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【外刊书评】

《民族社会学研究通讯》（1995-2012）

Asian Ethnicity, 2013, Vol.14, No. 1, pp. 132-135¹

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近年来，华语界对于族群、种族和国家认同，也即在中国通常（且令人困惑地）被称为“民族”的研究成倍增长。作为中国正在进行的改革开放的一部分，与国际社会的双向学术交流大大提高了中文研究成果的理论和实证的精细度，尤其是对于中国超过1亿人口的少数民族研究更是如此。为了保持与最新研究同步，西方学者们习惯于经常性去浏览中国社会科学院民族学研究所的旗舰刊物《民族研究》，或其他隶属于民族院校系统（比如中央民族大学）的学术刊物。多样化的媒体和学术窗口以及新通信技术的发展，催生了最新研究成果的交流路径。

在中国的族群研究领域，时常被一些人忽视但应当被视为最重要资料来源之一的是由北京大

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学马戎教授负责编辑的《民族社会学研究通讯》。该通讯第1期于1995年10月发行，由费孝通先生题写刊名，早期的支持者中包括了费孝通、杨堃和林耀华三位先生。自2010年开始，它由不定期发行变为每两周一次，目前已经编发了超过100期。在最开始时，它是中国社会学学会下属一个分会“民族社会学研究会”的非正式内部交流刊物。但是它现在已经成为在族群、种族和国家认同研究方面最重要和最具创新性的华语研究刊物。

自1987年在西德尼·戈德斯坦教授（Sidney Goldstein）指导下获得布朗大学社会学博士学位之后，马戎在其国内恩师费孝通之后开启了民族社会学领域的创新性研究。《通讯》第1期曾这样介绍：“民族社会学是现代社会学的一个分支，是介于社会学与民族学之间的边缘交叉学科。民族社会学主要采用现代社会科学的研究方法，对多民族国家和地区的社会问题以及民族地区的现代化等问题进行研究。”¹

该《通讯》勇于挑战关于中国族群理论、政策和实践以及西方根深蒂固观点的传统知识体系背后的核心理论，以此明显区别于《民族研究》和其他正规期刊发表的由党认可的公式化论文。《通讯》的创新性思考和前沿性研究很明显地受益于其非正式的发布途径，它在北京大学以及其他几个中文网站提供免费PDF文档²，也通过电子邮件系统发送，从而省略了中国学术期刊以及书籍出版的繁琐审查和同行评审程序。

每一期刊发的主要是研究性论文章，此外还有田野报告、论文翻译、书评、会议报告以及其他学术公告。刊文长短不一，但每期通常包含两至三篇跨越不同学科背景的内容丰富的论文。所刊论文最为关注的是中国的民族问题，比如牧区双语教育的挑战、当代中国所面临的种族民族主义威胁、建国初期的民族识别历史、新疆的宗教事务管理，同时也关注境外的族群问题，比如近期刊发的几篇论文关注美国的“肯定性行动”政策的历史与发展以及海外乌克兰人的民族主义。《通讯》也有几期特刊关注前苏联的民族政策及其对苏联解体的影响、清末和民国时期的族群关系和国家构建以及当代中国族群政策和相关理论的影响。编者收录了一些最犀利和最有趣的声言，不管他们是来自中国或是海外。《通讯》具有一种世界主义视野，它刊发论文的作者包括了国际社会学界领军人物诸如约翰·雷克斯（John Rex）、苏珊·奥扎克（Susan Olzak）、米歇尔·韦维尔卡（Michel Wieviorka）和罗伯特·库利（Robert Cooley），同时还有顶尖的华人社会学家、历史学家和民族学家。我这篇述评难以表达《通讯》刊载论文所涵盖的宽度、深度和复杂程度，以下仅举几个简单的例子来加以说明。

2012年7月，《通讯》转载了中国人民大学历史学领军人物黄兴涛的文章《清朝满人的“中国认同”——对美国“新清史”的一种回应》³。在这篇发人深省的精彩文章中，黄兴涛力图纠正西方学者对满朝统治的清王朝的曲解，他断定，由于主要依赖满文以及蒙古文史料，新清史学家如欧立德（Mark C. Elliott）和柯娇燕（Pamela Kyle Crossley）等人过度强调了少数民族认同和内亚洲边界的重要性。黄兴涛认为，该视角偏爱断裂超过连续，偏爱边缘高于中心，以及偏爱部分高于整体，从而忽视了认同意识在清帝国知识分子和政治核心层面的运作。黄文提供了部分满族精英当中认同中国人归属的新证据。

关于中国族群关系的英文文献大多依赖于民族志个案资料，偶而也有叙事性观察和大规模定量数据。由于开展调查更为便利，中国学者往往在新方法论以及经验数据方面更为领先。其中一个硕果累累的领域基于人口统计数据，《通讯》上刊发了一系列关于中国族际通婚率的启发性文章。马戎在1999年的文章中指出，族际通婚率是衡量族群融合和社会整合的指标。通过对1990年人口普查数据的分析，他指出，中国的族际通婚率为3.3%，高于前苏联和时下的美国⁴。然而，

¹ 《中国社会学会民族社会学研究会章程》，6。

² 详情见：http://www.sachina.edu.cn/library/journal_search.php?journal=1&num。

³ 黄兴涛：“清朝满人的中国认同——对美国‘新清史’的一种回应”。

⁴ 马戎，“中国各民族之间的族际通婚”。



正如马戎以及李晓霞基于 2000 年人口普查所作论文中所揭示的那样¹，这一总比率掩盖了介于不同族群以及地域间的显著的多样性。虽然蒙古族、满族、畚族以及其他部分民族的族际通婚率高于 50%，但汉族的族际通婚率仅为 1.58%。在一些汉族为主体的省份比如广东、安徽以及陕西，汉族的族际通婚率不到 1%。在中国 56 个族群中，维吾尔族的族际通婚率最低，仅为 1.05%。宗教、文化以及语言的障碍导致了社区的区隔，尤其是在南疆地区²。

继新疆和西藏发生的族群骚乱之后，《通讯》刊发了一系列关于这一处于浪尖峰口的族际冲突的分析和评论。其中转载了一篇郑永年和单伟合作的会议论文“疆藏骚乱原因剖析暨新加坡经验的启示”³。两位作者在文中探讨了骚乱滋生的社会政治背景，包括这两个地区和中国沿海之间日益增大的收入差距，并指出族群政策的新加坡模式可能比中国当前沿袭的前苏联模式更为有效。作者呼吁应更强调由国家引导的族群融合以及逐步弱化以地域为基础的民族区域自治制度，这呼应了马戎提出的颇有争议的观点。当然，《通讯》的视野和价值远远超过了单独个人或者单个观点，它为族群、种族和国家认同的前沿学术研究提供了一个动态的平台，从而成为那些自认为了了解中国民族运作方式或者有兴趣拓宽对族群问题认识之人的必读之物。

书评的英文原文：

Sociology of Ethnicity, by the Association of Sociology of Ethnicity, Sociology Society of China, Institute of Sociology and Anthropology, Peking University, Beijing, 1995–2012

The Sinophone research literature on ethnic, racial and national identity, or what in Chinese parlance is commonly (and confusingly) rendered as *minzu* (民族), has grown exponentially in recent years. As part of China's ongoing reform and opening up efforts, two-way academic exchanges have greatly enhanced the theoretical and empirical sophistication of the Chinese language scholarship, particularly as it relates to China's more than 100 million ethnic minorities (少数民族). In order to keep abreast of new research, Western scholars are in the habit of scanning the latest issues of *Ethno-national Studies* (民族研究), the flagship publication of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, or numerous other academic journals associated with the PRC's network of 'ethnic tertiary institutions', such as the Central Minzu University in Beijing. Yet, the diversification of media and academic outlets, as well as new communication technologies, have spawned new avenues for communicating research findings.

One of the most significant, and arguably overlooked, sources for ethnic research in China is the once irregular but since 2010 largely fortnightly *Sociology of Ethnicity newsletter* (民族社会学研究通讯) edited by Professor Ma Rong at Beijing University. With well over 100 back issues, the Newsletter was first 'published' in October 1995 under the masthead calligraphy of the late Fei Xiaotong, who along with Yang Kun and Lin Yaohua served as early patrons of the Newsletter. It had its origins as an informal bulletin for the Association of Sociology of Ethnicity (民族社会学研究会), a sub-unit of the Sociology Society of China (中国社会学学会), but has long since become one of the most important and innovative repositories of Sinophone research and thought on ethnic, racial and national identity.

Along with his mentor Fei Xiaotong, Ma Rong has pioneered a distinctly sociological approach to the study of *minzu* since completing his PhD under Sidney Goldstein at Brown University in 1987. As outlined in the inaugural issue:

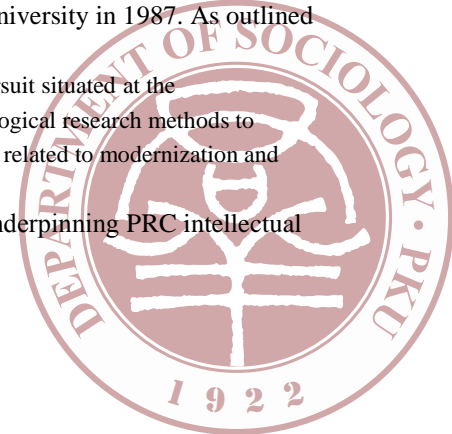
The sociology of ethnicity is a branch of sociology, an interdisciplinary pursuit situated at the intersections of sociology and ethnology, whose aim is to employ modern sociological research methods to explore social questions in multiethnic states and territories, as well as questions related to modernization and other issues in ethnic territories.¹

Yet it is the Newsletter's willingness to question the core assumptions underpinning PRC intellectual

¹ 李晓霞，“中国各民族间族际婚姻的现状分析”。

² 李晓霞，“新疆南部农村的维汉通婚调查分析”。

³ 郑永年和单伟，“疆藏骚乱原因剖析暨新加坡经验的启示”。



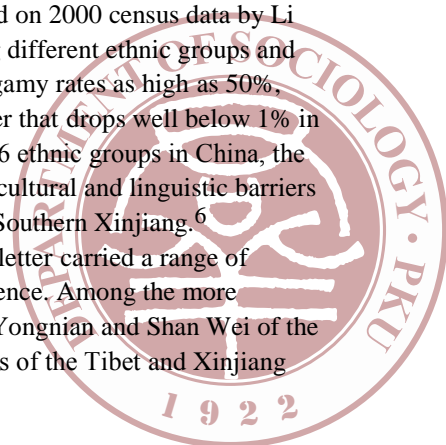
orthodoxy on ethnic theory, policy and practice, as well as established views in the West, that most clearly distinguishes the Newsletter from the formulaic, party-sanctioned scholarship published in *Ethno-national Studies* and other establishment journals. The fresh thought and cutting-edge research that appears in the pages of the *Newsletter* clearly benefits from its informal distribution channels. The Newsletter is freely available for download as a PDF file on a *Beida* library website,² as well as several other locations across the Sinophone Internet, or via an email distribution network, thus bypassing more strenuous censorship and peer-review requirements that apply to academic journals and books published inside the PRC.

Each issue contains an eclectic mix of original and mainly reprinted research articles, plus field reports, translations, book reviews, conference reports, and other academic announcements. They vary in length but usually contain two to three substantial articles per issue that are drawn from a wide range of academic disciplines. Their focus runs the gambit of issues related to minzu in China – such as the challenges associated with bilingual education in nomadic regions, the dangers of racial nationalism in contemporary China, the history of ethnic classification in the early PRC, and the management of religious affairs in Xinjiang, to name but a few – but also includes articles on ethnic issues outside of the PRC, such as recent pieces on the history and development of affirmative action policies in the USA and diasporic Ukrainian nationalism. There have been several special issues, with particular attention paid to ethnic policies in the former Soviet Union and their impact on its collapse, ethnic relations and nation-building during the late Qing and early Republican periods, and the PRC's contemporary ethnic policies and related theories. Authors include some of the brightest and most interesting voices on ethnicity whether they are based at PRC academic institutions or abroad. There is a real cosmopolitan feel to the Newsletter, with the translated works of leading international sociologists like John Rex, Susan Olzak, Michel Wieviorka and Robert Cooley Angell appearing alongside top Chinese sociologists, historians and ethnographers. This brief review makes it difficult to convey the full breath, depth and sophistication of the research contained within the Newsletter. A few brief examples will have to suffice.

In July 2012, the Newsletter reprinted an article by leading Renmin University historian Huang Xingtao entitled “‘The ‘Chinese identity’ of Qing Dynasty Manchus: A Response to America’s ‘New Qing History’”.³ In this thought provoking and well researched piece, Huang seeks to rebalance what he argues is a distorted view of the Manchu-lead Qing dynasty among Western scholars. New Qing historians like Mark C. Elliott, Pamela Kyle Crossley, among others, have over emphasized the importance of minority ethnicity and the inner Asian frontier, Huang asserts, due to their use of Manchu and Mongolian language sources. For Huang, this perspective risks losing sight of the way identity operated at the intellectual and political core of the Qing empire – favoring ruptures over continuities, the periphery over the center, and fragments over the whole. In contrast, Huang provides some interesting new evidence of ‘Chinese’ associational affinities among segments of the Manchu elite.

The English-language literature on ethnic relations in China rests on little largescale, quantitative data, relying instead on ethnographic case studies, and at times anecdotal observations. Yet, with greater access and mobility, Chinese scholars are pioneering new methodological approaches and empirical data sources. One particularly fruitful area of inquiry is based on demographic statistics, with the Newsletter publishing a series of illuminating articles on inter-minzu marriage rates in China. In 1999 Ma Rong asserted that inter-ethnic marriage rates are one of the best barometers of ethnic harmony and social cohesion, and based on 1990 census data argued that China's mix-marriage rate of 3.3% was higher than both the former USSR and the USA.⁴ Yet as studies by both Ma Rong and a more recent survey based on 2000 census data by Li Xiaoxia demonstrates,⁵ this aggregated rate belies the marked diversity among different ethnic groups and locations. While the Mongols, Manchus, She and other minorities exhibit exogamy rates as high as 50%, only 1.58% of Han men and women marry outside their ethnic group, a number that drops well below 1% in Han-dominated provinces like Guangdong, Anhui, and Sha'anxi. Among all 56 ethnic groups in China, the Muslim Uyghurs exhibit the lowest rate of exogamy at 1.05%, with religious, cultural and linguistic barriers contributing to the largely segregated nature of this community, especially in Southern Xinjiang.⁶

Finally, following the deadly ethnic riots in Tibet and Xinjiang, the Newsletter carried a range of different analyses and commentaries of this apparent spike in inter-ethnic violence. Among the more insightful pieces, the Newsletter reprinted a draft conference paper by Zheng Yongnian and Shan Wei of the East Asian Institute at National University of Singapore, entitled “‘An Analysis of the Tibet and Xinjiang



Riots in Light of the Singaporean Experience.”⁷ In the paper, which was subsequently published as a part of the Institute’s working papers series in Chinese, the authors explore the sociopolitical context in which the riots erupted, including the widening income gap between these two regions and coastal China, before suggesting that the ‘Singaporean model’ of ethnic policies might prove more useful than the PRC’s current USSR-inspired policies. The authors’ call for more emphasis on state-guided integration and a gradual weakening of the system of territorial-based ethnic autonomy echoes some of Professor Ma Rong’s own controversial ideas. But the scope and value of the Newsletter reaches well beyond any single individual or viewpoint, providing a dynamic platform for cutting-edge academic research on ethnic, racial and national identity, and thus making the Newsletter a must-read for those who think they understand the way ‘minzu’ operates in China, or anyone interested in ethnic issues more broadly conceived.

Notes

1. “Zhongguo shehuixue minzu shehuixue yanjiuhui zhangcheng.” 6.
2. See http://www.sachina.edu.cn/library/journal_search.php?journal?1#
3. Huang Xingtao, “Qingchao Manren de ‘Zhongguo rentong’.”
4. Ma Rong, “Zhongguo ge minzu zhijian de zuji tonghun.”
5. Li Xiaoxia, “Zhongguo ge minzu jian zuji hunyin de xianzhuang fenxi.”
6. Li Xiaoxia, “Xinjiang nanbu nongcun de Wei-Han tonghun diaocha fenxi.”
7. Zheng Yongnian and Shan Wei, “Jiang-zang saoluan yuanyin pouxi ji Xinjiapo jingyan de qishi.”

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