

Citizens' responses to pollution: patterns of social and political embeddedness in two Chinese villages

Anna Lora-Wainwright

Beijing, November 2012

村民对污染的回应： 对中国两个村庄的社会政治模式分析



Background 研究背景

- Broad interest in how Chinese villagers understand illness and its relation with pollution, how they cope with both, and what they have done, if anything, as individuals and as a community 研究兴趣包括：了解中国村民是如何理解疾病及其与污染之间的关系，他们对此是如何应对的，都做了些什么（包括在个人和社区层次）
- Literature often assumes citizens oppose pollution and the real obstacle is their limited ability to participate in the political process 以往文献通常认为人们会为污染而抗争，但同时指出其困难在于他们参与政治过程的局限性
- But citizens do not always oppose pollution 但村民并非总是反对污染的
- Complex relationship between perceptions of threats and willingness and ability to take action against it 对风险的认知、行动的意愿及抗争的能力之间存在着复杂关系
- Under what circumstances do citizens unite to oppose pollution, how do they act, what are their aims and how do they shift over time depending on their changing understanding of the problem and on the effects of their actions? 那么，在什么情况下人们会联合起来反抗污染、他们是如何采取行动，他们抗争的目的以及不同时段的变化都取决于他们对问题理解的变化情况以及他们行动的效果

Key elements in processes of naming, blaming and claiming 过程中的关键要素 (van Rooij 2010)

- the texture of the community and its relative unity, 社区结构及其整合程度
- citizens' ability to identify a clear enemy, 村民识别抗争对象的能力
- the extent to which they feel they share a problem and are all victims to a similar degree, 村民认识问题的程度以及共同受到影响的程度
- the presence of charismatic leaders and their ability to attract attention, 魅力型领导的出现, 以及他们的影响力
- the presence and frequency of tests on local pollution and engagement with outside experts. 对当地污染是否进行检测工作及其频率, 外来专家的参与

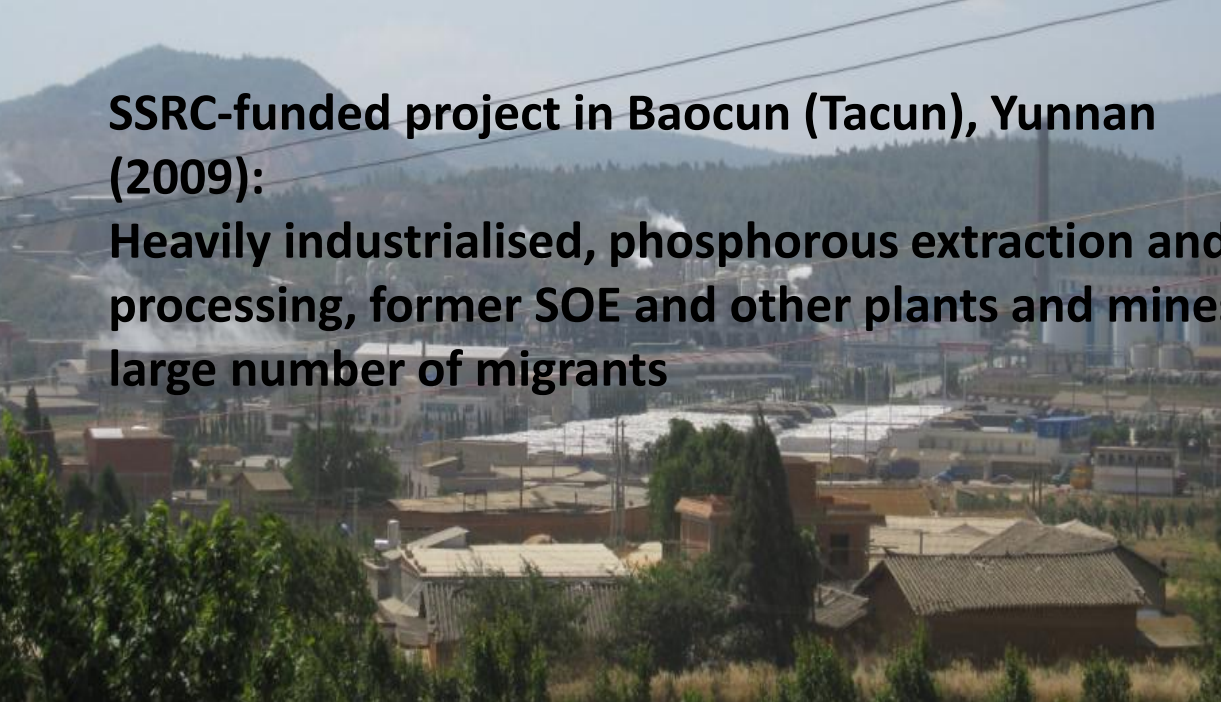
Fieldsites and methodology

田野调查与方法

- Research in sites where relationship pollution-illness relatively uncontestable
研究社区实存在着污染-疾病问题
- Research in two sites as part of two separate projects
研究分别在两个项目社区展开
- Informal interviews and participant observation – avoid leading questions and mention of pollution
非正式访谈、参与观察--从而避免引导性问题、提及到污染

SSRC-funded project in Baocun (Tacun), Yunnan (2009):

Heavily industrialised, phosphorous extraction and processing, former SOE and other plants and mines, large number of migrants



SSRC资助的多学科合作项目

“公民对农村工业污染以及污染对健康影响的认识研究”

**云南，工业化程度高，磷矿开采和加工
原来是国营矿，其他一些工厂和矿区，大量流动人口**



Tacun case塔村案例

- Complaint in early 1980s that Linchang dumps its waste water in the local irrigation system, petition by village officials and villagers presented to township govt, but rejected
在80年代早期磷厂将废水排放影响到当地的灌溉系统,村干部和村民一起到乡政府上访,但被乡政府压制
- abandoning a language of “caring about the community” in favour of more tangible goals (high tax revenue, land rental fees, pollution fees, employment, infrastructure)放弃“关注社区”的口号,而变成更有形的目标(土地利用费、污染费、就业、基础设施)
- keeping problems local benefits all 在当地直接解决问题(不找媒体,不上访,要求赔偿)会带来更多的利益
- Industry and pollution become part of a new lifescape
工业和污染成为新景观的一部分
- Benefits are unevenly spread – exacerbating community divisions 收益分配不均衡-使得社区分化加剧

**British Academy funded fieldwork in Fengcun,
lead and zinc mine, Hunan (2010) 湖南铅锌矿:
40 km from county town, poor region, former
SOE mine, local and outside mining operations,
lead contamination of soil and water**

**距离县城40公里，贫困县，以前是国营矿，当地人和外地人
都开矿，土壤和水受到铅污染**



Limited benefits and confrontations in Fengcun 丰村：有限收益与对抗

- Critical of the mine because 对采矿进行批判因为
 - It denied villagers full benefits from mining 它没有让所有村民受益
 - Entailed land loss without adequate compensation 土地受损而没有得到充分的补偿
 - Pollution 造成污染
- Violent confrontations – at first locals not allowed to mine, villagers fought the mine and were allowed to mine since the mid 1980s but had to sell to the SOE, so fights continued, tensions with mine workers, mine refused to employ locals (fear they would go back and steal minerals), after SOE was contracted in 1994 villagers more strongly opposed to selling to the mine 激烈对抗-最初当地政府不允许村民开矿，村民进行抗争后80年代开始允许开矿，但必须将矿石卖给国营的选场，当地社区与矿工之间关系紧张，矿场拒绝雇佣当地村民（怕他们偷矿石回家），国营矿在94年承包给私人后，村民更加反对将矿石卖给矿厂
- Benefits to villagers uneven and often short-lived, but prevalent tension still with the mine (not among villagers) – overall united community, single surname 村民受益不均且持续时间短，但是与矿厂之间关系一直紧张（而不是村民之间）-村庄整合程度高，同一个姓氏

Redress in Fengcun

- Petitions to ask for compensation for fields affected and recurrent petitions against pollution (Li Fang, consulted doctor and teacher, ‘cared for the common people’), which attracted attention of the provincial EPB which tested the water but did not disclose results 激烈和铅锌矿打架，为征地补偿上访、为污染反复上访（Li Fang, 与医生和教师商量，‘关心老百姓’），其行动引起省环保厅重视，到村里检验水质但没有公布结果
- Recurrent tests and petitions reinforced villagers’ awareness of the stakes involved and threats faced, tests in themselves seen as evidence of pollution 反复检测与上访强化了村民的风险意识，他们把这种检测看作是污染的证据
- But still limited outcome 但结果有限
- In 2008 mining stopped because of tighter regulations and lower price of lead – awareness of the harm of mining increased as locals are left without a means of livelihood 2008年，由于政策紧、锌矿价格低，矿洞关闭-村民对开矿负面影响的意识提高，但同时带来的问题是，村民没有了生计来源
- After decades of relatively unsuccessful attempts locals feel a sense of resignation, divisions are increasing 在几十年相对失败的努力之后，当地人感到无奈，社区进一步分化
- Chaotic, individualised, uncoordinated attempts to tackle water provision – pipes everywhere, water sources not tested, possible waste of resources

在解决水源问题时，是混乱的、个体化的、缺乏协调--到处是管子，水源没有检测，可能会浪费资源

Comparing Tacun and Fengcun

塔村与丰村比较

- Both formerly agricultural 以前都是农业社区
- Both attracted outsiders to work
吸引外来劳动力到当地务工
- Comparable severity of pollution (poison)
污染的严重程度类似
- Both former SOE 原来都是国营企业
- BUT extent to which villagers are confident about pollution's effects and complain about them differs starkly 村民对污染影响的确信程度以及抱怨的程度截然不同

Two contexts, one conclusion

两个案例，一个结论

- Fengcun militant, united, recurrent petitions and violent fights, skilled petitioner vs Tacun divided and caught in a compensation trap 丰村好战、统一、反复上访与暴力冲突、懂技巧的上访者与塔村分化的组织与陷于补偿（抗争）
- Different benefits: 不同受益情况
 - Tacun: high (work) – low (pollution no work) – high (compensation)
塔村：高（磷厂雇工失地农民）-低（污染无工作）-高（补偿）
 - Fengcun: low (no work) – high (allowed to mine) – low (mines closed and fields still polluted)
丰村：低（无工作）-高（允许开矿）-低（矿洞关闭，土地受污染）
- In Fengcun all elements were in place (community cohesion, clear 'enemy', limited benefits, threat to livelihood, skilled petitioner, recurrent tests) for citizens to play a strong role, but capacity is an obstacle (and used as a justification for doing nothing) 丰村，村民具有所有行动的要害（社区整合程度、抗争目标明确、受益有限、生计受影响、有技能的上访者，重复检测），但其能力是阻碍因素（以此为理由什么也没做）
- In both cases (to different degrees and with different timelines) resignation and sense of lack of entitlement to clean environment 在两个案例中，（不同程度上、时间不同）放弃了抗争，缺少清洁环境的权利
- Consequently, in both cases, citizens' role is limited (a hard thing for anthropologists to admit) 结果，两个案例都表明村民的角色受限（这对于人类学家来说很难认可）
- Citizens can play an important role environmental protection but only 村民只有在下列条件下，才能对环保起到重要作用：
 - when they have little to lose (economically), 当他们（经济上）损失小
 - against *plans* for polluting industries, 对反对污染企业进行计划
 - where there is capacity to respond to demands 当地政府有能力对需求做出回应

谢谢大家

一 方 清 泰

地可安千样

土能生万物

anna.lora-wainwright@ouce.ox.ac.uk