

將社會帶回？中國大陸中介組織的 發展與理論省思： 以 W 市商會與行業協會為例*

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歷經二十餘年的改革，中國大陸正進行一場劇烈的政經社會變遷，而為適應市場經濟的發展，中共所採取的治理模式亦發生改變，其中最明顯的就是重構國家機器，將原本屬於政府部門的經濟職能轉移給「中介組織」，其所造成的效應便是國家、市場與社會三角關係的重整，而本文即在說明中國大陸中介組織的興起與理論意涵。本研究試圖回答以下的問題：在現實意義上，我們該如何理解中國大陸中介組織湧現的原因？而在理論思考上，其是否代表著中國研究已悄悄進行一場「將社會帶回」的典範轉移？本文將相關理論歸納為市民社會與「第三部門」、統合主義、官僚多元主義等，並透過大陸 W 市行業協會與商會的田野調查研究，經由理論與實證的對話提出「自利官僚競爭模式」，強調中國大陸在「市場轉型」與「機構精簡」同時進行的過程中，「主導中介組織的成立」是官僚部門利益極大化的最佳選擇。其所造成的制度後果便是：社會依然國家化、利益壟斷與部門競爭以及制度扭曲。

關鍵詞：中介組織、行業協會、商會、市民社會、統合主義、市場轉型、自利官僚競爭模式

Bringing Society Back In? A Theoretical Review on the Rise of Intermediary Organizations in China

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ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, the Chinese economy has moved dramatically away from the model of socialist planning and into a new world of market forces. During this time, the CCP has made a wide-ranging effort to reform the institutions of economic governance. A key task that reformers have pursued is that of reshaping a state apparatus built to serve a Stalinist-style command economy into one with the structures and modes of operation suited to managing and promoting a modern market economy. In the course of successive waves of what it has called “organizational reforms”, the CCP has eliminated large chunks of the government bureaucracy. In addition, reformers have facilitated the creation of new quasi-official organizations to play important roles in economic governance, including business and trade associations, professional associations, and independent regulators. The desired result of all these changes is emergence of a new set of institutional arrangements that structure economic governance and the interaction among the state, the economy and society.

These empirical observations raise important questions: how can we best understand the rise of intermediary organizations in transforming China? Does it mean the role of a free society is back in China? What kinds of research models can be used to analyze it? Although there are a number of insightful studies and approaches, such as civil society and the third sector, corporatism, bureaucratic pluralism, this article develops a

new framework to analyze the changes of “state-society” relations in China that I call “self-interested bureaucracy competition” model. It offers us a viewpoint to explore the relationship between the development of intermediary organizations and the interest of bureaucracy in contemporary China.

Key Words: intermediary organizations, trade promotion association, business association, civil society, corporatism, market transition, self-interested bureaucracy competition model