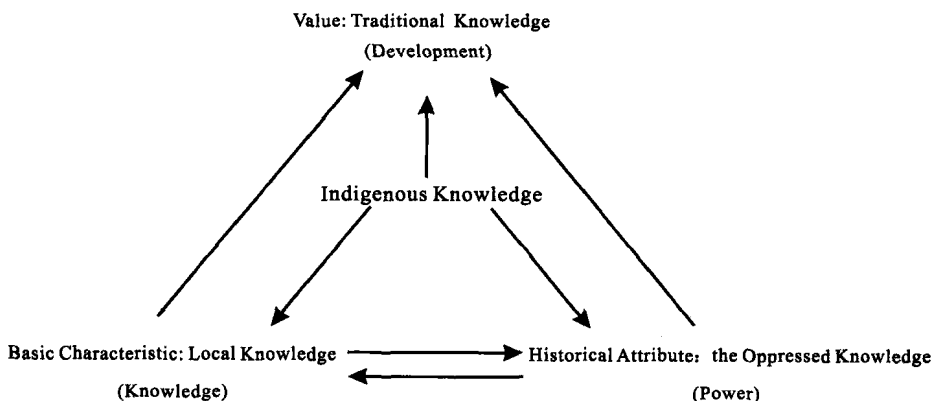
1. Indigenous knowledge is deeply rooted in the complicated historical context and diversified cultural background; therefore it shall not be defined in a simplified approach.

For a long time, there are two opposite approaches of defining indigenous knowledge: either, to generalize or to politicalize the concept of indigenous knowledge, in some extreme cases, the modern science knowledge is deemed as the indigenous knowledge of Europe; thus independence and autonomy of the indigenous people is the logic destination of indigenous knowledge; or, to neglect or suppress indigenous knowledge by declaring the end and death to indigenous knowledge in a time of modern technology.

There is also a third perspective of development experts and researchers who hold a politically neutral definition of indigenous knowledge by being affirmative about its value in practice; yet such definition inevitably makes ambiguous the dimensions of indigenous knowledge and ignores the historical composition of indigenous knowledge.

The revival of indigenous knowledge is not only the rejuvenation of traditional content and form of regional or local knowledge; it is the reflection of the modern topic as colonial history and development. In the context of conflict between South and North in the contemporary world, interaction of knowledge, power and development is not only the reason of revival of indigenous knowledge, but also the key to disclose the connotation of indigenous knowledge. In the perspective of knowledge, indigenous knowledge is a relative concept; it is local and different from the universal science knowledge. In the sense of power structure, indigenous knowledge takes a historical contribution as being oppressed, linked to indigenous power, casting its influence on the existence of its owner, relationship between the

South and the North or even global security. In the sense of development, indigenous knowledge is traditional; it has inestimable value for development as indigenous knowledge is the reflection of the cultural value of history and tradition. On the other hand, development is the convergence of power and knowledge; the cultural dimension of development is the main approach to disclose, protect and apply the richness of indigenous knowledge. Therefore, the proper defining of indigenous knowledge shall start from the fundamental characteristics, the historical attribute and value of indigenous knowledge, and include contemporary character of the interaction between knowledge, power and development, as well as the signified and signifier of regional knowledge, the oppressed knowledge and traditional knowledge, and the interrelationship of the three. In other words, indigenous knowledge is local knowledge, unique to the place in cultural, social, and regional senses, different from the universal knowledge that derived from university, research institutions or private enterprises. Indigenous knowledge is the knowledge of the oppressed, the spiritual and intellectual assets that have been awakened by the difference between the South and the North. Indigenous knowledge is traditional knowledge, decision-making basis for the community in food security, human and animal stock healthcare, management and education of natural resources as the efficiency and economy of indigenous knowledge have been proved by the long-term practices. The local attribute of indigenous knowledge is linked with the feature of its being oppressed; the two features converge in the development practices, and they mutually define the range of value of indigenous knowledge.



2. In 20th century, the evolution of science, philosophy, sociology of science knowledge, studies of science and technology, provides an enriched knowledge background to understand and accept indigenous knowledge, and deepens the understanding of difference and link between indigenous knowledge and science knowledge. In a dialectical sense, though there is distinctive difference between indigenous and science knowledge as they have different orientation, they are also inter-linked as they are borrowing and complementary to each other.

3. The concept of indigenous knowledge is profoundly linked with anthropological heritage. Culture serves as the core of indigenous perception, despite that indigenous culture might be ambiguous; otherwise the concept of indigenous knowledge is meaningless. After the academic humanist criticism and profound concern about development in post-War era, anthropology takes culture as its object of study, and provides the knowledge basis for the creation of indigenous perspective and enrichment of connotation of indigenous power. The fundamental perspective and approach of anthropology, namely Relative Theory of Culture, field study, emic perspective, etc. provides the study of indigenous knowledge with basis of methodology. In the meanwhile, anthropology plays the role of bridging indigenous and science knowledge during the collision of Western civilization and indigenous culture.

4. Indigenous scholars link closely the revival of indigenous knowledge to colonization history and de-colonization movement, and they oppose to the hegemony of the Western knowledge paradigm, and the dismissal of the power dimension of indigenous knowledge by the Western academics.

The intellectual property relating to indigenous knowledge is the core of power dimension to indigenous knowledge, if indigenous scholars have ever been fussy on the power dimension of indigenous knowledge, or they have an un-promising tendency of over-politicalizing that runs counter to the mainstream of peace and development nowadays. The intellectual property of indigenous property has been infringed upon in large amounts; therefore distinctive divergence exists between the North and the South in the protection of intellectual property to indigenous knowledge. As Southern countries face much difficulty in protecting their indigenous

knowledge, the intellectual property of the indigenous knowledge deserves a thorough study.

5. There are two evolution routes to the revival of indigenous knowledge: the knowledge route and the power route.

The knowledge route sees indigenous knowledge as traditional knowledge, and emphasizes on the practical value of indigenous knowledge in agriculture, environment, and medical care. The power route sees the indigenous knowledge as marginalized and oppressed knowledge, pays concern to function of indigenous knowledge in safeguard of rights, education, common understanding in culture, structuring of country, and continuously strengthens the the function and purpose of indigenous knowledge in the process of de-colonization.

In the 1990s, on one hand, the decrease of ideological confrontation and the adoption of sustained development approach strengthen the development of knowledge route; on the other hand, as global issues appear during the process of globalization, the conflict of the South and the North influence profoundly global development and security, and the power route is strengthened in academic domains, instead of being weakened.

Despite the profound background both in studies of knowledge and power, the significance and role of indigenous knowledge in arena of development are paid great concern, considering the global development momentum of indigenous knowledge. Development needs indigenous knowledge; in the meanwhile, development provides opportunity and room for the reviving of indigenous knowledge.

In a few decades after WW II, as development evolves from growth and fair growth to over-all and sustained development, the opinion that traditional knowledge and system are barriers to development has been generally abandoned; indigenous knowledge is seen as the key factor for sustained resource utilization and balanced development.

Cultural Dimension of Development published in 1980 marks the practices of indigenous knowledge entering into different arena of development. At the end of 1980's and in the early 1990s, as theoretical study to concept of indigenous knowledge deepens and the value of indigenous knowledge is approved extensively,

the influence of indigenous knowledge to development increases gradually. In the late 1990s, some major international development agencies started systematic research and application of indigenous knowledge. At the same time, the Southern countries set up some specialized institutions to protect and make use of indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge draws increasing attention in global development, casting more and more global impact.

6. In recent years, the practice of African indigenous knowledge enriches increasingly; therefore, the significance and role of indigenous knowledge appears more and more distinctive, and it becomes an alternative to solve the dilemma of African development that draws much attention.

What does Africa rely on to survive in the last hundreds of thousands years? Half of modern African population live under poverty line, 75% of the employment is on part-time basis, mainly in communities. How shall employment in Africa increase to eradicate the problem of poverty of the African continent under such context? Why Western governments, financial institutions and MNCs provide Africa with aids to fight against poverty, but only leave African countries with debts, reliance on aids, prejudice in trading and more poverty? The African tropical forest amounts to 2 million square kilometers, the second largest in the world to Amazon tropical forest in South America and called “2nd lung of the earth”; this is the material livelihood to some 400 million African people. From 1990 to 2005, according to Food & Agriculture Organization of the United Nation, the African continent lost 9% of its forest during 1990 to 2005, half of the total global forest loss. Africa is the continent that has the most varied dialects; however, the influence of some 400 to 500 of the total 1,400 sorts of African dialects have decreased drastically, according to a recent report by UNESCO, among which 250 sorts of dialects are near extinction. How would Africa protect the biological and cultural diversity this continent relies on? In recent years, the practice and theory of African indigenous knowledge has been proved to play an essential role in food security, disease control, environment management, natural resource development and mining, modern technology application, education and structuring of the country, etc. Indigenous knowledge is not only important but also fundamental to the development of Africa, a continent

that has historical colonial legacy system, bad infrastructure for development, extreme poverty and large number of poverty-stricken population as well as a fragile ecosystem and strange process of country evolution.

7. It will damage the potential value and peculiarity of indigenous knowledge to see indigenous knowledge as merely the mass of all knowledge known, or to over-generalize and simplify indigenous knowledge by separating the knowledge from its background. The value of the indigenous knowledge is inseparable with indigenous environment; therefore many indigenous solutions have their own background. The indigenous knowledge will not be properly protected and made use of if there is not a proper appreciation of it.

Indigenous knowledge is necessary to development, if not sufficient. Even to a local context, it is impossible for indigenous knowledge and collective memory to explain and solve all the problems the community face. It is the correct method to integrate indigenous knowledge with modern science and technology. In fact, such integration took place as long as a few centuries ago, only to speed up the pace in the context of globalization. As for how the indigenous knowledge should be protected in the process of modernization nowadays, it is really challenging to establish a complementary relationship between indigenous knowledge and modern science and technology in which none of the two is eroding the other, instead, the one nourishes the other.

There are two extreme tendencies in treating indigenous knowledge: pan-politicalization versus indifference to unbalanced power structure due to colonial history and conflict between the North and the South; or ethnic centrism versus pessimism of being over-humble. There shall be good compromise between defining the relationship of indigenous knowledge and cultural tradition and identifying the difference and link of indigenous knowledge and science; as well as proper concession between focus on the practical value and on its spiritual and cultural significance to indigenous knowledge. These topics are only studied and solved in the practices in a cautious approach: a decision-making process that, basing on communication and participation, induces sharing and applying the knowledge of the local communities to mitigate the risk of either boycotting modern science or

dismissing indigenous authorization.

8. The international development agencies and Africa have made various and constructive efforts to protecting and applying indigenous knowledge; such efforts have accumulated valuable reflection and experience for the Southern countries to deal with the conflict of the North and the South, to respond to challenge of globalization, and to find a self-relied and sustained path to development.

For Southern countries, the West forces its ideal future by the Western political, economical and cultural influence, instead of defining future for the South. When he talks about the hope, dream and plan to future, a westerner will inevitably think in a Western mind-cell. Different history, experience, and ideology nourish varied perspective to reality and possibility to future. Practices prove that the chance of success is better if the Southern countries adopt the ideal and reform that accord with its life style, production, ideology and tradition. In this sense, indigenous knowledge is the treasure of the Southern countries.

9. There is remarkable academic significance to research of indigenous knowledge, for such research involves multi-disciplines of sciences. For example, how to identify and classify indigenous knowledge? How to link the indigenous knowledge system to the system of modern science and technology? These topics are studied by knowledge science, sociology of science knowledge, philosophy of science, information science, studies of culture at different levels. As a knowledge system via practice, the topics of its application and protection, and its integration into development and education plans need thorough research by experts of different fields of study, such as agriculture, ecology, environment protection, medicine, development, economy, and education, etc. It poses to the academics and experts of the Southern countries the questions of defining the connotation of intellectual property to indigenous knowledge, and identifying an indigenously adapted approach to respond to the economical globalization, social popularization of knowledge, convergence of cultural, and integration of technology; as the answers to such urgent and complicated questions are not only linked to the future and ideals of a nation, to the global securities of food, ecology and society, but ultimately to the conflict between the Southern and Northern countries with much academic significance.

Meanwhile, the research of indigenous knowledge involves many complicated theoretical issues; to name a few, dialectical integration of indigenous knowledge and modern science and technology; diversity and generic homogenization of culture, human rights issues in culture and languages, defining the traditional cultural heritage and the knowledge it vehicles, as well as some other questions as who should safeguard the rights to culture in the absence of a global governance, what the colonists have done to devaluating the value and the tradition of mouth-to-mouth teaching of indigenous knowledge, how should the tradition of mouth-to-mouth teaching and indigenous knowledge should link to the poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged people, how the prejudiced and misperceived theoretical approaches should be avoided, and finally the legal or ethical problems of how the knowledge of the disadvantaged people will not be deprived of; these questions are of extensive research significance.

10. The civilization of ancient China has such a long history and heritage which has not been interrupted for thousands of years, eg. the well-known traditional Chinese medicine. However, the influence of scientism escalate increasingly, and indigenous knowledge is oppressed, sabotaged and abandoned for quite a long time, as the reflection and criticism to indigenous knowledge are made one time after another, and Westernization is introduced one time after another since the Opium War. For example, in recent years, the academics are still negative and skeptical to traditional Chinese medicine. The contemporary China needs to pay attention to the study, protection and application of indigenous knowledge during its modernization process, and solves the problems of sustained development and growth, food for its over one billion population, natural resources and environment management, rural issues and urbanization, and research and development of its own intellectual property.

Key Words: Indigenous Knowledge, Power, Development

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引言：本土知识在当代兴起的演进 路线

本土知识在当代的兴起有两个前提：一是殖民统治的终结，二是前殖民地国家在民族解放运动中获得独立。前者解除了殖民霸权对本土的压制，后者使发展成为时代主题，二者结合在一起，彰显了本土知识的意义。在此背景下，本土知识在当代兴起的过程中，形成了两条演进路线：权力路线和知识路线。权力路线注重本土知识在管理、教育、文化认同以及去殖民化和国家建构中的功用和使命；知识路线注重本土知识在农业、环境、医疗等方面的实用价值。进入1990年代，一方面，随着意识形态对抗的淡出及可持续发展理念的增强，促进了知识路线的发展；另一方面，全球问题在经济全球化进程中凸显，南北矛盾深刻影响着全球的发展和安​​全，权力路线不仅没有被削弱，反而在学术领域日益被关注。这两种趋势在反对西方中心论、反思全球化的旗帜下会合，引起广泛探讨。就广大的发展中国家而言，民族独立、国家建构和发展，受到漫长的殖民历史的深刻影响和制约，如何摆脱殖民历史的阴影，建构新型南北关系，以应对全球化不断提速背景下知识经济的挑战，这一问题使知识、权力与发展的相互关联成为后殖民时代、全球化时代的特征。

简单讲，本土知识（indigenous knowledge, IK）即地方文化中所包含的传统知识（traditional knowledge, TK），是古老的知识形态，由来已久。但是，在近几十年里，“本土”（indigenous）和“知识”（knowledge）组合在一起，不仅指传统知识的内容和形式，而且包含着发展的立场和方法，^①与近代以来西方殖民扩张导致的知识、权力不对称，与南方国家的去殖民化运动，与后殖民时代的全球化进程及其相关的全球贫困问题、环境问题、安全问题等发展问题联系在一起。因此，本土知识在当代的兴起，是殖民历史负荷的反映，同时也是南北关系背景下知识、权力与发展相互关联这一时代特征的反映。

（一）

上世纪上半叶的两次世界大战，是近代以来西方资本主义扩张导致的最为残酷的全球性灾难。然而，物极必反，正是这一史无前例的人为灾难，埋葬了西方长达数百年的殖民统治体系，遏制了西方霸权主义在全球肆意掠夺的步伐，唤醒了饱受殖民主义压迫和摧残的民众。二战后，民族解放运动蓬勃展开，新兴的南方国家如雨后春笋般崛起，世界格局悄然改变：冷战对抗与南北矛盾交叉缠绕在一起，成为左右全球局势的主要力量。1990年代初，冷战结束，为全球广泛而深入的联系创造了坚实的平台，经济全球化趋势迅速成长，发展成为第一位的主题，南北矛盾在新的时代背景下进一步凸显。尽管南北间的界限难以严格确定，且处在变动当中，但南北间存在的贫富差距、发展鸿沟（development gap）是显在的，它深刻影响着世界的经济、文化和政治变化，构成主导当代世界的一个基

^① Trevor W. Purcell, "Indigenous Knowledge and Applied Anthropology: Questions of Definition and Direction", *Human Organization*, Fall 1998, 57 (3), ABI/INFORM Global, p.258.

本矛盾。^①从长时段的历史视点看，公元1500年以前，世界的交往主要在同纬度的东西方进行，跨纬度的南北联系因受到气候和地理因素的限制处于次要地位；^②殖民时代，北方以一边倒的优势主宰着世界；进入后殖民时代，冷战对抗不过是一个短暂的插曲，而南北关系所包含着的厚重的历史根源和复杂多样的现时问题，成为更具根本性的矛盾。南北关系主要体现在贫富差异上，但深层原因与历史、文化、地理、经济、政治等有着复杂的联系。从知识经济的角度看，近代以来，北方一直是知识增长的发动机，处于主导地位。今天，知识已成为生产力的核心要素，而西方仍在领跑科学技术，在南北间筑起了知识壁垒、技术壁垒。于是，知识导致南北间的机会、权力严重失衡，处于知识生产低阶上的南方国家，将如何发展？因此，在当代，知识、权力与发展的关联性，成为南北关系的焦点。这就是为什么20世纪60年代以来，现代化与反现代化、西化与反西化、全球化与反全球化、科学主义与反科学主义之间的对垒和争论时起时伏的根本性原因。从这些事态中可以看到，一种反动的力量在日趋形成，那就是南方一些国家把视线聚焦到本土与自立之上，力图打开本土知识与创新相连接的大门。同时，在西方中心论普遍失去市场，后现代思潮和科学相对主义大大拓展了知识视野的交互作用之下，本土视角受到越来越多的关注，本土权力的诉求意识不断高涨，发展的文化维度被置于重要的地位。

正是在上述背景下，二战结束后本土知识开始逐渐兴起。

① 南方 (the South) 与北方 (the North)，不是简单的地理界限，而是一个社会经济、政治概念。北方指富裕的发达国家 (developed countries)，南方指发展中国家 (developing countries or least developed countries)。目前，对发展中国家的界定仍存在不一致，例如，联合国把第三世界的42个最穷的国家列为最不发达国家 (Least Developed Countries)，88个非石油输出国列为发展中国家 (Developing Countries)，另有13个OPEC成员国；经济合作和发展组织 (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD) 则列出62个低收入国家 (LIC'S)、73个中等收入国家 (MIC'S)、11个新兴工业化国家 (NIC'S) 和13个OPEC成员国；世界银行把全球所有国家分为六类：低收入国家、中等收入国家、高中等收入国家、高收入的石油输出国、工业化市场经济国家和东欧非市场经济国家，前4类包括了143个第三世界国家，后两类包括了所谓的第一和第二世界国家，发展中国家主要发布在前4类和最后一类中。本书采用世界银行的分类。

② 贾雷德·戴蒙德著，谢廷光译：《枪炮、病菌与钢铁——人类社会的命运》，上海世纪出版集团2006年版。第170—171页。

1954年，科克林（H.C. Conklin）在菲律宾开展本土人与植物世界关系的研究，被认为是最早的本土知识研究。^①但本土知识在当代的兴起，主要发生在发展领域。二战结束，南方的现代化和北方的对外援助紧密地联系在一起。首先，随着美国从二战中胜出，马歇尔计划（Marshall Plan）取得成功，工业资本主义全面获胜。其次，20世纪中期的去殖民化运动在非洲、亚洲和加勒比海地区催生了大量新的、贫弱的国家。这些国家虽然缺乏治理经验，但都孕育着新的期望和力量。美国以援助和控制相结合的方法，对这些国家实行促进稳定的帮助。第三，1960、1970年代，是跨国公司膨胀的时期，廉价的劳动力和增长的海外消费，迎合了美国的第三世界工业化政策。这些因素在冷战思维的支配下，使美国和其他西方工业化国家支持的现代化项目和对外援助迅速成长，但也误导甚至破坏了第三世界的内源性发展。1970年代和里根时期（Reagan era），西方主导的现代化不断暴露出问题，贫困依然普遍存在，社会问题突出，阶层隔阂加大。于是，多边金融机构，如世界银行、国际货币基金组织等把注意力转向贫困、健康、营养、小规模经济计划和计划生育等主题。1975年，世界银行乡村发展政策文件（Rural Development Policy Paper）承认了西方发展观的失败，开始寻找传统社会现代化的新方法。在此背景下，人类学、经济学、政治学等学科日益关注发展的本土视角这一问题。

1980年，布洛肯夏、沃伦、维纳主编的《本土知识与发展》出版，本土知识开始进入发展视域。^②1990年代，一些国际机构、政府组织和非政府组织逐渐重视对本土知识研究、保护和利用的支持，世界银行、国际劳工组织、联合国教科文组织、联合国环境署、联合国粮农组织等和一些国家的政府、非政府组织，越来越关注本土知识在可持续发展中的作用。1995年，沃伦、斯理克威尔、布洛肯夏主编的《发展的文化维度》

① H.C. Conklin, *The Relation of Hannunoo Culture to The Plant World*, Ph.D. dissertation, New Haven, Yale University, 1954.

② D.Brokensha, D.M.Warren and O.Werner(eds.), *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development*, Lanham, MD, University Press of America,1980.