

# 改革开放以来 少数民族政治文化的流变

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**摘要:**从国家政治文化的视角来看,少数民族政治文化与主流政治文化是一种和合相生的关系。然而随着“五化”的深入,少数民族政治文化与主流政治文化之间张力初露,这种张力需在社会主义核心价值观的统领下,在以建设各民族共有精神家园为目标的基础上,出台和细化各种政策进行整合。

**关键词:**少数民族政治文化; 变迁; 整合

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文化是民族的根基和灵魂,是一个民族的重要特征,也是一个民族凝聚力、生命力和创造力的重要源泉。政治文化作为文化的一种,是在本民族的历史和现在社会、经济、政治活动进程中形成的,一定时期流行的一套政治态度、信仰和感情,其主要包括政治认知取向、政治情感取向和政治评价取向三个方面的内容。<sup>①</sup>政治文化作为一种观念/价值体系和研究范式,在构造政治发生背景、联结个体和集体身份、界定群体边界和组织它们内部行动、诠释他人行动和动机、政治组织和政治动员以及民主运转等方面发挥着重要作用。<sup>②</sup>正如亨廷顿所说“政治文化作为文化的一种亚文化与经济发展、政治发展和社会发展紧密相连。”<sup>③</sup>

任何一个社会都是由不同的社会阶级和阶层、不同的民族、宗教团体等组成的多元体,<sup>④</sup>在这个多元体中的每一元都有着独特的社会结构,因此在这种多元社会中的文化必然是由多元的文化圈构成的。而这种多元的文化结构也标志着政治态度在全体居民中和不同集团之间的多元分布。这种多元分布是任何一个政治文化的必然结构,即所谓的政治亚文化。政治亚文化对于政治参与、政治认同、政治秩序、乃至国家稳定有着深刻的影响。若政治亚文化与主流政治文化比较首尾一致,便易形

① 参见加布里埃尔·A. 阿尔蒙德、小 G. 宾厄姆·鲍威尔《比较政治学: 体系、过程和政策》,曹沛霖等译,上海: 上海译文出版社,1978年,第29—54页。

② 参见 Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Papers: Volume 2, Philosophy and the Human Sciences*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York: Verso, Revised edition, 2016; James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1987; Stuart J. Kaufman, Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence, *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 2006, pp. 45-86; Gabriel Ben-Dor, Political Culture Approach to Middle East Politics, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1977, pp. 43-63; Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

③ 塞缪尔·亨廷顿、劳伦斯·哈里森主编《文化的重要作用——价值观如何影响人类进步》,程克雄译,北京: 新华出版社,2002年。

④ 参见 John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

成整合型的政治文化。反之则形成碎片化的政治文化,分离主义、族裔民族主义和极端主义便是此类政治文化的现实写照。

我国是由56个民族组成的多元一体的多民族国家,虽然在历史的长河中形成了大一统的主流政治文化,但政治文化的民族性<sup>①</sup>决定了少数民族政治文化作为一种政治亚文化长期存在。正如在华夏文明、伊斯兰文明、藏传佛教文明三个文明体系下,<sup>②</sup>形成的儒家文化和新疆文化圈、青藏文化圈、陕甘文化圈、蒙宁文化圈、川渝文化圈、云贵文化圈<sup>③</sup>长期并存的局面一样。

少数民族政治文化是我国共同政治文化中最为重要的一种政治亚文化。它与国家共同政治文化之间的关系性质影响着民族的团结和国家的稳定。从国家共同政治文化的视角来看,自秦汉中国形成多元一体的国家以来,少数民族政治文化与国家共同政治文化之间是一种和合相生的关系,笼统地说共经历了四个时期的三次变迁:其一,传统大一统下的文化多元和政治统一时期,这一时期的少数民族政治文化呈现出多元化一的特点。传统社会刚刚开启时,各少数民族与华夏族的政治发展并不平衡,形成了与中原王朝差序有别的政治文化,但在经过历史上四次大的民族融合,以及少数民族逐鹿中原,实现大一统的愿望和实际。至明清时期少数民族的政治文化已与封建大一统主流政治文化相融合,即使在边远的少数民族也实现了对中央王朝的权威认同下的朝贡。其二,清末民国时期,在亡国亡种的危险下,中国传统政治文化遭到国内学者们的批判和西方政治文化的冲击,一时期各种政治思潮混乱,形成了“五族共和”“中华民族是一个”以及“国族宗支”等的思想,最终以在中国化马克思主义的指导下形成了中国共产党早期的民族自治思想,而边疆地区的部分少数民族在国外势力胁迫、引诱下走上了民族分离主义的道路。其三,新中国成立至改革开放时期,党和国家采取政治、社会、经济和文化等整合政策,使国内形成了空前统一的社会主义政治文化。然而在“文革”时期民族发展却经历了失去的十年,少数民族政治文化与主流政治文化也出现了张力的苗头。其四,改革开放以来,党和国家开始拨乱反正,明确了我国处于并将长期处于社会主义初级阶段,社会主义将是我国政治文明体系的根本属性;通过对四个现代化的深化,逐步地将建设“富强、民主、文明、和谐”的现代化国家作为政治目标,即社会主义的核心价值观的目标;通过确立四项基本原则作为国家政治生活的基本原则,确立了共同政治文化的内核;通过修订宪法进一步完善了人民代表大会制度、政治协商制度、民族区域制度和村民自治制度,丰富了国家的政治体系文化;通过全面实现依法治国,确立了法制在国家治理现代化中的核心地位;通过确立中华民族伟大复兴的国际目标,确立了国家政治文化的国际内涵。经由这些方面的调整,重新确立了社会主义的共同政治文化。

同时,国家逐步恢复民族工作,并在1982年制定了《民族区域自治法》,以74个条文规定了少数民族在各个方面的自治权。在改革开放、西部大开发和各种优惠政策的支持下,少数民族地区实现了全面的发展,在很长一段时间内其政治文化与社会主义的共同政治文化保持一贯的一致性。然而在国际化的新形势下,社会越来越呈现出多元化的状态,少数民族政治文化与国家政治文化之间开始出现了一些张力,具体表现在:

(一) 国家—社会关系视角下,少数民族诉求与国家政策执行之间出现了张力。改革开放以来,我国公民社会得到较好地发展,在治理现代化、公民道德教育以及政治发展等方面发挥着重要作用。但正如托克维尔在《论美国的民主》中所述,公民社会作为一种社会的力量有利于西方民主体制的建立和运转。在20世纪80年代,美国一批学者发现国际非政府组织在第三世界的国家民主化过程中

① 参见徐大同《政治文化民族性的几点思考》,《天津师范大学学报》1998年第4期,第32—46页。

② 参见汪晖《亚洲视野:中国历史的叙述》,香港:牛津大学出版社,2010年。

③ 参见田联刚《多元共生和而不同——关于少数民族文化在中华文化格局中的地位思考》,《中南民族大学学报》2015年第1期,第1页。

作用显著,故西欧和美国政府每年花费大量资金注入非政府组织,积极鼓励他们在国外的活动。<sup>①</sup>近些年来随着国际非政府组织在民族地区的活动以及国内自下而上的公民社会的建设,它的外溢效应激起了一小部分民族群众对于西式民主的诉求。正如米格代尔所说,社会过于强大(碎片化),不利于国家政策的贯彻实施。<sup>②</sup>因此坊间也流传着“中央的政策是好的,但却被下面歪曲了”的说法,这在某种程度上也是基层社会强人作用的体现。此外,如布拉克福特在西藏和新疆的研究结果,表明社会和经济的发展也并没有减少民族间的社会张力。<sup>③</sup>

(二)东西部、民族地区和非民族地区发展差距使得西部民族地区的一部分少数民族对市场经济,对国家的政策认识上出现了张力。改革开放之后,我们逐步建立了社会主义市场经济体制,并在摸着石头过河的战略方针下允许一部分人先富起来,以先富带动后富,最终实现共同富裕。然而这在客观上造成了民族地区较东部沿海地区落后的局面,虽然国家也采取了西部大开发和对口支援的方式来促进民族地区的发展,但短时间内成效甚微。这种发展的不平衡,一方面造成了大量的少数民族人口开始向中、东部沿海城市流动,成为全国2.47亿流动人口中的生力军之一,给城市民族工作带来极大压力的同时,也让这部分流动人口的政治态度、政治情感发生了改变;另一方面这种不平衡从长远来看也会影响少数民族的政治情感,如米斯拉通过对中国朝鲜族的统计分析发现,相对收益比绝对收益更能够影响人们的社会情感。<sup>④</sup>因为这部分流动人口未能很好地适应城市的生活和管理方式,城市居民对他们的一些生活习惯和行为方式也不能很好的理解,政府的工作方式和管理机制等也有不适应的地方,造成他们在城市中的各种问题。<sup>⑤</sup>

(三)部分民族地区和少数民族对市场竞争认识的不足,加之其“天生”竞争力的不足,致使其在市场中的弱势地位,因而出现对国家某些政策的不理解、不配合。市场化鼓励自由竞争,然而由于广大的民族地区不像东部地区开放的早,对市场没有一个较好的认识和把握,再加之在技术、管理和经营经验上的不足,在市场竞争中处于劣势。<sup>⑥</sup>在这种新形势下部分少数民族人口开始对少数民族的优惠政策的认知出现了偏差,认为应该给予他们更多的扶持,甚至某些地方出现了地方保护主义的现象。市场经济客观上有利于个人自由意识的培养,但也会滋生一些物质主义、享乐主义的思想,这种个人自由主义的发展,在一定程度上不利于国家共同政治文化塑造。

(四)对网络的引导和管控不力,导致网络上民族歧视和各种民族主义泛滥,影响部分少数民族的政治情感。截至2016年12月,中国网民规模达7.31亿,互联网普及率达到53.2%。<sup>⑦</sup>如此众多的网民在虚拟的网络空间中展开各种活动,在互动中形成了一种新的社会形态,即网络社会。网络社会中丰富的经济技术信息和文化信息有助于少数民族地区的经济社会发展,<sup>⑧</sup>但由于在治理理念、制

① 参见 Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway, *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2000, pp. 3-17.

② 参见 Joel S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988.

③ 参见 Yuchao Zhu and Dongyan Blachford, *Economic Expansion, Marketization, and Their Social Impact on China's Ethnic Minorities in Xinjiang and Tibet*, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 2012, pp. 714-733.

④ 参见 Vinod Mishra, Ingrid Nielsen, Russell Smyth, *How Does Relative Income and Variations in Short-Run Wellbeing Affect Wellbeing in the Long Run? Empirical Evidence From China's Korean Minority*, *Soc Indic Res*, 2014, 115, pp. 67-91.

⑤ 参见青觉《系统论视域下我国城市民族工作的特质、构架和方法》,《中国行政管理》2016年第9期,第72页。

⑥ 参见 Tyler Harlan and Michael Webber, *New Corporate Uyghur Entrepreneurs in Urumqi, China*, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 2012, p. 176.

⑦ 第39次《中国互联网络发展状况统计报告》,第8页,见国互联网信息中心 <http://www.cnnic.net.cn/hlwfzyj/hl-wxzb/hlwtjbg/201701/P020170123364672657408.pdf>.

⑧ 参见周竟红《网络信息与民族关系》,《民族研究》2003年第2期,第19页。

度设计和规范上的滞后,网络社会也会对各民族成员的价值观形成冲击,不时爆发出极端民族主义情绪。<sup>①</sup>其中也不乏民族歧视的言论,大民族主义和地方民族主义在网络上以一种新的姿态存在;另一方面,网络的隐蔽性、便捷性使其成为社会运动进行串联的有效工具,<sup>②</sup>在我国网络也成为各民族联络感情、交流政治情感的一种方式。

(五) 民族法制建设的滞后,致使一些民族新现象和新问题得不到及时解决,部分少数民族权益得不到较好保护,致使其对国家政治文化的认同上出现偏差。在民族事务治理上的法制建设较为滞后,正如沙伯利教授认为的那样,中国的少数民族区域自治法已经到了一个节点,在强大的经济和社会压力面前,需要做出进一步地调整。<sup>③</sup>首先,城市民族工作的法制不健全,难以做到依法治理。1993年的《城市民族工作条例》实施至今已有22年,其主要对象是世居少数民族,而对流动的少数民族人口则鲜有涉及,《条例》已经滞后,制约着城市民族工作的开展。其次少数民族习惯法与法律之间的张力,比如作为习惯法之一的少数民族传统制度,在一定的领域和区域内通过营造社会资本,从而发挥着一定的规范作用。然而在刑事领域的戴头婚制、民事领域的严禁族外通婚制、继承制中的男女差异制以及司法领域的二次司法等与国家法制之间存在着不同程度的冲突。<sup>④</sup>最后在反对民族歧视的法制建设上是国家的短板。

(六) 全球化视域下部分少数民族对于国家认同的偏离。首先是经济全球化带来的边境跨界民族对于国家认同的危机。如云南边境上的某些跨界民族只有民族认同,而没有国家认同的概念,哪边有利于其获取利益,便在哪生存,其国家意识淡薄。<sup>⑤</sup>其次全球化带来的民族抽离主义的影响,现阶段根据康德和哈贝马斯的理论演化而来的世界公民之说甚嚣尘上,一些少数民族群众受其影响较深,以所谓的“人权、自由和民主”西方式世界政治文化为归宿,对国家认同漠然置之。最后,近年来民族分离主义、极端主义势力在世界范围内抬头,对我国边境少数民族的人口影响较大,形成了一股势力,影响着国家的认同和安全。

综上,改革开放以来,党和国家经过拨乱反正等一系列整合措施,塑造了以法制、四项基本原则、以及富强、民主、文明、和谐为核心的社会主义共同政治文化。在很长的一段时间里少数民族的政治文化与这种共同政治文化相辅相成,构成一种整体与部分的关系。

然而在“国际化、市场化、城市化、工业化和信息化”全面深化的新形势下,一些新的事物、现象和问题,让作为社会主义政治亚文化的少数民族政治文化与共同政治文化之间出现了张力。这些亟需在社会主义核心价值观的统领下,以建设各民族共有精神家园为目标的基础上,制定和细化各种整合政策,再度实现多元文化下的政治高度统一的政治文化格局。

(责任编辑:邱永志)

① 参见 LiuFengshu, From Political Indifference to Vehement Nationalism: Chinese Young People Negotiating the Political Self in the Internet Age, *Urban Youth in China: Modernity, the Internet and the Self*, New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 161-179.

② 参见 StefaanWalgrave, W. Lance Bennett, Jeroen Van Laer and Christian Breunig, Multiple Engagements and Network Bridging in Contentious Politics: Digital Media Use of Protest Participants, *Mobilization*, 16(3), 2011, pp. 325-349.

③ 参见 Barry Sautman, Ethnic Law and Minority Rights in China: Progress and Constraints, *Law & Policy*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1999, pp. 283-314.

④ 参见周晓涛《西北少数民族法制建设中习惯法因素的整合》,《兰州大学学报》2010年第3期,第122页。

⑤ 参见杨顺清《边疆多民族地区政治文化的失谐与治理》,《思想战线》2015年第4期,第51页。

historiography in the past seventy years has experienced a transition from the revolutionary context to the academic context. From 1949 to the period of the Cultural Revolution, researches about Fu Ssu-nien and the Institute of History and Philology were subject to the thinking of class struggle so that research results were dominated by political criticism. As such a dogmatic style of study came to an end after China's Reform and Opening up, scholars began to evaluate Fu Ssu-nien and the historiography of the Institute of History and Philology in the position of academic research, and that quickly became a hotspot in the field of academic history. Historical researches on Fu Ssu-nien and the Institute of History and Philology from 1949 to the 1990s focused on analyzing major works, in order that people can re-evaluate Fu's historical thought. Since the 21st century, under the influence of the new tendency in contemporary academic history and the increasing depth and diversity, people have paid more and more attention to the relationship between Fu Ssu-nien and the Institute of History and Philology and the construction of modern Chinese academic problems with new materials and from new perspectives.

### Research on the Source of the Authors' Official Position Record in *Suishu Jingjizhi*

Ma Nan

*Suishu Jingjizhi* (《隋书经籍志》) was initially based on the official collection of books in the Zhenguan (贞观) years and was revised in accordance with the old catalogues including *Sui Daye Zhengyu Shumu* (《隋大业正御书目》), Ruan Xiaoxu's (阮孝绪) *Qilu* (《七录》), etc. The old catalogues consisted of two types: one was official and the other was private, such as Wang Jian's (王俭) *Qizhi* (《七志》), Ruan Xiaoxu's *Qilu*, etc., which contained an annotated bibliography. The official catalogues were traditionally transcribed from the handwritten book dated from Xun Xu's (荀勗) *Zhongjingxinbu* (《中经新簿》). The private catalogues compiled a biography for each author according to historical records. The official record of the authors' position in *Suishu Jingjizhi* was generally the ultimate position, which was more related with the annotated bibliography. But in certain cases, the authors' position in *Suishu Jingjizhi* was the authors' position when they wrote the books, which were closely related to the handwritten catalogues. If we distinguish the authors' exact position according to the *Suishu Jingjizhi*, it will be helpful to know more about the authors' career and experience and therefore determine the written time of the books.

### Notes on *Shijing in Jingyi Shuwen*: Six Case Studies

Kwok Pang Fei

Wang Niansun (王念孙 1744—1832) and his son Wang Yinshi (王引之 1766—1834) were both eminent scholars in the Qing Dynasty (1644—1912). Their expertise in philology enabled them to read the classics with unprecedented insights. Their findings accumulated in the *Jingyi Shuwen* (《经义述闻》), though widely influential, were not free from errors in semantic, etymological and syntactic analyses. This article argues that some of their commentaries on *Shijing* are highly suspect and problematic. Six examples will be discussed in detail and it is hoped that the questions raised in this article will form the basis for further investigation.

### On the Marxist Methodology in the Studies of China's Ethnic Politics

Qing Jue

After 30 years of exploration, China's ethnic political science has formed a diversified research system based on political science and ethnology. It has the characteristics of descriptive analysis, supplemented by case studies. However, it is still faced with some challenges in the new situation of the four comprehensive developments, network society, cross-border ethnic groups, and China's rise and the One Belt One Road initiative. Combined with the reality of China's multi-ethnic development, it should return to the tradition of Marxist research methodology.

### On the Ethnic Factors and Political Stability

Yan Qing

As a kind of community based on identity, nation and different ethnic communities (ethnic groups, tribes, aboriginal groups, etc.) always go into political fields actively or passively, producing political action around power sharing. If a relevant political action breaks order, it will inevitably affect the political stability in a certain area. On the other hand, in the face of increasingly diverse ethnic composition, the linkage and spillover effect of ethnic politics, in order to maintain political stability, governance bodies take states as the main part and adopt different institutional arrangements and policy measures to govern ethnic issues. The relationship between ethnic factors and political stability is an important and long-term issue of political practice and theoretical research.

### The Evolution of Ethnic Minorities' Political Culture Since China's Reform and Opening up

Wang Wei

The political culture of ethnic minorities and the mainstream political culture form a kind of harmonious relationship from the perspective of national political culture. However, with the deepening of the *five modernizations*, the tension between the ethnic mi-

nority's political culture and the mainstream political culture is revealed. This tension should be integrated on the goal of building the spiritual homeland of all ethnic groups ,based on the socialist core values ,and the introduction and refinement of policies.

**The Japanese Certification System for Public Interest Corporations and Its Messages**

Yu Zucheng

In spite of the establishment of *The Charity Law* and relevant policies formed the basis of certifying charitable organizations , there remained non-negligible shortages and defect in terms of *clarity , quantifiability , fairness , and transparency*. Therefore , we should take the initiatives to make reference of active mechanisms that have been proven as effective in other countries. In light of this consciousness ,this article investigates the Japanese certification system for public interest corporations , which shares a significant number of similarities with China. We analyze the background , the arrangement , and the actual operations of the systems , which in turn shed light on the mechanisms and implementations of the Chinese system.

**The Institutional Innovation of Public Service: Public Interest Organizational Mode of Various Related Parties**

Long Denggao ,Gong Ning ,Meng Dewang

Based on old foreign language archives ,the Hai Ho Conservancy Commission , which has been regarded as imperialist govern-ance , is actually an interest game equilibrium of various related parties. The board of the Hai Ho Conservancy Commission , the General Commission and the Board of Reference was composed of Chinese and foreign business and official representatives , thus forming an independent non-profit public interest organization , which had transparent operational mechanism. As the main source of fund for the Hai Ho Conservancy Commission , custom surtax gave Hai Ho Conservancy Commission the qualification of public inter-est organization , and the special attribute of its independent property right. Modern China's customs was a relatively independent au- thority , which was jointly administrated by both Chinese and foreign governments. The right of tariff receipts , including the levy and payment of customs surtax , was not dominated by either side. Its relative independence of China's customs made it possible to main- tain stability and coherence in the period of regime change , and became the financial security , property and credit guarantee for the Hai Ho Conservancy Commission. Not only the past and present tariff could be transferred to pay the Hai Ho Conservancy Commis- sion for its operating expenditure , but also the future tax realization could be used as project funding , so as to provide financial sup- port for the significant dredging projects to be accomplished rapidly. Thus , the Hai Ho Conservancy Commission could achieve its long term sustainable development , and might not be influenced by both Chinese and foreign governments.

**Peasant-Dominated Urbanization: Urban Villages and the Unique Path of China's Urbanization**

Zhan Yang ,Tong Xiaoxi

Inside and around major Chinese cities exist hundreds of Chengzhongcun or urban villages. In popular discourse , urban villages are considered as the antithesis of modernization. However , if we move beyond the analytical framework of developmentalism , we may realize that within these urban villages , an urbanization process led by local peasants is happening. This particular urbanization process ensures China to participate in the global market , as it serves as the sites of reproduction of cheap labor forces. In general , layers of contradictions can be found in studying the case of China's urban villages: first , urbanization in urban villages is dominated by land rather than capital; second , though resistant to big capital to some extent , urbanization in urban villages does accord to the capitalist system. On the contrary , it allows China's cheap labor to participate in a global market.