

• 博士论坛(Doctor Forum) •

群体性事件集群行为的动员与组织机制*

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摘要 群体性事件指部分群众与当地党政部门或强势社会集团的对抗性冲突。是当下我国典型的集群行为。社会心理学对集群行为动员机制的研究主要包括群体相对剥夺、群体认同、群体(愤怒)情绪和群体效能;对集群行为组织机制的研究主要包括速生规范、谣言和去个体化。其中,群体愤怒和群体效能既属于动员机制,同时又在组织机制中发挥作用。这些因素之间有待于进一步整合,以期对现阶段我国社会频发的群体性事件的心理因素进行解释和探讨。

关键词 群体性事件; 集群行为; 动员机制; 组织机制

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“当我们悠久的信仰崩塌消亡之时,当古老的社会柱石一根又一根倾倒之时,群体的势力便成为惟一无可匹敌的力量,而且它的声势还会不断壮大。我们就要进入的时代,千真万确将是一个群体的时代。”

——Gustave Le Bon (1895)

1 引言

现代人类社会面临着来自诸多方面的严峻挑战。集中表现在全球金融危机、自然资源和能源危机的加剧,自然灾害、流行病的多发以及各国内部由于经济发展不平衡导致个体之间、阶层之间和社会群体之间矛盾冲突的日益激烈(Van Vugt, 2000)。这其中,集群行为(collective action/behavior)在多数情况下被视为社会冲突的缩影。就中国而言,改革开放30年来的经济建设成绩斐然:人均GDP从1978年的381元跃至2007年的18934元(国家统计局,2008);与之形成鲜明对比的是,表征一个社会收入不平等的基尼(Gini)系数也从1978年的0.212(World Bank, 2003)升到2007年的0.469(UNDP, 2008),超过了0.4的国际警戒线。

这意味着我国贫富差距不断扩大,社会矛盾愈加尖锐,社会稳定正在遭受威胁。这其中,群体性事件可看作是社会矛盾的突出表征。处于制度转型关键时期和剧烈社会变迁下的中国,需对此保持高度警惕。

集群行为一直以来都是社会学、社会心理学、政治学乃至经济学研究的重要课题,因为它是社会变革的核心机制之一(Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009)。群体性事件则是当下我国典型的集群行为(张书维,周洁,王二平,2009;弯美娜,刘力,邱佳,杨晓莉,2011)。所谓“集群行为”,是群体成员参与为改善群体现状的行动(Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990; Wright, 2009),是一种共同情绪影响下的个体行为(Park & Burgess, 1921)。比如投票,请愿,罢工,抗议,示威等(Walker & Smith, 2002)。最早关注集群行为现象的是法国社会心理学家 Le Bon (1895/1995),他在著作中使用了“乌合之众”(crowds)一词,对集群的非理性行为进行了开创性的研究;美国社会学家 Park 则首先明确提出了“集群行为”的概念(Park & Burgess, 1921)。

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社会心理学认为,对抗性的集群行为如果不能得到有效化解,有可能发展为行动目标更为明确、组织性更高的社会运动(social movements)和社会革命(Tajfel, 1982)。这三类群体行为都是体制外的政治行为,但在目标的明确性和行动的组织性方面有层次差异(赵鼎新, 2006)。因此,探明集群行为的动员机制和组织机制,不仅有助于理解群体性事件动力学特征,也可以为化解群体性事件的策略提供技术支持,将冲突后果和处置代价降至最低。

2 群体性事件的概念

“群体性事件”原本不是一个严格的科学概念,最初作为一个“政治术语”出现在官方言论和文件中,但并没有给出明确的定义,表达也不统一,常与“突发群体性事件”或“群体性突发事件”、“群体性治安事件”等混用(于建嵘, 2009)。常见的群体性事件,往往表现为不满群众围攻当地政府机关,损毁公务用车等(O'Brien, 2002)。王二平(2009)将群体性事件定义为:部分群众与当地党政部门或强势社会集团的对抗性冲突。这里所说的强势社会集团,泛指当地的国有或民营企业。但它们行为的背后,总能看到当地党政部门意志的影子。此定义就将群体性事件与流氓群殴,与传统的村里间、宗族间为争夺资源和利益的冲突,与一般的民族冲突或宗教冲突,与有境外敌对势力利用民族矛盾或宗教矛盾挑唆对抗党政部门的冲突以及一些国家的社会骚乱等明确区分开来,而凸显其官民冲突的本质。可以认为,群体性事件是民众在现行体制外的一种利益诉求方式。

在群体性事件中,对立的双方壁垒分明——愤怒的人群与当地党政部门或强势社会集群对峙。而集群行为的参与者却往往边界模糊——无论诱发因素是否与自身利益直接相关,愤怒而无助的人都以各种行为表达参与和支持,希望借此改变其所在群体的弱势地位或不利局面,使得集群行为通常表现地短暂而剧烈。从中可以觉察到相对剥夺(relative deprivation)、群体认同(group/collective identity)、群际情绪(intergroup emotions)、群体效能(group/collective efficacy)、速生规范(emergent norm)、谣言(rumor)及去个体化(de-individuation)等社会心理过程。然而,这些社会心理过程在群体性事件集群行为的动员中如何发挥

作用?集群行为的主体一旦被动员,又是怎样组织起来的?本文尝试从理论角度加以阐述。

3 集群行为的动员机制

3.1 群体相对剥夺——集群行为的前提

Stoffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Starr 和 Williams (1949)最早发现,现实中个体的生活和工作满意感并非依赖绝对的、客观的标准来衡量,而是以周围的人作为参照进行评价。比较的结果若是自己处于较低地位,就会产生相对剥夺。相对剥夺的核心社会心理过程是社会比较(Zhang, Wang, & Chen, 2011)。我国改革开放 30 多年来,人民群众的生活状况普遍大为改善,但社会上贫富差距也愈加突出,公众的不满情绪并未减少。“端起碗来吃肉,放下筷子骂娘”所表达的,就是相对剥夺(张书维等, 2009)。

心理学、社会学、政治学等社会学科的学者,从不同的视角界定相对剥夺概念。社会心理学更多地从微观社会个体和群体的角度来理解相对剥夺,关注个体和群体在面对客观剥夺时的主观感受或行为表现。Walker 和 Smith (2002)将相对剥夺定义为:与参照群体(reference group)相比,个体对自身不利地位的感知。参照群体可以是个体,也可以是群体。根据参照群体的不同水平,相对剥夺可分为个体相对剥夺(egoistic/personal/individual relative deprivation; IRD)和群体相对剥夺(fraternal/collective/group relative deprivation; GRD) (Runciman, 1966)。前者所作的是人际比较(interpersonal comparisons);后者所作的是群际比较(intergroup comparisons; Taylor & Lind, 2002)。一旦个体感知到相对剥夺,就会由此引发一系列情绪及行为反应(Mark & Folger, 1984),如沮丧,压力,并可能导致向更高社会地位群体的流动等个体行为(Mummerdey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Smith & Ortiz, 2002; Pettigrew, 2002; Taylor & Lind, 2002),而非集群行为。

大量研究表明,与个体相对剥夺相比,群体相对剥夺更易导致集群行为(Abeles, 1976; Crawford & Naditch, 1970; Dion, 1986; Dubé-Simard & Guimond, 1986; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Hafer & Olson, 1993; McInnis & Grant, 1991; Miller, Bolce, & Halligan, 1977; Walker & Mann, 1987; Smith & Ortiz, 2002; Smith, Cronin, &

Kessler, 2008; Taylor & Lind, 2002; Wright & Tropp, 2002; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972)。尽管如此, 群体相对剥夺与集群行为之间的相关至多也仅维持在中度水平(Walker & Smith, 2002; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008)。仅有群体相对剥夺的存在, 尚不足以立刻引起广泛的反抗(张书维, 王二平, 周洁, 2010)。可见, 群体相对剥夺只是个体发动或参与集群行为的必要条件而非充分条件。因为感受到相对剥夺时, 个体可有多种选择以求改变自己的不利社会地位: 通过努力改变个人地位; 改变参照群体以消除相对剥夺感; 攻击社会地位高的群体以泄愤。那么, 哪些因素会影响群体相对剥夺与集群行为的关系? 换言之, 有哪些可调节群体相对剥夺与集群行为关系的因素?

3.2 群体认同、群体愤怒、群体效能——集群行为的动力

现实社会中, 处于弱势地位的群体成员也只有小部分参与集群行为, 绝大多数尽管伴随着愤怒、不满及沮丧等消极情绪, 但仍然会选择沉默和忍受(Wright & Tropp, 2002)。因此, 还需确定有关群体相对剥夺与集群行为关系的调节或中介变量。群体认同被认为是一个核心影响因素(Van Zomeren et al., 2008)。

群体认同源自社会认同。Tajfel (1978)将社会认同(social identity)界定为“自我概念的一部分, 来源于个体对其属于某一特定社会群体的认识, 同时认识到作为该群体成员所能获得的情感 and 价值意义”。社会认同的前提是认知过程的社会类化(social-categorization): 通过最简群体范式(minimal group paradigm, MGP; Tajfel, Billig, & Bundy, 1971), 明确自己所属的群体(内群体), 并将其他人都看作是外群体。从而对内群体产生不同程度的认同感(Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), 即群体认同, 指个体与群体基于群体成员身份意义的心理联系, 也就是说, 群体成员身份整合进个体自我概念的程度(Tropp & Wright, 2001)。群体认同越高, 自我概念中的社会性(sociality)越发凸显; 自然地, 群体的目标也就内化成了个人所追求的目标。

社会认同理论(Social Identity Theory; SIT)认为, 如果弱势群体的成员面临: 1) 群体间地位的差别被认为是不正当的(illegitimate); 2) 群体间

地位的区别被视为是不稳定的(unstable); 3) 群体边界是不可渗透的(impermeable, 即低地位群体成员无法加入高地位群体)的情境时, 成员会加强对本群体的认同, 从而引发谋求改变本群体不利地位的集群行为(Brown, 2000; Ellemers, 2002; Tajfel, 1982; Turner & Brown, 1978; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008)。群体认同对集群行为的预测作用已在社会生活的诸多领域中得到证实。随后的研究表明, 对集群认同的政治化(politicization of collective identification)是集群行为更有力的预测源。所谓“集群认同的政治化”是个体对某一社会运动或运动组织的认同(Stürmer & Simon, 2004)。例如, 在 Nelson 等 (2008)的结构方程模型中女权主义运动者的认同对集群行为的路径系数达到 0.52 ($p < 0.001$)。Van Zomeren 等 (2008)通过元分析也证实, 政治认同相比非政治认同对集群行为有更强的预测力。另外, Brewer 和 Pierce (2005)发现, 由于成员利益的可互换性(interchangeable), 认同感亦被视为一种群体资源, 在集群行为的动员和招募人员阶段发挥着关键作用。认同中的情感因素对于集群行为的直接动员作用尤其明显(Van Zomeren et al., 2008; Giguère & Lalonde, 2010)。对群体认同与集群行为关系的进一步研究涉及反对堕胎的游说, 同性恋运动以及球迷骚乱等行为类型。

对于群体认同和相对剥夺的关系, 研究表明, 一旦群体认同凸显, 弱势群体成员将更倾向于做群际比较, 使得成员的个体相对剥夺感下降, 群体相对剥夺感上升(Ellemers, 2002; Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Smith, Spears, & Oyen, 1994)。群体认同因此强化了弱势群体成员的群体相对剥夺感(Abrams, 1990; Ellemers, 2002; Mummenderley et al., 1999; Petta & Walker, 1992; De La Sablonnière & Tougas, 2008; Tropp & Wright, 1999), 使得群体相对剥夺水平较低而群体认同高的个体也参与到集群行为之中。换言之, 群体认同可能调节群体相对剥夺与集群行为的关系: 在群体认同凸显的条件下, 群体相对剥夺与集群行为的关系会被弱化, 无论群体相对剥夺的程度高低, 成员们都更可能参与集群行为; 在群体认同被其它凸显的社会认同抑制时, 群体相对剥夺对集群行为的预测作用才会显现。

群际情绪理论(Intergroup Emotions Theory;

IET)承袭了社会认同理论强调自我的社会性这一视角(Smith, 1993, 1999)。群体情绪不同于个体情绪,它取决于群体认同的程度(Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007)。Yzerbyt, Dumont, Gordijn 和 Wigboldus (2002)对大学生群体的研究显示,群体认同使部分人经历某一事件时的情绪反应影响到其它内群体成员。当群体认同凸显时,共享的群体身份成为个体自我概念的一部分。若该群体受到威胁(来自外群体),成员会对所面临的情境进行一致性、合理性、责任性、力量性和确定性五个维度的认知评价(Miller, 2006)。当评价结果显示情境与成员需求不一致,对成员不公平,责任外归因,群体力量性强和行为结果确定性高时,产生群体愤怒(group-based anger)情绪,即形成基于群体成员身份而生的群体愤怒,导致对外群体的侵害行为(offensive behavior; Lodewijkx, Kersten, & Van Zomeren, 2008; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003¹)。愤怒情绪会增加集群行为的冒险性,使群体成员采取更激进的行为方式(Rydell et al., 2008)。群体愤怒对于抗议(hostile protest)类集群行为的动员作用尤其明显(Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2007; Smith, Cronin, & Kessler, 2008; Stürmer & Simon, 2009; Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; Van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008)。Leonard, Moons, Mackie 和 Smith (2011)的新近研究显示,群体愤怒与群体刻板印象有关,并通过个体对外群体的歧视评价(discrimination appraisals)来引发集群行为。若群内成员既不相信本群体的力量又对集群行为后果没有把握,此时启动的是恐惧(fear)情绪,进而对外群体回避(Devos, Silver, Mackie, & Smith, 2002)。

资源动员理论(Resource Mobilization Theory; RMT)认为群体所能动员的资源(如群体成员手中可自由支配的时间和金钱等)是集群行为能否发生的关键(McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Gamson, 1975; Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978)。而群体效能反映的就是成员对本群体所拥有资源的主观认识(Klandermans, 1984)。所谓“群体效能”,是指群体成员对通过共同努力能够实现群体目标的信念(Bandura, 1995, 1997)。研究证明,群体认同与群体效能正相关(Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995;

Mummendey et al., 1999; Van Zomeren et al., 2008),但二者之间孰因孰果尚无定论。早先的研究倾向于认为群体认同能够增强成员的群体效能(参看 Klandermans, 1997; Van Zomeren et al., 2008 的综述),新近的实验则发现,群体效能可以通过提高被试的集群行为意向来增强群体认同(Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2010)。当成员有较高的群体效能时,他们相信自己有能力改变本群体的命运和处境(Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Reicher, 1996, 2001),参与集群行为的可能性随之增大(Hornsey et al., 2006; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Mummendey et al., 1999)。因此,即便群体认同非凸显,只要成员认为集群行为是有效和有益的,他们仍然有可能参与其中(Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Van Zomeren et al., 2008)。Van Zomeren 等 (2008)证实了群体认同调节群体效能和集群行为意向之间的关系:对于群体认同非凸显的被试,若其群体效能高,也会愿意参与集群行为。

4 集群行为的组织机制

4.1 谣言的作用

谣言是人群中传播的不符合事实或没有事实根据的传闻(Rosnow, 1980; Allport & Postman, 1947; Shubutani, 1966)。情境的不确定性是谣言产生和传播的主要前提(Shubutani, 1966; Schachter & Burdick, 1955; Allport & Postman, 1947; Festinger et al., 1948)。事件的重要性、个体的批判性、人群中的焦虑等负性情绪状态等,也是谣言传播的重要条件(Kimmel & Keefer, 1991; Chorus, 1953)。谣言是一种群体性的问题解释和解决方式,即群体成员通过集中他们共同的资源尝试对不确定的事件做出解释。随着谣言的传播,人群中逐渐形成共同利益,使得原本松散的集群变得更加有力。从而表现出较一致的集群行为。群体的同质性既可以作为谣言的前因变量,又可以作为其结果变量,两者相互促进(Rosnow, 1980; Knopf, 1975; Turner & Killian, 1972; Shubutani, 1966)。谣言也是人们面对不确定的事件情境,用以降低对不期望后果的焦虑水平的工具(Bordia & Rosnow, 1998; DiFonzo, Bordia, & Rosnow, 1994; Rosnow, 1988; Athony, 1973)。DiFonzo 和 Bodia

(1997, 2000)在模拟股票市场的实验室研究中发现,谣言会影响人们对将来的预测和行为。谣言通过个体对相关股票的稳定因果归因(stable-cause attribution)从而影响个体的后续投资行为。他们的研究还发现,当个体在谣言的作用下通过稳定因果归因来解释不相关事件时,这些事件会被知觉为相关,从而影响个体对未来的预测和行为(DiFonzo & Bordia, 2002)。

4.2 速生规范的作用

Tunner 和 Killian (1972)提出了集群行为的速生规范概念。在他们看来,集群行为仍是一种规范约束行为。因平时遵循的一些社会规范在集群行为情境下不再适用,参与者在集群行动中会自发形成适应当前情境的新规范。Tierney (1980)认为集群行为也是一种理性行为,会产生维持集群行为目标的速生规范。而新规范一旦通过个人的行为建立起来,并成为集群环境中适当行为的标准后,就会让其成员感觉到执行它们的压力:一些不符合此规范的意图和情绪就可能受到压制。同时以谣言的方式迅速发挥作用。例如,股票市场里谣言影响投资者是否买进或卖出某一股票的决定,谣言作用于股市引起戏剧性波动的现象也是司空见惯。这说明股票交易的趋势反映的是股民集群而非个人对股市走势的知觉判断。因此谣言作为一个集群决策制定的过程发生在当该集群定义所面临的情境需要其成员协同行动之时。此时速生规范通过谣言建立了集群行为的方向,并给这些行动赋予意义。再如发生火灾时,如果有人提一桶水来救火,这个行为就成为此时此刻的“速生规范”,大家会冷静下来,跟着去提水救火;相反,如果有人第一个逃走,这个行为也将成为“速生规范”,大家同样会效仿,争先恐后地逃跑。

速生规范理论常被用来解释一些突发事件(如自然灾害、公共安全事件)等发生短暂的集群行为,如 Aguirre, Wenger 和 Vigo (1998)对 1993 年纽约世贸中心被炸弹袭击后人群的撤离这一事件中出现紧急集群行为的研究。此外,速生规范对于一些较大组织的集群行为亦有作用, Ackerman (2003)提出了欧洲安全与合作组织(the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; OSCE)和联合国在防止武装冲突上速生规范发挥作用的三个阶段:提高认识和拥护阶段,接受和制度化阶段,以及国际化阶段。集群行为被看作是一种被规则

和规范约束的正常社会过程,且拥有它内部的凝聚力。

4.3 去个体化的氛围

集群中的个体行为更少道德和法律约束,侵害手段也更为残忍。Fromm (1941)提出“去个体化”概念,指个体在集群中自我意识丧失,个体身份解体和自我调控能力下降的现象(Prentice-Dunn & Rogers, 1980)。与之相近的概念是“去个性化”(depersonalization),指个体在群体或集群情境中对群体或集群的社会认同强于自我认同的现象(Lee, 2006)。

在 Festinger, Pepitone 和 Newcomb (1952)被较多引用的一项经典研究中,实验者要求处在小群体里的被试讨论关于他们对自己父母的感受,结果发现被试越少意识到个体身份,他们在讨论中就越加轻率和大胆。Festinger 等(1952)认为,成员隐匿在集群中不易辨认,导致个体自我约束力降低。一些平时被抑制的行为也随之表现出来。在随后的一系列研究中,“去个体化”的原因由群体的匿名性逐渐扩展到一些包括环境在内的因素,如责任感的消失、唤起、感官超负荷、无结构情境、酗酒或滥用毒品导致的意识改变等(Ross, Rodin, & Zimbardo, 1969; Zimbardo, Snyder, Thomas, & Gold, 1970)。Silke (2003)对 500 名北爱尔兰人的调查显示,有超过半数的被试会在个体身份得到伪装时实施暴力行为。Diener (1969)在探讨去个体化与集群行为之间的关系时发现,自我觉察(self-awareness)是一个重要的中介变量,在去个体化的实验情境下被试自我觉察和对评价的敏感性更低,有更强的集群一致感,会选择更危险的违悖习俗行为。Prentice-Dunn 和 Rogers (1982)将自我觉察进一步区分为公共自我觉察(public self-awareness)和私下自我觉察(private self-awareness),前者指对责任性(accountability)的意识,由低责任性导致的低公共自我觉察会产生去抑制和反规范行为;而后者则包括匿名性(anonymity)、外部需求的关注(external demands on attention)、群体一致(group unity)和可辨别性(identifiability);这四方面任何一方的缺乏都会引起私下自我觉察的降低,进而导致个体自知力下降、情绪反应、冲动行为和群体凝聚力加强等。公共和私下自我觉察区分的理论认为集群行为遵循两条线索:注意线索(attentional cues)将个人的

注意力从自我转移到集群；责任线索(accountability cues)则增加了个体对社会标准和一致性的关注。Postmes 和 Spears (1998)在对去个性化行为的一项元分析中指出，尽管有匿名性、自我觉察下降等因素的存在，集群成员却依然遵守着所谓的情境规范(situational norm)，近似速生规范。另外，群体规模对去个性化亦有影响，Englehar (2006)研究证实班级规模是学生去个性化群体参与行为的函数。

随着个人电脑的流行和网络的发展，去个性化理论也被用来解释虚拟空间的集群行为，如聊天室里的集群谩骂，以及电子邮件攻击他人等网络世界常见的反规范行为(disinhibited behavior; Kiesler & Sproull, 1992)。

5 总结和展望

群体性事件集群行为的主体因相似的社会地位或共同的利益而相互认同，有明确的“我们”和“你们”的意识及区别。这不同于为各自目标偶然聚集的人群(mass)，由于缺乏社会认同的基础，他们的行为本质上是互无关联的众多个体采取了相似的应对行为；集群行为与小群体(small group)行为亦有区别：小群体由依情感纽带或共同的活

动目标联系，成员间可充分互动，行为受群体规范约束。而集群成员间的情感联系相对较弱。总之，集群行为更具情境性，群体性事件往往呈现出突发性、利益性、情绪性、冲突性等特征。

事实证明，仅个人原因的不满可导致个体的反社会行为，却不具有引发群体性事件的号召力。群体相对剥夺作为集群行为的前提，为集群行为的爆发提供了群众基础。群体认同能够调节成员的群体相对剥夺感，是集群行为的动员中枢。在群体认同作用下的群体(愤怒)情绪和群体效能则既为集群行为提供动力，同时又对集群行为的迅速扩大推波助澜——二者都能驱使成员义无反顾地加入集群行为。其中，愤怒感的增强离不开谣言的作用；速生规范的形成则有助于提高成员的效能感。另一方面，较高的群体愤怒负性情绪易滋生谣言，较强的群体效能也利于速生规范的出现。这两对因素间的复杂关系需在今后的研究中深入探讨。而谣言与速生规范亦存在相互影响：谣言为速生规范的传播提供渠道，速生规范则使谣言更容易被人群接受。最后，去个性化为集群行为的持续发展提供了适宜的心理氛围，导致部分成员的集群行为表现出更加大胆和极端。集群行为研究的动员与组织机制整合模型见图 1。

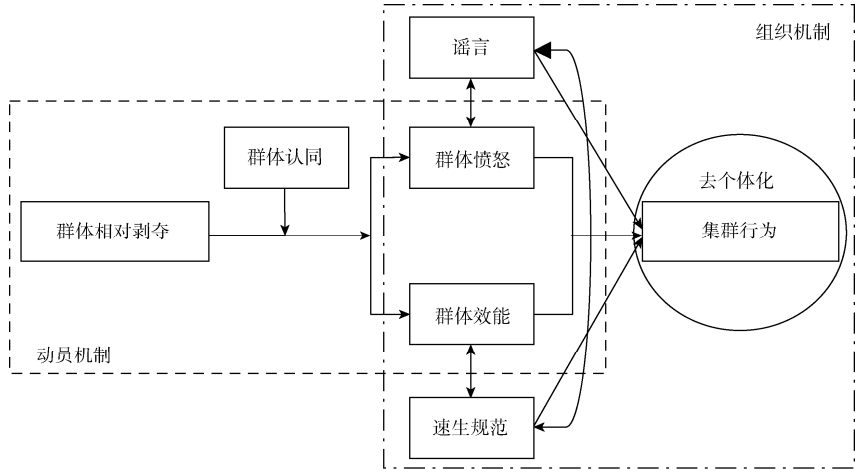


图 1 集群行为的动员与组织机制

社会心理学对集群行为的研究方兴未艾。但迄今尚无一个研究将群体相对剥夺、群体认同、群体愤怒、群际情绪、谣言、速生规范及去个性化等因素综合考虑。这当中，具有代表性的双路

径模型(Van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2008)——在群体相对剥夺条件下，个体可由两条心理路径表达集群行为的意愿。当群体认同凸显时，通过群体愤怒的中介引发集群行为，这一条是情绪聚焦的

应对路径(emotion-focused coping approach);当群体认同非凸显时,如果群体效能维持在一个较高水平的话,个体仍可能参与集群行为。这一条是基于得失损益计算(cost-benefit calculations)的问题聚焦的应对路径(problem-focused coping approach)。也仅涉及到集群行为的动员机制,对集群行为组织机制的探讨尚缺乏有力的实证支持。而将动员机制与组织机制相结合,全面揭示集群行为动力学特征的研究工作,仍属空白。可以预期,这方面的研究,无论从理论上还是实践上,都具有重要价值。

近年来,我国发生的群体性事件呈迅速上升的趋势:2006年全国发生各类群体性事件6万余起,2007年猛增至8万余起(汝信,陆学艺,李培林,2008)。“时至今日信访和群体性事件的发生率依旧居高不下”(汝信,陆学艺,李培林,2011),因为产生群体性事件的宏观社会和经济环境短时间内不可能根本改变(张书维等,2010)。群体性事件已成为我国当前重要的社会不稳定因素,亦是各级政府在处理时倍感棘手的公共问题。《中共中央关于构建社会主义和谐社会若干重大问题的决定》明确指出,要积极预防和妥善处置群体性事件(中共中央,2006)。本文所阐述的集群行为动员与组织机制模型,为剖析群体性事件提供了社会心理学的视角。心理学研究无法解释和解决如制度和法律体系缺陷、地区间经济发展不平衡等宏观问题,但应能解释如社会不满情绪如何发展为集群行为的问题。只有真正弄清了群体性事件背后的社会心理机制,才能为预警和化解此类事件提供理论支持。而心理学与公共管理的结合,为解决群体性事件及其它更多的公共管理问题,开辟了独特的视角。

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The Motivational and Organizational Mechanism of Collective Action in Mass Incidents

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Abstract: Mass incidents, which refer to the conflicts between certain civilians and local administrations, are typical collective action (CA) in China. In social psychological field, the motivational mechanism of CA includes research on group relative deprivation, group identity, group-based anger, and group efficacy. Meanwhile, the organizational mechanism of CA includes research on emergent norm, rumor and de-individuation. group-based anger and group efficacy belong to both motivational and organizational mechanism. These psychological factors are expected to be further integrated to discuss and explain mass incidents in China.

Key words: mass incidents; collective action; motivational mechanism; organizational mechanism