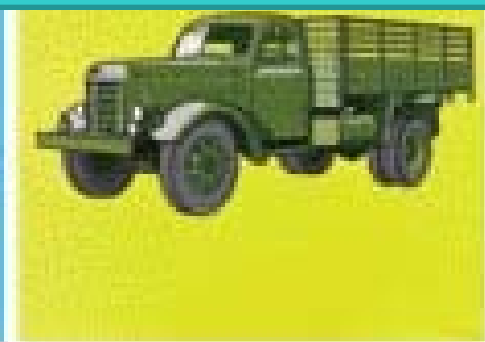
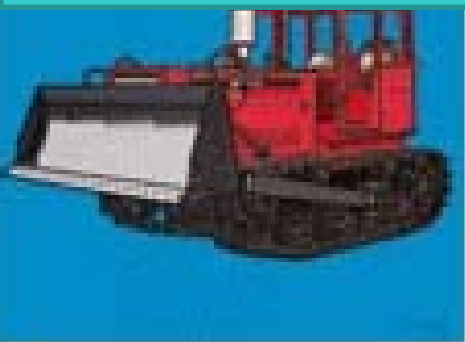


Everyday Politics and Its Significance

无处不在的日常政治



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Politics 政治

Control, allocation, production, and use of resources – and the values and ideas underlying those activities 对资源的控制、分配、生产、利用以及这些活动背后所隐含的价值与理念

Examples of resources: land, water, money, power, education, air quality

资源：例如土地、水、货币、权力、教育、空气质量

Examples of values and ideas: free market, equitable distribution, patriarchy, centralized authority, religious authority

价值与理念：例如自由市场、公平分配、父权制、中央权威、宗教权威



Conventional study and commentary on politics

关于政治的传统研究与评注

- * government-centric 以政府为核心
- * often negative 通常是负面的



Alternative study and commentary about politics

关于政治的其他研究与评注

- There is nothing inherently dirty, nasty, unprincipled in politics 在政治中没有什么是什么是注定肮脏、卑鄙和无耻的
- Politics is not only about government 政治不仅仅是涉及政府
- Politics can be in many places, in many contexts, and have many shades of morality - good to bad, positive to negative, principled to unprincipled 政治可以出现在很多地方、很多情境中，并且具有道德的多个侧面——好的与坏的、积极的与消极的、有原则的与无道德的



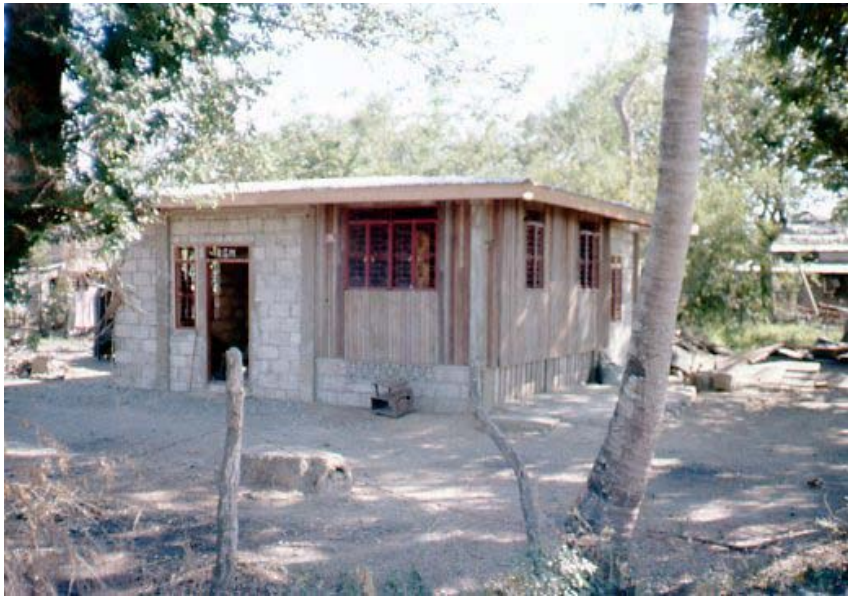
Shortcomings of the conventional 传统政治研究的不足

- Over emphasize the negative 过于强调消极面
- Over emphasize a tiny fraction of people 过于强调一小部分人群
- Privilege organizations that are explicitly political 对那些具有明确政治性的组织予以特别关注
- Overlook much that is politically significant 忽视了很多有重要政治意义的事物

Everyday politics in rural central Luzon, the Philippines

菲律宾吕宋岛中部农村地区的日常政治







Politics of living conditions

生活条件的政治

- Why such great disparities in living conditions? **为什么生活条件中存在如此巨大的差异?**
- What are people's understandings, assessments, and explanations of differences in material well-being? **人们对于物质条件上的差异有哪些理解、评价和解释?**
- What do people do about such differences, if anything? **人们面对这些差异时会怎么做?**



Publicly 公开场合

- Villagers rarely say or do anything about differences in living conditions 村民对于生活条件上的这些差异极少有言语或行动上的表示
- Village appears “politically dead”:
 - little government activity
 - little or no public discussion of government
 - little public actions about government村庄看上去一片“政治死寂”：几乎没有政府活动，几乎甚至根本没有关于政府的公开讨论，极少有涉及政府的公开行动



Privately 私底下

High awareness of everyone's living conditions. 对每个人生活条件的高度认知

Lots of discussion about inequalities. 大量关于不平等的讨论

- endorsement, support – justify the status quo
认可、支持——证明现状的合理性
- compliance – live with the status quo as best as possible
顺从——尽可能接受现状
- criticism, resistance 批评、抵抗



Social-economic groups

社会经济分层

- Rich 富裕(13%)
- Adequate 充足 (22%)
- Less poor 较贫困 (36%)
- Very poor 非常贫困(29%)



Major dynamic of everyday politics: Relationships among villagers in different social-economic groups. 日常政治中的主要动力：属于不同社会经济分层中的村民之间的关系

Very poor and less poor seek good relations with adequate and rich households 非常贫困和较贫困的村民试图与充足户和富裕户建立良好关系

Adequate and rich seek services of the poor 充足户和富裕户试图得到穷人提供的服务

Their mutual reliance perpetuates status quo 他们的互相依赖使现状得以不断维持

Numerous tensions, criticisms, and resistance to status quo 现状所引发的众多紧张、批评与反抗



How did these men get access to key resources – land, tractors, and jobs?

这些人怎样获得关键资源——土地、拖拉机和工作？



Political issue 政治问题

Who does the plowing, and under what terms? 谁来犁田？有哪些协定？



More than meets the eye: politics

眼见不为实：政治



Political issue 政治问题

Must landholders give farm workers snacks and meals?

地主必须给农场劳工提供点心和餐食吗？

If so, what quality and how much?

如果是的话，食物的质量和数量又如何？



Virtually all aspects of farming in this rice growing area were political sites
事实上这片稻田上农作活动的各个方面都是政治性的所在

(Who gets what resources, when, how, and with what justifications?) 谁、什么时候、怎样、以何种依据获得哪些资源?

Harveting rice 收割稻谷





Who gets to harvest, when, how, and by what justifications?

谁、什么时候、怎样、以何种依据来进行收割？

Gleaning rice fields 在稻田中拾穗





Who is entitled to go into fields, take whatever grain remains after harvest? 谁有权进入稻田、捡拾收割之后的残余稻穗?

Anyone? No one? Only the land holder? Someone related to the landholder? Only a poor person? 任何人吗? 没有人? 只有土地所有者吗? 是那些和地主有关系的人? 还是只有穷人?

Must the person gleaning share the rice with the landholder? 拾穗的人必须和土地所有者进行分成吗?

Land itself is political 土地本身也是政治性的





Who has a right to farm the fields? Only owners?
Tenants too, but under what conditions? And who
determines those conditions? Local customs?
Government regulations? 谁有权耕作农田？只有土地
所有者吗？佃户可以吗，需要什么条件？这些条件
由谁决定？地方习俗还是政府规定？

What about idle land? Do people desperate for work
and want to farm but are landless have a right to farm
vacant land? 荒地上的情况又如何？那些渴求劳动、
想要种田却又无地可种的人有权在闲置土地上耕作
吗？





Costs of farming are political

农作的成本是政治性的

Who or what is responsible for high costs of inputs and low prices for grain? 谁或者哪些因素应该对生产投入的高成本和谷物销售的低价格来负责?

rice dealers? 稻米商人?

shops selling fertilizer? 销售化肥的商店?

fertilizer companies? 化肥公司?

government policies and regulations? 政府政策和法规?





Types of politics

政治的类型



Everyday politics 日常政治

embracing, complying with, adjusting, and contesting norms and rules regarding authority over, production of, or allocation of resources and doing so in quiet, mundane, and subtle expressions and activities that are rarely organized or direct

通过一些平静的、普通的和细微的表达与行动，来接受、遵从、调整和对抗那些针对资源的辖管、生产和分配的规范与准则，这些表达和行动极少是有组织的或直接的



□ **Advocay politics:** direct and concerted efforts to support, criticize, and oppose authorities, their policies and programs, or the entire system in which resources are produced and distributed

倡导政治：直接地、协同一致地对权力机构及其政策与计划或是生产和分配资源的整个体系给予支持、批评和反对

□ **Official politics:** authorities in organization making, implementing, changing, contesting, and evading policies regarding resource allocations

官方政治：权力机构针对资源的分配进行相关的政策制定、实施、改变、争论或是予以回避



Forms of everyday politics

日常政治的形式

Support 支持

Compliance 顺从

Modifications 调整

Resistance (intentional; aimed upward) 抗争 (有意识的; 对上)

Illustrating the four forms of everyday politics:
Collective farming, Red River delta, Vietnam, 1950s-
1980s

阐述日常政治的四种形式：
越南红河三角洲的集体农作 1950s-1980s





Everyday support 日常支持



Everyday compliance 日常顺从





Everyday modifications & evasions

日常的调整与逃避

- going through the motions, complete assigned tasks as quickly as possible so as to claim “work points”
走过场，尽快完成分配的任务以便领取“工分”
- surreptitiously harvest rice from collective fields 偷偷地在集体土地上收割稻谷
- emphasize household gardens 重视自家的田地
- encroach on collective fields 侵食集体田地



Everyday resistance 日常抗争

Surreptitiously undermine collectives because

出于以下原因偷偷对集体进行暗中破坏：

- collective farming program is wrong – household farming more productive and better for one's family
集体农作计划是错误的——家庭农作生产率更高、对家庭更有利
- angry at officials who abused their positions 对滥用职权的官员心存不满



Impact of everyday politics in Vietnam's collective farms

日常政治对越南集体农场的影晌

- significantly contributed to de-facto decollectivization in much of Vietnam by late 1970s-early 1980s 严重导致了截至20世纪70年代末到80年代初越南很多地区事实上的去集体化
- greatly influenced authorities to make new policy: replace collective farming with household farming 深刻影响了权力机构，使之出台新政策：以家庭农作取代集体农作





Not only in Vietnam 不只在越南

China 中国

Laos 老挝

[Grant Evans, *Lao Peasants*, 1990; Martin Stuart-Fox, *Buddhist Kingdom*, 1996]

Tanzania 坦桑尼亚

[Goran Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania*, 1980; Aili Mari Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, 1997]



Everyday politics matters

日常政治的重要意义

- adds to the study of politics 对政治研究进行补充
- enhances our understanding of ordinary people 增进了我们对普通民众的理解
- deepens explanations for how organizations emerge and operate 深化了对组织的出现及其运作的解释
- augments our understanding of government programs and policies 增加了我们对政府计划和政策的理解
- makes us more aware of our own politics 使我们对我们的政治更加洞悉