

## 内容摘要

现代社会快速变迁影响着个体与结构的关系。<sup>①</sup>结构决定论认为结构是静态的，隐喻了稳定，人类的行动很难改变结构。社会变迁成为一件极为困难和笨拙的事情。实践论试图解释人类的行动与作为“体系”的文化之间的相互关系，提出结构制约个体行动，实践突破并改变结构。行动的累积性、集聚性效应使结构发生变化，从而为历史的发展留下了空间。文化在个体的行动中被改写和再生产。<sup>②</sup>仪式作为文化及观念的民间(外在)表达形式，可以被用来关照社会变迁的窗口。在中国，仪式无处不在，与民众日常生活融为一体，联结着中国社会的关系网络以及伦理政治信仰。<sup>③</sup>仪式是一种裹缠在象征之网的行为。借由仪式，个人的主体经验和社会力量产生互动，并受到社会力量的形塑。

月子仪式始于先秦，是妇女产后的必需仪式。虽屡经朝代更替，却能历久弥新。正如梅尔霍夫(Myerhoff)所言，“仪式借助永恒不变和潜藏着的形式，把过去、现在和未来联系在一起。”回顾历史可知，月子仪式既是关于古代妇女产后行为规范的礼仪性限制，也是产后身体恢复的实用性知识，具有双重社会意蕴。表面上是生育过程所涉及的女性主体的身体恢复或作为人口学对象的新生儿的降临，以及与此相关的礼俗和仪式实践。实质上却是涉及抽象和本质意义上的“人”及其社会关系的重新定义和不断“再生产”过程。由此，月子仪式可以作为分析和理解人类行为的工具，透过那些看似传统落后的民间信仰和巫术实践等残迹，进而窥探中国现代社会一整套家庭制度、人伦秩序和社会关系的延续与创新。

### 第一章：导论

仪式被定义为具有文化规范、以象征为本质属性的重复性活动，目的在于影响人类事务以及作用于超自然。<sup>④</sup>仪式通过宗教衍生出来，既神圣也世俗兼具守旧的倾向和变革的潜力。象征意义的复杂性和不确定性成为仪式力量的源泉。个人与社会通过仪式联结起来。仪式的结构与功能、象征与意义、创新与保守为考察中国社会秩序和家庭制度(关系)提供了一把理解的钥匙，有助于厘清循环重现的仪式背后的家庭结构新形态和家庭关系新形态的萌芽及意义。

本章回顾了月子仪式的缘起并指出其蕴含的双重意义，发现实践的普遍性和认知的偏见性吊诡地存在。我试图从结构与实践互动视角下，通过对仪式传承与变迁的梳理，探寻仪式与社会秩序的关系，进而揭示发生在私密领域(家庭)的仪式如何产生出公共意义(一

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<sup>①</sup> [法]皮埃尔·布迪厄、华康德：《实践与反思——反思社会学导引》，中央编译局出版社 1998 年版，第 104 页。

<sup>②</sup> 俞金尧：《书写人民大众的历史：社会史学的研究传统及其范式转换》，《中国社会科学》，2011 年第 5 期。

<sup>③</sup> [美]魏乐博等：《制度性宗教 VS. 弥漫性宗教？——关于杨庆堃《中国社会中的宗教》的讨论》，杨庆堃《中国社会中的宗教》，四川人民出版社 2016 年，第 303 页。

<sup>④</sup> [美]大卫·科泽：《仪式、政治与权力》，王海洲译，江苏人民出版社，2015 年，第 11 页。

般性意义)。农村与城市、底层与中产关于生育的仪式成为我的研究对象。需要指出的是，对传统仪式的变迁做出文化性解释而非细致深入考察仪式形态是问题意识的主旨所在。

## **第二章：田野和研究方法**

我的大部分田野工作是在京西川村完成的。为确保这一村落和受访者的权益，文中使用的全都是化名。川村位于京西门头沟区斋堂镇，始建于明，发展于清，历史悠久，文化厚重，是韩姓单姓村。整个村落坐北朝南，依山而建，村落布局呈“元宝”状。川村丰富的自然景观和人文景观给其带来旅游发展的机遇。之所以选择川村，一是因为村落规模不大却能提供足够研究的资料；二是川村既具有传统的文化特色，又正受到外部世界的强烈影响；三是旅游经济的发展带来双重影响，既保障了家长的权威，也促使了家庭的现代化转型。此外，我的相当一部分田野工作中青家政公司、安诗国际母婴会所和某三甲医院产科完成。

研究方法主要包括深度访谈和参与式观察。在川村，访谈对象以育龄妇女及她们的家人为主，村官和村干部也是被访者，包括一对一的访谈方式，也有调查员两人一组，一人提问一人记录的访谈方式。在城市，月嫂、家政公司职员、通乳师、医院护工等相关产业的从业者成为我的访谈对象。育龄妇女深度访谈的对象主要来自我儿子所在幼儿园的家长们，及他们的（外）祖父母辈。被访者中男性和少数民族较少。

## **第三章：仪式传承：从恪守传统到科学理念**

我在川村的田野调查围绕“产妇与仪式”这个主题展开。本章选取五类典型个案，她们分别在 20 世纪 70、80、90 年代和 21 世纪 00、10 年代坐月子。记忆兼具社会性别和代际差异双重特征，表现为被访者们在讲述过程中各有偏倚、精彩纷呈。70 年代坐月子强调居家分娩和恪守传统，通过者扮演仪式遵从者和捍卫者角色。80 年代坐月子即使面临理念困惑依然选择仪式顺从，理念与实践的冲突给通过者带来信仰困惑。医院分娩在 90 年代普遍化，经济上的捉襟见肘跨越了仪式规范的界限，功能上的安排取代了哲学价值。仪式的实践形态比其理论规范更加丰富。00 年代坐月子关注礼物流动和关系建构，村民人情往来的结构以姻亲和宗亲为主，邻里和朋友为辅。礼物的数量与价值反映关系的亲疏程度。10 年代坐月子凸显了传统与现代的张力，年轻产妇被现代化裹挟进入科学坐月子的洪流，她们以身试法诠释“月子与疾病”的关系。此外，本章也将照顾者类型分为婆家照顾型、共同照顾型和娘家照顾型。通过者类型分为保守型、越轨型和谨慎型。

## **第四章：仪式变迁：结构永恒与形态多样**

仪式具有规范化的结构，这种结构是日积月累中不断操演的结果，具有保守和永恒的

倾向。然而，仪式的核心是变迁，变迁在体现文化与价值观的同时构建新的文化与价值观。信仰与实践在动态的演变过程中不断被程式化和被整合。<sup>①</sup>近 20 年来，随着川村旅游业的蓬勃发展，村落群体边界日益模糊，熟人社会的整体文化规范与训诫程度逐渐弱化。同时，西医主体地位的确立与现代性进村裹挟着传统文化不断推陈出新。“男耕女织”的家庭制度被“夫妇并作”的生计模式取代，夫唱妇随的客栈经营制度快速普及，“在家工作”带给女性经济独立但仍将其囿于家庭。妇女兼具保守倾向和变革潜力。

生产（分娩）方式革命比生育（习俗）革命快了很多。普遍推行的医院分娩对产妇的生育理念和产后习俗产生了重大影响。从分娩的生理过程到具有象征意义的“关系”再生产，月子仪式可以分解为三个层次：临盆时的隔离仪式，月子里的边缘仪式，满月时的聚合仪式。完整意义上的“坐月子”应该包括：准备（物质和心理）——边缘（规范与禁忌）——聚合（点灯花和挪骚窝）三个前后相继、紧密交织的阶段。作为普遍接受的身份地位变化的机制，月子仪式有维系社会关系和再生产社会秩序的功能。透过日常生活的结构与阈限阶段交融的互动，冲突得以解决和结构得到强化。

## 第五章：仪式象征：关系重构与秩序维系

家庭领域的仪式变迁在展演空间和照顾主体两方面呈现新的趋势：会所坐月子和请人坐月子。这种转变蕴含了空间的转移和消费理念的浮现。照料空间的转移导致家庭关系的结构转型和双系家庭的萌芽。反过来，家庭结构的新形态和新关系也影响个人的行动与选择。微观事件与宏观结构在互动中重塑彼此。代际间关于家庭关系或家庭观念的想象化身为各自的文化武器，重塑、改写或丰富传统仪式的现代意义。

从功能定位来看，月子会所既不是医疗机构也不是康复机构，具有模棱两可的阈限特性。从消费视角来看，月子中心是个不折不扣的消费空间。即使会所坐月子与请人照顾坐月子在意义表达上千差万别，但在消费模式和生活方式上的趋同性很显著。体现了从“生存消费”向“发展消费”转变，从“耐用品消费”向“服务类消费”转移。消费既是满足物质欲求或精神需要的行为，也是对象征物进行操纵的行为。消费具有建构身份、家庭关系和社会制度的功能。会所的兴起和消费理念的浮现从根本上改变了人际关系结构与社会等级秩序。

## 第六章：结论与讨论：家庭新形态与新关系

仪式的稳固性与永恒性并不意味着仪式具有因循守旧的力量。在展演形式、象征意义和社会影响上，仪式在经济结构转型与社会结构变革的当代社会出现了文化传统上的转变

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<sup>①</sup> 仲富兰：《风俗与信仰》，复旦大学出版社 2014 年，第 1 页。

与断裂，从而促成仪式发展的现代转型。近 20 年来，月子仪式呈由传统民俗发展成照料产业的新趋势。社会的继替不仅包括生理意义上的生死交替，也指社会意义上的结构与关系的不断分化、重组和替代。文化作为社会内部被广泛共享的态度、价值观和知识体系，其中比较核心部分和较早习得的部分是不容易被改变的。对于个体而言，改变成年人认知体系的核心部分犹如拔丁抽楔，因为放弃核心的信仰意味着产生不确定性和焦虑。对于社会而言，即便社会文化的核心部分也是有可能改变的，转变的方式是通过代际人口更替，而不是成年人的观念转变。仪式本质上是人们的社会性安排。通过仪式，可以认识、强化甚至改变对于家庭形态和家庭关系的信仰。

**关键词：月子仪式 功能 传承 变迁**

## ABSTRACT

The rapid transitions in modern society affect the relationship between individual and structure. Structural determinism holds that structure is static and metaphorically stable, and human action is difficult to change the structure. The social change has become extremely difficult and clumsy. The practice theory tries to explain the relationship between human action and culture, which is as a "system". It puts forward that structure restricts individual action, breaks through practice and changes structure. The cumulative and agglomerative effects of action change the structure to leave the room for the development of history. Culture is rewritten and reproduced in individual actions. Being a form of folk (external) expression of culture and idea, ritual could be used as a window to take care of social changes. In China, rituals are ubiquitous, merge with people's daily life, and link the relationship network and the ethical and political beliefs in Chinese society. Ritual is an act wrapped in the net of symbols. By rituals, personal experience and social forces interact and are shaped by social forces.

The confinement ritual began in the pre-qin period and was a necessary ceremony for women after childbirth. Although the dynasties have been replaced, it could endure. As Myerhoff said "rituals with eternal and hidden forms connect the past, the present and the future." After reviewing the history, we could know that possessing double social implication, the confinement ritual is not only the etiquette limitation of postpartum behavior of ancient women, but also the practical knowledge of postpartum physical recovery. On the surface, there is the physical recovery of the female subject involved in the reproductive process or the arrival of the newborn as a demographic object. There is also the related etiquette and ritual practice. In essence, it involves the redefinition and the continuous "reproduction" process of "human" and its social relations in the abstract and essential sense. Therefore, the confinement ritual could be used as a tool to analyze and understand human behavior. Through the remnants of seemingly backward traditional folk beliefs and witchcraft practices, we could explore the continuation and innovation of a complete set of family system, human ethical order and social relation in modern Chinese society.

### Chapter One: Introduction

Rituals are defined as repetitive activities with cultural norms and symbolic nature. The purpose is to influence human affairs and to act on supernatural. Being derived from religion, rituals are both sacred and secular with the tendency to be conservative and the potential to be changed. The complexity and uncertainty of symbolic meaning become the source of ritual power. Individuals

and society are ritually connected. The structure and function, symbol and meaning, and innovation and conservatism of the rituals provide a key to understand the social order and the family system (relationship) in China, and to be helpful to clarify the germination and significance of the new family structure and family relationship behind the ritual of the cycle recurrence.

In this chapter, the origin of the confinement ritual is reviewed to point out its dual meaning and to find that the universality of practice and the prejudice of cognition could exist paradoxically. Through the combing of ritual inheritance and change, I try to explore the relationship between ritual and social order from the perspective of structure and practice interaction, and to further reveal how the rituals in the private domain (family) produce public significance (general meaning). The rituals of fertility in rural and urban areas and bottom and middle classes have become my research objects. It should be pointed out that the cultural interpretation of the transitions of traditional rituals, rather than a detailed and in-depth investigation of ritual form, is the main purpose of the problem consciousness.

## **Chapter Two: Field and research methods**

Most of my field work is done in Chuan Village in West Beijing. In order to ensure the rights and interests of this village and the interviewees, all the names used in this paper are pseudonyms. Chuan Village is located in Zhaitang Town, Mentougou County, West Beijing. Chuan Village was founded in the Ming dynasty and was developed in the Qing dynasty. It has a long history and profound culture. It is a village with a surname of Han and a surname of Shan. The whole village faces south and is built against the mountains. The layout of the village is like a silver ingot. The rich natural and cultural landscapes of Chuan Village bring opportunities for tourism development. The reason for choosing Chuan Village is that it is small in size, but it can provide enough research information. Second, Chuan Village not only has its traditional local cultural characteristics, but also is being strongly influenced by the outside world; Third, the development of tourism economy brings double influence, which not only guarantees the authority of parents, but also promotes the modernization transformation of families. In addition, a considerable part of my field work is completed in Zhongqing Home Economics Company, Anshi International Maternal and Child Club, and Obstetrics Department of a Third-Class A Hospital.

The research methods mainly include in-depth interview and participatory observation. In Chuan Village, the interviewees are mainly women of childbearing age and their families. The village

officials and cadres are also interviewees, including one-to-one interviews and investigator two-person interviews with one asking questions and one recording. In the city, I interview the workers in the related industries, such as maternity matron, staff in housekeeping company, breast nurse, hospital care worker and so on. In-depth interviews with women of childbearing age are primarily conducted from the parents in my son's kindergarten and their grandparents. Fewer men and minorities are interviewed.

### **Chapter Three: Ritual inheritance: from tradition adherence to scientific concept**

My field investigation in Chuan Village begins around the theme of “maternal and ritual”. In this chapter, I select the five typical cases, which are respectively the confinements in childbirth in 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s and 2010s. Memory has the dual characteristics of social genders and intergenerational differences, which show that the respondents are biased and brilliant in the process of telling. In the 1970s, the confinement emphasized home delivery and observance of traditions. The passers played the role of ritual followers and defenders. In the 1980s, even if faced with conceptual confusion, the ritual obedience was still chosen and the conflict between idea and practice brought confusion to the passers. In the 1990s, hospital delivery was universalized. Economical constraints crossed the boundaries of ritual norms and functional arrangements replaced philosophical values. The practice of rituals was richer than its theoretical norms. In the 2000s, the confinement focused on the flow of gifts and the construction of relationships. The structure of villagers' relationships was mainly in-laws and clan, and was supplemented by neighbors and friends. The amount and value of the gifts reflected the degree of affinity. In the 2010s, the confinement highlighted the tension between tradition and modernity. Young women were modernized and entangled in the torrent of scientific confinement. They interpreted the relationship between "Confinement and Disease" with the method of personal test. In addition, the types of caregiver were also divided into family care, co-care and natal care in this chapter. The passer types were classified as conservative, deviant, and cautious.

### **Chapter Four: Transition of ritual: The structure is eternal and the form is varied**

The ritual has a standardized structure, which is the result of constantly performing in the accumulation of time and has a tendency to be conservative and eternal. However, the core of ritual is transition, which embodies culture and values while constructing new culture and values. Belief and practice have been stylized and integrated in the process of dynamic evolution. In the past 20 years, with the vigorous development of tourism in Chuan Village, the village group

boundary was increasingly blurred, and the overall cultural norms and admonishing degree of acquaintance society were gradually weakened. At the same time, the dominant position establishment of western medicine and the modernity into the village brought about the continuous innovation of traditional culture. The family system of "men plowing and women weaving" was replaced by the livelihood mode of "husband and wife working together". The inn management system of "husband singing and wife following" was rapidly popularized. "Working at home" brought women economic independence but still confined them into the family. Women held both conservative tendencies and transformative potentials.

The production (childbirth) revolution is much faster than the birth (custom) revolution. The widespread hospital delivery has had a major impact on maternal fertility concepts and post-natal practices. From the physiological process of childbirth to the symbolic "relationship" reproduction, the confinement ritual could be broken down into three levels: the isolation ritual at the time of the birth, the edge ritual in the confinement and the polymerization ritual at one month. The "confinement" in the full sense should include preparation (material and psychological) - edge (normative and taboo) - aggregation (lighting flowers and nostalgia), which are the three successive and closely intertwined stages. As a generally accepted mechanism for the change of status, the rites of confinement have the function of maintaining social relations and reproducing social order. Through the interaction between the daily life structure and the threshold phase, the conflict is resolved and the structure is strengthened.

### **Chapter Five: Ritual Symbol: Reconstruction of Relations and Maintenance of Order**

The ritual transitions in the family field show a new trend in both the exhibition space and the care subject: the club confinement in childbirth and inviting people for confinement in childbirth. This transformation implies the transfer of space and the emergence of consumer idea. The transfer of care space leads to the structural transformation of family relationships and the germination of dual-families. In turn, new forms and relationships in the family structure also influence individual actions and choices. Micro events and macro structures reshape each other in interaction. The intergenerational imagination and incarnation of family relationships or family values are their respective cultural weapons to reshape, rewrite or enrich the modern meaning of traditional rituals.

From the functional localization, Confinement Club is neither a medical institution nor a rehabilitation institution. There are ambiguous threshold characteristics. From the perspective of consumption, Confinement Center is an uncompromising consumption space. Even though there



are thousands of differences in meaning between the club's confinement in childbirth and inviting others to take care for confinement in childbirth, there is a significant convergence in consumption patterns and lifestyles. This embodies the transformation from "survival consumption" to "development consumption" and from "durable goods consumption" to "service consumption". Consumption is not only the act of satisfying material or spiritual needs, but also the act of manipulating symbols. Consumption has the function of constructing identity, family relationship and social system. The rise of all clubs and the emergence of consumption concepts fundamentally change the structure of interpersonal relationships and the social order.

### **Chapter Six: Conclusion and discussion: the new form and relationship of family**

The stability and permanence of ritual do not mean that ritual has the power of conformity. In terms of form, symbolic meaning and social influence, ritual has changed and broken cultural tradition in the contemporary society with the transformation of economic structure and social structure to thus contribute to the modern transformation of ritual development. In the past 20 years, confinement ritual has developed from traditional folk custom into a new trend of caring industry. Social succession includes not only the alternation of life and death in the physiological sense, but also the continuous differentiation, reorganization and substitution of structure and relationship in the social sense. Culture is a widely shared system of attitudes, values and knowledge within a society. The core part and the earlier acquired part are not easily changed. For individuals, changing the core of the adult's cognitive system is like pulling a wedge, because abandoning core beliefs means creating uncertainty and anxiety. For society, even the core part of social culture is possible to be changed and the way of change is through intergenerational population replacement, rather than adult's concept change. Rituals are essentially social arrangements of people. Through rituals, beliefs about family forms and relationships can be recognized, reinforced and even changed.

### **Key Words:**

Confinement Ritual, Function, Inheritance and Transition

