### "交互决定论"下新生代农民工社会适应能力及其培养

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【摘 要】 在总结新生代农民工社会适应现状的基础上 运用"交互决定论"分析新生代农民工社会 适应中环境因素、行为因素、个体因素的交互作用,构建了培养新生代农民工良好社会适应能力的 "四层面"( 组织层面上的政策保障、媒体层面上的信息宣传保障主体层面、行为层面) 培养机制。

【关键词】新生代 农民工 交互决定论 社会适应能力

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新生代农民工指20世纪八九十年代出生、在 城镇就业的农民工群体。一般情况下,他们或是生 长在农村,初高中毕业后进入城镇就业;或是自幼 随外出打工的父母在城镇长大。[1] 有统计表明,新 生代农民工约占外出务工农民工总数的60%,已经 成为农民工队伍的主体、推动城镇化进程的重要力 量。但许多新生代农民工一直处于城市"边缘",无 法融入城市主流社会。这一方面会导致我国城市 人口整体素质下降;另一方面会引发社会问题,增 添不稳定因素,阻碍和谐社会的建设进程。

综观国内关于新生代农民工社会适应的研究, 主要停留在经济、政策性与制度性层面,如户籍问 题、社会保障、继续教育等。也有一些研究涉及新 生代农民工心理健康状况、身份认同等方面。但 是 现有研究只是从宏观层面来探讨新生代农民工 社会适应问题,较少从系统的、整体的角度去关注 新生代农民工的社会适应问题。因此 构建新生代 农民工良好社会适应能力培养机制对促进其更快 地融入城市生活具有十分重要的现实意义。

#### 一、新生代农民工社会适应问题

新生代农民工的社会适应问题主要表现在三 个层面: 经济适应、文化适应和心理适应。 首先 在

经济适应层面上 新生代农民工进入城市之后第一 要面对的就是经济负担的加重。虽然其收入与在 农村生活相比有很大提高,但是饮食消费、服饰消 费、住房消费、出行交通消费以及休闲娱乐消费都 需要从打工所挣的工资扣除,所以不少新生代农民 工都觉得生活压力比较大。原艳娜调查中发现只 有2.5%的新生代农民工的生存需要能完全满 足。[2] 肖倩发现外出务工的农民在城市的生活都非 常节俭 57.3% 的农民工每月的开支只占收入的 40% 以下。[3] 方建中调查发现农民工中因外出打工 找不到工作,生活无出路而犯罪的占35%。[4]由此 可以看到 农民工在经济方面是一种非常低水平的 生存适应。其次,文化适应层面上,新生代农民工 社会适应的过程就是不断学习和接受新的文化及 适应角色变化的过程。但是,新生代农民工在观 念、文化传统及生活习惯等方面与城市人有着较为 明显的差异 "所以新生代农民工在文化认同方面面 临严峻挑战。这在新生代农民工对城市语言习俗 的适应、对城市文化活动的参与、与城市人的人际 交往过程中表现得比较明显。李爱芹提出 新生代 农民工存在四种社会认同危机的问题 即 "身份认 同危机"、"制度认同危机"、"文化认同危机"和"心 理认同危机"。[5] 最后,在心理适应层面上,有调查 显示 新生代农民工心理层面的社会适应水平较低 整体心理健康状况令人担忧。<sup>[6-9]</sup> 新生代农民工中存在自卑、排斥、压抑、被剥夺、孤独、空虚等不良心态。原艳娜提出与生存需求相比 ,新生代农民工的情感需要更迫切。<sup>[2]</sup>

总之 与第一代农民工不同,新生代农民工适应城市生活的过程不仅仅是在空间上移居城市或者自身身份标签的转化,而是涉及工作方式、生活方式、社会交往、社会心理的种种转化。在这个过程中,他们必须逐渐实现由一个彻底的农村人向一个完全的城市人的转变。但是,目前很多新生代农民工处于非城非乡的尴尬状态,游离于城市体制之外,他们既不能融入城市社会,又难以回归农村社会,长时间处于"游民化"尴尬境地。[10]

### 二、"三元交互决定论"对 新生代农民工社会适应的诠释

班杜拉的"三元交互决定论"把人的心理活动看成是环境、人及其行为之间的互动系统,真实地把握了人与环境之间的关系,在理论上具有更大的魅力和合理性。[11]新生代农民工适应社会的过程不是其主观的"单相思"问题,而是双向互动和接受的过程。因此,善于利用新生代农民工社会适应中环境因素、行为因素以及个体因素既是新形势下研究新生代农民工社会适应的理论基础和出发点,又是提高新生代农民工社会适应能力的必然选择。

(一)新生代农民工社会适应中环境因素与行 为因素之间的交互作用

一方面,社会适应中环境是行为的基础和源泉。宽松的制度环境和媒体环境能够为新生代农民工适应社会创造有利的条件。但是,新生代农民工在社会适应的过程中受到政策性歧视和城市人的歧视,从而阻止了其对城市的认同,加深了他们与城市和城市人的'鸿沟",也造成了在适应城市生活过程中职业与身份的错位。另一方面,新生代农民工的行为也影响着周围的环境。新生代农民工在'蔓延的抵触情绪"下对于城市的语言、风俗习惯和价值观念采取排斥的态度。这不仅阻止了新生代农民工融入城市的进程,也催生了他们短期行为和越轨行为的发生,增添了城市的不安定因素。

(二)新生代农民工社会适应中环境因素与个 人因素之间的交互作用

环境因素与个人因素之间的双向交互作用关

系是指人的因素同环境因素是相互依赖、相互决定 的。一方面 在社会适应过程中不同的环境反应会 影响个人的认知 从而影响行为或行为倾向。新生 代农民工脱离了原来的生活环境,封闭的工作圈 子、艰难的生存状况限制了他们的视野,影响了他 们的认知水平,容易使其产生孤独、寂寞的感觉。 "边缘人"的社会处境使他们非常在意城里人对他 们的看法和评价 这在新生代农民工自我认同危机 上表现得很明显。另一方面,个体可以通过自己不 同的性格和气质上的特质激活不同的社会环境反 应。很多新生代农民工在面对城市人时往往显得 非常敏感,甚至会自觉不自觉地回避与城市人交 往 形成自我隔离的状况。这在一定程度上也影响 城市人对新生代农民工的接纳,所以城市人给农民 工冠以"打工仔"、"打工妹"、"三无人员"、"流动 人口"等带有歧视性的称谓。

(三)新生代农民工社会适应中个人因素和行 为因素之间的交互作用

个人因素调节和控制个体行为。新生代农民工个人的认知、性格、经历会影响他们的适应行为。新生代农民工整体的文化素质相对不高,心理素质相对较差,心理承受能力较弱,这就决定了他们在遇到问题时难以采取有效的求助行为,甚至有时会走极端。同时,行为结果反馈也影响主体的情绪反应和心理内容。以新生代农民工的社会关系为例,新生代农民工面临来自城市人的排斥以及在此排斥下农民工产生的不愿意与城市人交往的矛盾心理,这使新生代农民工交往的对象和范围主要局限于基于血缘、亲缘和地缘关系的家人、亲戚、朋友和老乡身上,进一步加剧了新生代农民工社会关系的同质性、低质化。

# 三、新生代农民工社会适应能力 培养机制构建

根据交互作用理论,如果新生代农民工在环境层面(组织层面上的政策保障、媒体层面上的信息宣传保障)、主体层面(文化素质、心理素质)、行为层面(适应行为的调整)形成良性循环,就会从根本上改善其社会适应状况。随着社会的发展,媒体层面的信息宣传保障在改变新生代农民工适应社会状况的过程中发挥着越来越重要的作用,所以在环境层面上把媒体宣传作为单独的一项讨论。基于以上分析,本文提出提高新生代农民工社会适应能

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力的"四层面"培养机制。

(一)组织层面的政策保障: 政府消除制度壁 垒 确保新生代农民工的权益安全

首先 改革户籍制度 ,实现平等待遇。户籍制度导致农民工和城市居民在基本公共服务和社会福利方面存在差异和不均衡化。户籍制度被认为是一种 "社会屏蔽"制度 ,是阻碍农民工城市融入的最大障碍。[12-13] 新生代农民工群体为我国的经济社会发展做出了巨大贡献 ,但常常因 "外地人"身份蒙羞 ,自身的社会保障乃至住房、医疗等多项福利都被差别化对待。因此 ,户籍制度改革是改善新生代农民工社会适应的重要因素。改革户籍制度就是要重新设计一个体现公平、权利与义务对等、人人都覆盖在社会保障制度内的、迁入与迁出比较自由的新型的人口管理制度。

其次 改革就业制度 ,构建城乡统一劳动力市场。打破城乡二元结构的壁垒 ,建立统一的劳动力市场 ,是推进城市现代化进程和农民工城市人化双赢的举措。政府要针对新生代农民工出台相应的就业措施 ,保障新生代农民工有较稳定的工作。

最后。改革社会保障制度,构建新型的社会保障制度。政府可以根据新生代农民工的不同情况设置不同的社会保障制度,建立健全社会保障的转移机制。逐步实现社会保障全国统筹,完善农民工社会保障的相关法律法规,使新生代农民工的社会保障有法可依。

(二)媒体层面上的信息宣传保障:宣传保障搭 起消除"隔阂"的桥梁

在二元社会结构下,新生代农民工和城市人之间几乎处于"油水不沾"的状态,是被隔离的两个社会群体。正是这种隔离导致不信任,不信任引起冲突和敌视。由于新闻媒体对有关农民工负面报道多,正面报道少,报道中存在歧视现象,久而久之,在城市人印象中形成了对农民工的消极刻板印象。社会互动理论表明,社会互动对互动的双方及他们之间的关系会产生一定的影响,并可能对社会环境形成一定的作用。因此,要通过媒体的作用改变轻农、贱农,歧视、排斥农民工的思想观念就需要改变大众媒介对他们的消极的报道和宣传。媒体要加强宣传教育,消除城市居民对新生代农民工的排斥感。通过对新生代农民工群体的正面宣传提升农民工群体整体形象,让城市居民了解到农民工并不

是抢夺城市居民的社会福利资源,而是与城市人一样为城市发展做出了许多贡献,理应获得一样的待遇。

(三)主体层面的提升: 利用主体建构 ,提高个 人素质 提升潜性适应

新生代农民工自身素质较低是其城市人化进程缓慢的基本内因。与老一代农民工相比,新生代农民工的整体素质已经有了很大提升,但是新生代农民工要想真正地融入城市还必须不断提高自身的文化素质和心理素质。

1. 积极参加培训及继续教育,提升文化素质。 杨海芬等认为对新生代农民工进行职业技能培训 直接影响着其适应城市生活的进程。[14] 陈文龙提出 新生代农民工继续教育主要是进行技能知识、法律 知识、卫生心理知识、人际交往知识等方面的学习 与培训。[15]目前 我国农民工培训的现状是国家制 定了相关的政策和法规,加大了经费投入,建立了 相对有效的评价机制,但是却出现了农民工培训需 求主体缺位。这可能有以下原因: 首先,与新生代 农民工自身因素有关。新生代农民工学历层次普 通较低 有的甚至很早就辍学 加之从事的工作知 识含量低,因此自身的需要不大。其次,与新生代 农民工的工作环境有关。根据班杜拉的社会学习 理论 城市化是一个观察学习的过程。新生代农民 工所处的工作环境比较单一,周围基本上是和自己 同层次的同乡、工友,缺少参加继续培训学习的环 境。最后 新生代农民工对培训和继续教育的政策 了解较少,信息比较闭塞。

分析现状,对于新生代农民工来说,必须提高对于培训和继续学习重要性和紧迫性的认识,增强提高自身素质的自觉性。新生代农民工要接受两方面的教育,一是城市社会适应教育,如法律和治安教育等;二是学历教育和技能教育。新生代农民工要注重学历和资格认证教育,提高学历,参加职业和成人继续教育及开展职业资格证书、岗位技能资格证书培训和认证,不断增强自己参与竞争的能力。

2. 调整认知,增强抗挫能力,提升心理素质。 爱利斯认为,情绪不是由某一诱发性事件本身所引起的,而是由经历了这一事件的个体对这一事件的 解释和评价所引起的。新生代农民工的适应问题,除了客观因素的作用,最主要的就是其自身有一些 不合理的理念。以新生代农民工"自卑"现象为例。 从认识层面的调节看,新生代农民工要走出自卑的情绪,首先是要消除关于"自卑"的非理性的认识, 形成合理的观念;其次是要形成正确的自我意识, 使自己能够正确地看待自己,看待自己与他人的关系;最后是要拓展自己的意识。如果新生代农民工有正确的认识,那么当他们遇到困扰或挫折时就能够发掘事情有利的方面,并对未来充满希望,随着成功体验和经验的积累会进一步增强他们适应社会的能力。

(四)行为层面的调整:多渠道发展行为接触,提升行为层面的社会适应

1. 发展人际沟通的能力,建立社会支持系统。 新生代农民工的人际交往由以血缘、亲缘、地缘为 基础的乡土关系社会网络占主导 这种"习性"影响 着他们融入城市的生活方式和社会交往方式。因 此 新生代农民工要破除在人际交往中的心理障 碍。由于二元制度的存在,新生代农民工与城市人 之间的交往基本是处于一种"浅层"接触 新生代农 民工在社会交往中一直处于"劣势"的地位。新生 代农民工要在不断提高自身素质的前提下,放下心 理包袱 与城市人之间 "平等" 交流。另外,新生代 农民工要主动加强与城市居民的沟通。通过与城 市居民之间的直接接触,不断加强对城市规则、文 化生活的学习,学会怎样同城市居民相处,在城市 中培养丰富的人际关系,用城市的价值观念和文化 视角去看待城市社会和居民 尽快地适应并融入所 在的城市。

2. 加强自身心理健康教育,采取健康求助行为。"富士康十二连跳"无疑暴露出新生代农民工在社会适应中的心理状况堪忧。同时,新生代农民工在面临心理压力时,往往选择被动攻击、抱怨、幻想、退缩甚至于犯罪自杀等消极行为,缺乏有效的求助。有调查显示,新生代农民工求助行为单一、被动,并且仍然排斥专业心理咨询机构。其深层次原因还在于新生代农民工对"问题"的误解。新生代农民工要善于利用网络及大众媒体,不断增加自己的心理健康知识,提升自身的心理健康水平。当遇到自己解决不了的问题时,主动寻求心理帮助。

新生代农民工的社会适应是重要的社会心理现象,是其在经济、文化、心理等各个方面的适应过程。在这个过程中,环境因素、行为因素、个体因素都影响着新生代农民工社会适应的水平,只有处理好这三者之间"四层面"的关系,才能使其更好地适应城市生活。

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### The Out-of-field Intervention in Chinese Social Contention in Internet Era——An Empirical Analysis Based on "Wukan E-vent" (by WANG Jin-hong, LIN hai-bin)

Abstract: In the era of the internet, contentious actors have diversified, including direct participants, witnesses and out-of-field interveners. Out-of-field interveners have not yet attracted the attention of researchers. Through the case study of "Wukan Event", we found that the out-of-field interveners are not passive bystanders, but ones with the interactive relationship between the direct participants. Out-of-field interveners also have an important impact on contentious events. They attained that mainly by gaining more say with the help of the multiple channels of information, and then having an influence on the appeal and issues of present social contention, expanding the contentious space in the horizontal and vertical dimensions. For these, out-of-field interveners can play a role on shaping contentious repertoires indirectly, avoiding excesses, balancing power between the different people on present contention. According to research, out-of-field intervention is a new trend in the current social contention of China, and also a new perspective that is indispensable for research of contention.

Key words: out-of-field intervention; out-of-field interveners; social contention; contentious repertoires

#### The Mixing of Social Contention and Political Participation-A New Perspective to Understanding Civil Action

(by DAI Lin-li)

**Abstract**: This paper first briefly reviews the limitation of two major approaches to civil action research, then asserts that we should try to understand the feature that is demonstrated by the blending of social contention and political participation among civil actions in present China. The paper puts forward a new framework of interpretation which may be called "contention-participation". This new framework of interpretation includes two models: contentious participation and participant contention. It demonstrates the causal mechanism and operation mechanism of "contention-participation" actions by analyzing two typical cases. On the basis of that , we suggest that we should improve the level of civil action by making further mixing of social contention and political participation.

Key words: contention-participation; political participation; contentious participation; participant contention; civil action.

#### Deliberative Democracy is the Inevitable Choice of the Political Construction of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

( by QIN Hui-yin , Fu Mei)

Abstract: Deliberative democracy is the distinctive form and the unique advantage of the socialist democratic politics in China. Why the socialist deliberative democracy is adopted in the Chinese political system and political development is due to many aspects of inevitability and rationality. Deliberative democracy is the essential requirement of socialism, and it has come down in one continuous line from the past to the present. It is the need of socialist market economy, a unique form of Chinese democratic politics and the realistic choice and effective way of political system reform in China.

Key words: socialist deliberative democracy; political construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics; necessity; rationality.

#### A Study on the Spillover Effects between EU EUA Market and CER Market

(by LIU Ji-xian, XIE Sai-sai)

Abstract: This paper firstly analyses the formation mechanism of spillover effects between EU EVA carbon trading market and CER carbon trading market and then puts forward the theoretical hypothesis of symmetrical spillover effects. This theoretical hypothesis is tested by Granger causality test, VAR model, MGARCH-BEKK model. The empirical results show that the theoretical hypothesis is refused. It exerts dissymmetric spillover effects between the EUA market and the CER market. On the aspect of income spillover, the EUA market has significant negative spillover effects on the CER market, however the CER market has no significant spillover effects on the EUA market. On the aspect of volatility spillover, there is a two-way negative volatility spillover effects between EUA and CER markets. But the EUA market has a stronger volatility spillover effects on the CER market. The paper analyses the reason why the theoretical hypothesis is rejected by empirical results and proposes some advice to our government.

Key words: carbon trading market; spillover effects; Granger Causality Test; VAR Model; MGARCH-BEKK Model.

#### Path Diversification of Workers' Rights Protection In the Perspective of Labor Policy Comparison

(by HUANG Yan, DING Xiao)

Abstract: Chinese labor relations are facing fierce transformation, and traditional nationalism protection model has been challenged harshly. The employment system of different nature challenges the traditional mode of labor protection, labor policy in the context of new public management movement and the new development trend of workers' rights protection are mainly reflected in the more and more complex participation subjects. The traditional pattern for solving labor relations by the government, trade unions, and workers was broken, and global civil society, consumer movement, Multi-National Corporations, and the media have been involved. This article aims to analyze the challenges of globalization on Chinese labor relations, summarizing the challenges to Chinese traditional national legislation and rights protection of trade unions brought about by path diversification of workers' rights.

Key words: globalization; labor policy; protection of workers' rights.

#### The Development of Social Adaptation Capabilities of Migrant Workers Based on "Reciprocal Determinism"

( by ZHANG Jing , WANG Jin-yun)

Abstract: The new generation of migrant workers faces adaptation issues in the process of urbanization, including economic cultural and psychological aspects. Based on Bandura'Reciprocal Determinism theory, the present study shows "four-level" training mechanism: (I) At the organizational level

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the government provides policy support to ensure the rights of new generation of migrant workers; (II) At the media level, we should set up the bridge that can eliminate the gap between new generation of migrant workers and urban people; (III) At the individual level, the new generation of migrant workers can improve their quality and the potential adaptability; (IV) At the behavior level, the new generation of migrant workers can modify their behaviors, develop multi-channel contact with urban people and promote the social adaptive behavior.

Key words: new generation of migrant workers; reciprocal determinism

#### The "In-door" Ethics of Confucianism: An Interpretation of Fu Zi Hu Yin from Book XIII of The Analects

(by GUO Qi-yong, XIAO Shi-jun)

Abstract: The Confucian ethics stresses the clear distinction between in-door and out-door situations, featuring loving-kindness and justice respectively. Confucianism advocates qin qin xiang yin(亲亲相隐) and da yi mie qin(大义灭亲), but never encourages the latter blindly. On the contrary, Confucianism takes qin qin xiang yin as the basis of lawmaking. The yin(隐) in the sentence fu wei zi yin, zi wei fu yin (父为子隐,子为父隐) from Book XIII of The Analects should not be interpreted as "yin" (檃, to correct). It has two shades of meaning: firstly, do not publicize the fault of the father, or accuse him in public; secondly, to remonstrate with him suggestively or euphemistically. Confucius does not mean "concealing the offences" here. The difference between yin, fan(犯) and wu fan wu yin(无犯无隐) in serving the parents, the emperor and the teacher reflects a sense of propriety in Confucianism in terms of ethical roles and ethical situations. If our relatives only made a small mistake, we should "yin"; but if they made a big mistake or committed a crime, we must remonstrate with them, not afraid of offending them. So we should avoid oversimplification, linear thinking and either-or mentality in addressing the complexities of this matter which is a concrete example of the rationality of Confucian ethics.

Key words: Confucius; The Analects of Confucius; mutual concealment between parents and children; dayimieqin.

#### The Ethical Education Significance of "Relatives' Mutual Concealment"

(by GONG Jian-ping)

Abstract: There are three pieces of material which have been the main source of the logical analysis and crisis to traditional Confucian ethics. However, this paper holds a different viewpoint. At the same time, the principles of Confucian ethics in family and in publics, even politics, not only have similarities but also obvious differences. Family ethic differs from political ethic. The basis of ethical politics is ethics. But politics itself has ethical principles. For complete humanist Confucianism, though the time that takes ethics as the basis of politics would never come back, the significance of ethical education could not be negated totally. Meanwhile, specific ethical principles in different contexts, adaptation, transformation, and even conflict are inevitable. Therefore, "relatives' mutual concealment" may not be the basis of political ethic again, but the educational significance couldn't be denied yet.

Key words: Confucian ethics; relatives' mutual concealment; boldly advising with no concealment; educational significance.

## Fight for Whom: The Relationship between Legitimacy of Internal Governance and External Competitiveness—Based on the Paradigm of "Historical Material + Scientific Method" (by DENG Xi-ze)

**Abstract**: Whether a nation can govern domestic affairs effectively, establish as well as carry out reasonable rules of interests' distribution, and make the citizens realize their expectation of reasonable interests, would exert direct effect on its external competitiveness. In other words, the legitimacy of internal governance has positive relevance with external competitiveness. This relationship can be generalized, thus it is universal: that reasonable degree in internal bearing of random community is positively correlated with external competitiveness of the community. The practical value of this issue is that as for a community, if it intends to enhance its external competiveness, the primary task lies in ameliorating its internal governance.

Key words: governance; legitimacy; competitiveness; community

### Dislocation and Selection of Aesthetic Orientation—Comparison Analysis of Tang Yin's Landscape and Flower-and-bird Creation (by HUANG Wen-xiang)

Abstract: The Ming Dynasty is a period of unprecedented prosperous era in Chinese painting history. "The Ming Fours" was pursuing a kind of painting style with the characteristics of Ming Dynasty, which was proceeding in the condition of commodity economy influence, liberal arts aesthetic mutation and various painting styles coexistence. Tang Yin, one of "the Ming Fours", was in that condition. In his inner heart, he was mainly pursuing land-scape creation and trying to seek a breakthrough in the compatibility of Yuanti painting and literati painting. Because of the molding request in Yuanti style and the contradiction between secular aesthetic ideas and literati aesthetic ideas, it was hard for him to transcend and show landscape artistic value. Flower-and-bird painting was another mode of Tangyin's art pursuit, and with entertainment intention, it succeeded the plain and simple style of literati painting in Yuan Dynasty. All these led to his dislocation between landscape painting and flower-and-bird painting. If we make a deep analysis on Tang Yin's works, with the comparison of his landscape creation and flower-and-bird creation, we can see his aesthetic orientation—the contradiction between landscape painting and flower-and-bird painting, and its solution. Tang Yin's drawing state is an example, which reflects the common art state of scholar painters in Ming Dynasty.

Key words: ink; imagery; landscape; flower-and-bird; art state.