大学校园中的民族认同感
北京的蒙古族学生

Ethnic Identity at University
Mongolian students in Beijing

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ETHNIC identity has become an increasingly conspicuous issue around the world. Ethnic revitalisation movements began in the 1960s in the United States, and a similar pattern has occurred in many other countries. As a concept, ethnic identity usually refers to "a person's knowledge of belonging to an ethnic group and pride in that group. Thus, it refers both to the perceptual/cognitive processes that connect oneself to others of the same group, and to the affective or attitudinal processes that join one to others." [1] Ethnicity studies are now being undertaken in most multi-ethnic societies around the world, including China. [2] Given the rising significance of ethnicity in China and the fact that China's university student population has now surpassed every other country in the world, this paper explores, in a preliminary way, the ethnic identity of Mongolian students in Beijing.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) defines national minorities (*shaoshu minzu*) as including 55 groups, accounting for about 110 million people, less than ten percent of the national population, but nonetheless a population larger than most countries in the world. According to the 2000 national population census, the whole population has reached 1.2666 billion people, 91.59% of which comprises Han Chinese, and the remaining fifty-five other ethnic groups.

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1. Frances E. Aboud, and Anna-Beth Doyle, "The Early Development of Ethnic Identity and Attitudes, " in Martha E, Bernal and George P. Knight eds., *Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission among Hispanics and Other Minorities*, State University of New York Press, 1993, pp. 47-60, here p. 47.
2. Gladney C. Dru, "Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities," in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1994, pp. 92-123, and Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*, Cambridge (Mass.), Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 2nd edition, 1996; Stevan Harrell, *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, Hong Kong Univeristy Press, 1996; Teng Xing, *Wenhua bianqian yu shuangyu jiaoyu* (Cultural transition and bilingual education), Publishing House of Educational Science, 2001; MaryJo Benton Lee, *Ethnicity, Education and Empowerment: How Minority Students in Southwest China Construct Identities*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001; Mette Halskov Hansen, *Lessons in Being Chinese: Minority Education and Ethnic Identity in Southwest China*, University of Washington Press, 1999; Gerard A. Postiglione, Zhu Zhiyong, and Jiao Ben, "From Ethnic Segregation to Impact Integration: State Schooling and Identity Construction for Rural Tibetans," in *Asian Ethnicity*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2004, pp. 195-217.

民族认同感已经成为全世界一个越来越突出的问题。上个世纪60年代美国开始了民族复兴运动，而在世界其他地方也有类似的运动兴起。民族认同感的概念是指"个体对于所属民族的知识以及以之产生的自豪感"。[1] 这样，它不但指把个体与群体其他成员联系在一起的感知或者认知过程，而且也包括加入该群体的情感或者态度过程。目前，民族学研究已经在全世界大多数多民族社会里开展起来，包括中国 (Gladney 1994 and 1996，[2] Harrell 1996，[3] 滕星，[4] Benton Lee 2001，[5] Hansen 1999，[6] Postiglione, Zhu 2004[7] 等)。因为民族问题在中国越来越突出，而且中国的大学生总数也超过全世界其他国家，本研究将努力对北京蒙古族大学生的民族认同感做一个初步的探讨。

中华人民共和国的少数民族有55个，有10499万人，不到全国总

人口的10%，但是却比世界上大多数国家的人口总数还大。根据2000年全国人口普查，全国总人口到达约12.7亿，其中91.59%是汉族，其余为少数民族。而作为55个少数民族之一，蒙古族人口——根据官方信息——有581万人（2000人口普查资料）。蒙古族主要生活在内蒙古自治区，但很多也居住在新疆、西藏和云南。最近几年，很多人移居到城市地区，包括呼和浩特和北京。蒙古族有自己的语言和文字——创造于十三世纪早期，至今仍被使用。传统的蒙古人过游牧生活，在马背上成长，而这种生活习惯也决定了其独特的风俗文化。但是，随着上个世纪80年代中国实施的开放政策，蒙古族出现了民族性复兴却趋向于被同化的双重局面，尤其表现在语言和生活方式上趋同于汉族。[8] 同时也表现在整个蒙古族群上对传统宗教的丢失，即萨满教和喇嘛教。[9] 事实上，很多蒙古族知识分子为了在汉族文化不断占主导

1. Frances E. Aboudy 和 Anna-Beth Doyle，"The Early Development of Ethnic Identity and Attitudes"，载于 Martha E, Bernal 和 George P. Knight 编，Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission among Hispanics and Other Minorities，State University of New York Press，1993 年，第47-60页，引自第47页。

2. Dru C. Gladney，"Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Majority/Minority Identities"，The Journal of Asian Studies，Vol. 53，No.2，1994，pp.92-123；Dru C. Gladney, Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic (2nd edition)，Cambridge，Mass，Council on East Asian Studies，Harvard University，1996。

3. Stevan Harrell，Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers，Hongkong Univeristy Press，1996 年。

4. 滕星，文化变迁与双语教育，教育文化出版社，2001年。

5. Lee, MaryJo Benton, Ethnicity, Education and Empowerment: How Minority Students in Southwest China Construct Identites: Ashgate Publishing Limited，2001 年。

6. Mette Halskov Hansen，Lessons in Being Chinese: Minority Education and Ethnic Identity in Southwest China，University of Washington Press，1999 年。

7. Gerard A. Postiglione, Zhu Zhiyong, 和 Jiao Ben，"From Ethnic Segregation to Impact Integration: State Schooling and Identity Construction for Rural Tibetans"，Asian Ethnicity，2004 年，第5卷，第2期，第195-217 页。

8. Robyn Iredale, Naran Bilik, Wang Su, Fei Guo 和 Caroline Hoy 编，Contemporary Minority Migration, Education and Ethnicity in China，Edward Elgar，2001 年。

9. 在远古时代，蒙古族信奉萨满教。但是在 13 世纪转向了喇嘛教，而在清朝（公元1644-1911年）更为保护和推崇。参见 Naran Bilik，"Language Education, Intellectuals, and Symbolic Representation: Being an Urban Mongolian in a New Configuration of Social Evolution"，载于 William Safran 编，Nationalism and Ethnoregional Identities in China，Frank Cass Publishers，1998 年，第 47-67 页。

As one of the 55 "minority nationalities" in China, to use the official terminology, Mongolians have a population of 5.8 million. Most live in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, but many of its members also reside in the border regions of Xinjiang, Tibet and Yunnan provinces. Moreover, they have been migrating in recent years to urban areas, including Hohot and Beijing. Mongolians have their own language and script, created in the early thirteenth century, and it is still in common use today. Traditionally, Mongolians led a pastoral life, growing up on horseback, in a life style with unique customs and culture. With the opening-up policy there has been both a resurgence of Mongolian ethnicity and a tendency to assimilate, especially in terms of speaking Chinese language and following many Han ways. [3] This also manifests itself by a diminishing emphasis on traditional Mongolian religions, such as Shamanism and Lamaism, in the whole ethnic group. [4] In fact, many Mongolian intellectuals sacrifice their mother tongue on the road to attaining work related promotions in a world increasingly dominated by Han culture. This has also contributed to the lowering of enrolments in ethnic schools for Mongolians (*minzu xuexiao*). These schools are provided free by the government and they offer an education through the medium of Mongolian language. However, parents increasingly prefer "regular schools" where their children will study with Han pupils. This is occurring along with the downfall of the traditional nomadic economy and the massive arrival of Han immigrants into pastoral areas. How do Mongolian university students, those who will form the backbone of Mongolian intellectuals, identify themselves in a modern Chinese context? The paper begins with a review of selected themes in the study of ethnicity, after which it focuses specifically on the Mongolians.

What does ethnic identity means?

Ethnic identities "have become sources of pride, vehicles of political assertion, foundations of unity, and reservoirs of destructive power." [5] Due to its important role in people's lives, many anthropological and sociological studies have been conducted to research ethnicity in given social and historical contexts. Social Darwinism insisted on studying ethnicity and race from a biological and genetic perspective, which dominated the newly established sociological field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But because of its failure to take into consideration such an important socio-cultural phenomenon as

Leaving one's own culture behind and going to the city to pursue an education: propaganda style! © AFP

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3. Robyn Iredale, Naran Bilik, Wang Su, Fei Guo and Caroline Hoy eds., *Contemporary Minority Migration, Education and Ethnicity in China*, Edward Elgar, 2001.

4. In ancient times, Mongolians believed in Shamanism. But Lamaism took its place from the thirteen century on, and was protected and promoted by the Qing Dynasty (1644 AD -1911 AD). See Naran Bilik, "Language Education, Intellectuals, and Symbolic Representation: Being an Urban Mongolian in a New Configuration of Social Evolution," in William Safran ed., *Nationalism and Ethnoregional Identities in China*, Frank Cass Publishers, 1998, pp. 47-67.

5. Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, Pine Forge Press, 1998, p. 4.

的社会里获得可以提升社会地位的工作，不惜放弃本民族语言。所以越来越少的蒙古族青年选择为蒙古族开展的"民族学校"。这类学校由政府出资而且可以使用蒙古语教学。但是，家长们越来越倾向于与汉族学生一起学习的"普通院校"。与此同时，蒙古族传统游牧经济也在衰退并且大量汉族移民入草原地区。随着这种情况的出现，蒙古族大学生，作为知识分子未来的中坚力量，如何在现有的中国社会中找到自己的民族认同感成为一个重要的研究问题。这篇论文首先对民族学的几个理论问题进行梳理，然后再讨论蒙古族的案例。

何为民族认同感？

民族认同感，"已经变成了自豪感的来源，政治决断的载体，群体形成的基础，以及破坏力量的源泉"。[10] 由于其在人们生活中扮演的重要地位，很多人类学和社会学都对社会和历史背景下的民族性进行了研究。从生物学和遗传学的角度探讨民族性的社会达尔文主义，在十九世纪末和二十世纪初占据了

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10. Stephen Cornell 和 Douglas Hartmann，*Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*，Pine Forge Press，1998 年，第 4 页。

immigrants, social Darwinism was soon replaced by what came to be known as assimilation theory that prevailed in North America from the 1920s until at least the 1960s. This theory argued that ethnic minorities could be assimilated into the dominant group. As it is clearly pointed out by Alan Anderson, [6] the ethnic individual loses the cultural characteristics that represent his or her ethnic identity when he or she is assimilated. In this sense, "the world itself would move away from ethnic and racial particularism and toward a universalistic model in which the fortunes of individuals were tied to their merits and to markets (in the liberal democratic vision) or to their place in the system of production (in the socialist one)." [7] But, George Scott notes that this theory fails to explain why some ethnic groups keep their traditional ethnic identities and, even more, how some make them salient while pursuing socio-economic and political equality. [8] After the Second World War, different empirical evidence indicated that the complexity of the "ethnic issue" in the world went far beyond the scope of the so-called assimilation theory, and therefore many a scholar revisited and re-assessed this theory. The different responses to the collapse of assimilationism can be divided into three distinct schools: primordialist, circumstantialist, and the later constructionist.

The primordialist approach is an attempt to explain the persistence of ethnic identity over time from a psychological perspective. [9] Namely, ethnic identity is "given", "natural", "fixed" and cannot be changed by social forces or phenomena. [10] The circumstantialist approach argues that the ethnic issue fluctuates over time and space. The circumstantialists consider ethnic "feelings" as a product of specific social circumstances, [11] and accordingly ethnic identity, as a manifestation of other forces and markers of false consciousness, is fluid and changing. [12] Constructionism as such can be understood as a kind of synthesis of the primordialist and circumstantialist approaches. According to Cornell and Hartmann, [13] constuctionism focuses on the interaction between context and group, instead of only context on one side and only group on the other side. The forces driving the construction of an ethnic identity involve interests, meaning, happenstance and inertia, and the process of construction is both conscious and unconscious. In an effort to explore the interaction between context and group, interviews were conducted with Mongolian students.

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6. Alan B. Anderson, "The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Reevaluation," *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2001, pp. 209-223.
7. Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race...*, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 44.
8. George M. Scott, Jr., "A Resynthesis of the Primordial and Circumstantial Approach to Ethnic Group Solidarity: Towards an Explanatory Model," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1990, pp. 147-171.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race...*, *op. cit.*, 1998.
11. Jack David Eller and Reed M. Coughlan, "The Poverty of Primordialism: the Demystification of Ethnic Attachment," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1993, pp. 183-202.
12. Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race...*, *op. cit.*, 1998.
13. See note No. 5.

新生的社会学领域。但是，由于它并不能解释"移民"的文化现象，这一视角被随后为大家所知道的同化理论所取代，而后者在二十世纪二十年代到六十年代在北美受到人们的大力推崇。这种理论认为，少数民族终将被同化到主流群体中。就像 Alan Anderson 所指出，[11] 少数民族个体在被同化的过程中将会失去代表其民族身份的文化特征。从这种意义上说，"世界将会从民族及种族的特殊主义走向一种普遍主义的模式，在这种模式状态下个体的命运将与他们的功绩和市场（在自由民主主义社会）或者在生产系统中的位置（在社会主义社会）中联系在一起"。[12] 然而，George Scott 却认为这种理论并不能解释为什么有些族群仍保持其传统的民族认同感，甚至在追求社会经济和政治公平的同时使其自身的民族身份彰显化。[13] 第二次世界大战后，大量实证研究已经证明世界上民族问题的复杂性远非同化理论所能解释，因此，越来越多的学者在重新审视并检验该理论。而同化理论坍塌之后，研究者提出了不同的模式，包括原生论、情境论、和后期的建构主义论。

原生论从心理学的视角努力尝试对民族认同感保持时间稳定的原因。[14] 也就是说，民族认同感是被"天赋的"，"自然的"，"恒久的"，而不能被社会外力或者现象所改变。[15] 而情景论针对的是民族性随时间空间改变而发生波动的问题。其提倡者认为民族情感是一种特定的社会情景的产物，[16] 因此，民族认同感，作为其他外力的显现以及虚假的标签，是流动且会改变的。[17] 而建构论是对原生论和情景论的综合。根据 Cornell and Hartmann，[18] 这一理论着眼于外界环境和群体的相互作用，而不是单一的环境或者群体。驱使民族认同感进行建构的外力包括利益、意义、突发事件和惯性，而建构的过程是有意识和无意识同时进行的。为了探讨情景和群体之间的相互作用，本研究对蒙古族大学生作了访谈。

倾听学生的声音

在北京的中央民族大学，研究对 9 个蒙古族大学生实施了半结构化访谈。每一个访谈持续了一个小时。访谈地点是校园的一处安静角落。大多数的参与者被访谈了一次，

11. Alan B. Anderson，"The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Reevaluation"，载于 *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*，2001 年，第 1 卷，第 3 期，第 209-223 页。
12. Stephen Cornell 和 Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, Pine Forge Press, 1998 年，第 44 页。
13. George M. Scott, Jr.，"A Resynthesis of the Primordial and Circumstantial Approach to Ethnic Group Solidarity: Towards an Explanatory Model"，*Ethnic and Racial Studies*，1990 年，第 13 卷，第 2 期，第 147-171 页。
14. 同上。
15. Stephen Cornell 和 Douglas Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*，Pine Forge Press，1998 年。
16. Jack David Eller and Reed M. Coughlan，"The Poverty of Primordialism: the Demystification of Ethnic Attachment"，*Ethnic and Racial Studies*，第 16 卷，第 2 期，1993 年，第 183-202 页。
17. Stephen Cornell 和 Douglas Hartmann，*Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*，Pine Forge Press，1998 年。
18. 见注 4。

Listening to the students

Semi-directive interviews were conducted with nine Mongolian university students at the Central University for Nationalities (CUN) in Beijing. Each interview lasted for approximately an hour. The interviewing venue was in a serene corner of the campus. Most of the participants were interviewed once, and some twice. All the interviews were conducted in Han vernacular Chinese (*Putonghua*). Although Mongolian students have different levels of ability in Chinese, the communication was fairly easy and went smoothly. Notes were taken during the interviews, since tape-recording might have made the participants feel uncomfortable.

Snowball sampling was employed to select the participants in the present study. We were introduced to an informant, a graduate from CUN, by one of our friends. That informant knew a lot of Mongolian students and got along well with them at CUN. With his help, we got to know several other participants, and then some of them introduced more. This social network facilitated the study not only in finding the participants but also in the interview process, since all the participants were very cooperative. The demographic information on these participants (P) is shown in Table 1.

How can one be Mongolian?

The findings of the present study concentrates on several themes: fluctuation in ethnic identity, the stability of Mongolian identity, patterns in being a Mongol and their criteria, and the factors contributing to the development of students' ethnic identity.

Fluctuation in ethnic identity

Some of the more senior participants in our study (Nos. 1, 3 and 9) pointed out that they had gone through several stages in exploring their ethnic identity since they entered the university. In general, their Mongolian identity became stronger in the first or second year during which they were urged to learn more about the history and the cultural practices of their group. Then, this re-valorised ethnic identity experienced a decline and these participants began to accept other ethnic minorities' cultures and the mainstream Han Chinese, and even to identify more and more with the latter. Yet, not every one ultimately identified with the Han Chinese, and especially Participant 9: "When I entered the university, my ethnic identity was very strong. And it reached its peak in my second year. I was even radical at that time. But now I have become mature and resolved because I must worry about a lot of things, such as seeking a job and/or studying further. I no longer imagine that Mongolians can be as strong as they were at the time of Genghis Khan."

To the question "How do you identify now? Do you think you are part of the Chinese nationality?," he/she answered: "I am a Mongolian and not a member of the Chinese

Table / 表1   Background of the participants
参与者背景

Code 编号	Sex 性别	Place of birth (province) 出生地	Urban/rural 城市或农村	Ethnicity of father and mother 父母族裔	Major 专业	Grade * 年级	Past educational programme ** 从前的教育系统
1	F 女	Inner Mongolia 内蒙古	Urban 城市	Mongolian, Han 蒙，汉	Ethnic education 民族教育	Year 3 大三	Regular 民考汉
2	M 男	Liaoning 辽宁	Rural 农村	Mongolian, Han 蒙，汉	Mongolian language 蒙古语言	Year 2 大二	Regular 民考汉
3	F 女	Xinjiang 新疆	Urban 城市	Mongolian, Mongolian 蒙，蒙	Literature of ethnic languages 民族语言文学	Year 4 大四	Regular 民考汉
4	F 女	Yunnan 云南	Rural 农村	Mongolian, Yi 蒙，彝	Philosophy 哲学	Year 3 大三	Ethnic 民考民
5	M 男	Inner Mongolia 内蒙古	Urban 城市	Mongolian, Mongolian 蒙，蒙	Computer science 计算机科学	Year 4 大四	Regular 民考汉
6	M 男	Inner Mongolia 内蒙古	Urban 城市	Mongolian, Han 蒙，汉	Computer science 计算机科学	Year 4 大四	Regular 民考汉
7	M 男	Inner Mongolia 内蒙古	Urban 城市	Han, Mongolian 汉，蒙	English 英语	Year 4 大四	Regular 民考汉
8	F 女	Inner Mongolia 内蒙古	Rural 农村	Mongolian, Mongolian 蒙，蒙	Mongolian language 蒙古语言	Year 3 大三	Ethnic 民考民
9	F 女	Liaoning 辽宁	Rural 农村	Mongolian, Mongolian 蒙，蒙	Mongolian language 蒙古语言	Year 4 大四	Ethnic 民考民

* The interviews were conducted in July 2003. Students are therefore in the middle of two academic years. For example, "Year 2" means that the participant will become a sophomore in the next academic year
所有的访谈都在2003年六月实施，所以学生是在两个学年之间，比如表格中大二表示参与者即将变成大二。

**After the establishment of the PRC, the Central Government built two basic educational programs, ethnic and regular program, the former for ethnic minority students and the latter for the Han students. These two programs differ in teaching language, textbooks and courses.
中华人民共和国建立以后，中央人民政府建立了两种基本的教育制度，民族教育和普通教育。前者是为少数民族学生设立的，而后者则是为大多数的汉族学生建立。在教学语言、教材和课程上，两种教育制度有很大的区别。进入前一种教育制度的少数民族学生成为"民考民"，而进入后者的成为"民考汉"。

有的为二次。所有的访谈都是以汉语，即普通话进行。尽管蒙古族学生的汉语程度不同，研究者可以较为顺畅地与之沟通。为了避免录音给参与者带来不适，研究者采用了笔录的方法。

本研究使用的是"滚雪球抽样法"来选取参与者。首先研究者通过自己的私人关系被介绍给一个线人，一个中央民族大学的毕业生。因为线人认识很多蒙古族学生，并且与之相处很好。在他的帮助下，研究者认识了几位参与者，而其中一些介绍了更多的参与者。这种社会网络不但帮助找到参与者，而且使他们在访谈过程中能够与研究者很好的进行合作。所有研究参与者的背景信息见表一。

如何做一个蒙古人？

本次研究的发现有以下几个方面：民族认同感的波动，蒙古族认同感的稳定性，蒙古族认同感的不同模式及划分标准，和影响学生民族认同感发展的因素。

nationality. We have our own country, our own lands. We have been regarded as a minority only since the foundation of the PRC in 1949."

Some of the interviewees stated reasons for the fluctuation in their ethnic identity, such as little teaching of Mongolian history in primary and secondary school education, the lack of relevant materials—books, journals, etc.—available in the university, and the number of Mongolian students on the campus.

Stability of Mongolian identity

Although almost all of the participants experienced a fluctuation in their ethnic identity after they started university, some were prone to greater stability. The interviews with these participants revealed that the students who came from a regular educational programme tended to experience a shift from their ethnic identity to the Chinese nationality at the cost of some "psychological struggle", but that those who came from an ethnic educational programme tended to keep a stable Mongolian identity. Among the participants, only participants 4, 8, and 9 came from an ethnic educational programme.

During the interview, participant 8 failed to speak Chinese very fluently and sometimes had to use body gestures. She stated, "I am a Mongolian, a 100% Mongolian. I have never changed my thinking." Participant 9 was born and grew up in a Mongolian village and attended schools where all the students were Mongolians. We have already mentioned that participant 9 insisted on his still being a Mongolian rather than a member of the Chinese nationality, though his ethnic identity had fluctuated. Participant 4 stated that she "had not been very serious about [her] ethnicity," since she was born in Yunnan province and had had little contact with other Mongolians.

By contrast, participants 1 and 3 both graduated from a regular educational programme, and were committed to being members of the Chinese nationality, although they had tried right after enrolling with the university to explore their Mongolian culture and identity.

Patterns in being Mongolians

Although all the participants are identified as "Mongolians" on the identity card issued by the Chinese government, we discovered that the participants used different labels to identify themselves and others in their daily lives, such as "pure Mongolian", "false Mongolian" or "half-Mongolian". For example, participant 2 identified himself as a "half Mongolian" since his father was Mongolian but not his mother. Participant 7 stated that he was "not a pure Mongolian, [...and] was identified as a Mongolian by [his] parents because of the state's preferential policies." Participant 6 even declared that he was a "false Mongolian," or at least that's how he felt. In contrast, participant 5 thought of him-

民族认同感的波动。有些高年级的参与者（参与者1, 3和9）指出入大学后，他们在探索自己的民族认同感时经历过几个阶段。大体上说，入学的第一年或者第二年其蒙古族认同感变得很强烈，这促使他们去探讨自己民族的历史和文化习俗。但是，一段时间后，这种强烈的民族认同感却冷却，他们开始越来越多的接受其他民族的文化和主流的汉族文化，甚至是在身份认同上。然而很多参与者最后都不会认同自己是中华民族的一员，比如参与者9。

参与者9："当我入大学后，我的蒙古族认同感非常强烈。在大二那年它达到了顶峰，那时我甚至很极端，但是渐渐我却变得成熟和稳定，因为我必须考虑更多的事情。比如，找工作或者考研。我不再幻想蒙古人能象成吉思汗那时一样的强大了。"

研究者："你现在如何认同自己的民族身份？你认为自己是中华民族的一份子吗？"

参与者9："我是一个蒙古人而不是中华民族的一员。我们有自己的国家、同胞和土地。只有在1949年中华人民共和国成立之后我们才被认定是少数民族。"

有些参与者提供了一些其民族认同感波动的原因，包括：中小学学校教育中很少有蒙古族历史知识方面的内容，而在大学校园里却有了相应

的资源，比如课程，书籍和杂志，以及校园中更多的蒙古族学生。

蒙古族认同感的稳定性。尽管几乎所有的参与者都在入学后经历了民族认同感的波动，有一些蒙古族认同感却更为稳定。访谈发现，民考汉的学生在经历过心理斗争之后趋向把自己的民族认同感归结为中华民族，但是民考民的学生仍保持着其稳定的蒙古族认同感。

在所有的参与者中，仅仅4, 8和9是民考民的学生。在访谈过程中，参与者8并不能很流利的讲汉语（普通话），所以有时不得不候借助肢体语言。她说："我是一个蒙古人，100%的蒙古人。我从来没有改变过这个想法。"参与者9出生并在一个蒙古族的小村子里长大，其就读的学校里也全部是蒙古族学生。而他也同样坚信自己是蒙古人而不是中华民族的一员，尽管他的民族认同感出现过波动。参与者4，出生于云南，从小与蒙古族很少接触。她说："我对民族这个问题一直不是很认真。"相比之下，参与者1和3都是民考汉的学生，尽管他们在刚刚入学后曾经尝试过探索自己的蒙古族文化和身份，但都认定自己是中华民族的一员。

蒙古族认同感的不同模式。尽管所有的参与者在官方的身份证上都注明是"蒙古族"，本研究发现在日常生活中他们却使用不同的

self as of "pure Mongolian blood"; and participants 8 and 9 affirmed that they were "100% Mongolian" and "did not belong to the Chinese nationality."

While exploring the criteria for differentiating these patterns, the participants pointed out various factors. The most frequently mentioned phrases were "blood", "living in areas or geographical areas", and "mastering the Mongolian language". Apart from this, "family" and "psychological features" were also mentioned once or twice.

Factors contributing to the development of ethnic identity

According to the narratives of the participants, two factors greatly impacted on the develop-ment of students' ethnic identity: the family and the community on the one hand, and the university on the other. Owing to a limited teaching of Mongolian history and culture at school, the family and the community played an important role for Mongolian students in preserving their mother tongue and assuring the transfer of cultural practices. Mongolian annual holidays, including their Lunar New Year celebrations and the memorial ceremony of Genghis Khan, played a part in identity formation. This knowledge was transmitted directly, with only a limited form of "mediation". University also offered to Mongolian stu-dents a space to explore their ethnic identity. At least two mechanisms were involved: (a) the use of informative materials, that is, Mongolian books and relevant courses; and (b) participation in Mongolian language gatherings. Each participant reported his or her expe-rience in joining Mongolian language gatherings during the interviews. These were reveal-ing in the sense that speaking Mongolian was perceived as an essential factor in deciding whether or not an individual was to be accepted. Yet participant 3 reported that Mongolians from Inner Mongolia did not have a gathering with those Mongolians from Xinjiang. And this last assertion seems to indicate that regional identity may sometimes overrides the ethnic one. According to data in this study, regions are used as the primary criterion of self-identification, and only then is ethnicity taken into account.

Identity: a construction through self-exploration

The ethnic identity of Mongolian university students seem generally related to grades, past educational programmes, and family/community. Our findings can be grouped into three categories. First, the Mongolian students' perception is that their ethnic identity fluctuated during their university life, starting just after their enrolment, and especially after an ini-tial process of "ethnicity exploration". Also, that students coming from an ethnic educa-tional programme tend to maintain a more stable Mongolian identity than those coming from a regular programme. Second, Mongolian university students tend to identify them-selves either as members of the Chinese nationality (*zhonghua minzu*), or as Mongolians or they do not care about the issue of ethnicity. The students who keep their Mongolian iden-

标签来标识自己和他人，比如"纯蒙古族"，"假蒙古人"，和"半个蒙古人"。参与者 2 就是使用"半个蒙古人"来标识自己，因为他的父亲是蒙古族，但母亲不是。参与者 7 说："我不是纯正的蒙古族，父母为了享受国家的优惠政策把我登记为蒙古族"。参与者 6 甚至说自己是一个"假蒙古族"或者至少他是这么感觉的。相反，参与者 5 认为他具有"纯蒙古族血液"；参与者 8 和 9 都说他们是"百分百的蒙古族，而不是中华民族的一员"。

对于这些判断模式的标准，参与者各自指出了不同的因素。最为集中的是"血缘"、"生活区域或者地域"和"是否掌握蒙语"。除此之外，"家庭"和"心理特征"也有被提及。

影响民族认同感的因素。根据对参与者的访谈，有两个因素对学生的民族认同感发展起到重要作用：家庭和社区，以及大学校园。由于在中小学学校教育里蒙古族历史和文化方面的教学很少，家庭和社区对蒙古族学生保存自己的母语和承传文化习俗上扮演着重要的角色，这包括农历新年的庆祝活动和成吉思汗忌日的仪式。这种蒙古族知识的传递是直接的，中间借助的"媒介"极少。而大学校园为蒙古族学生提供一个探索自己民族认同感的空间，使用的机制至少有两种，包括：(1)信息资料，比如蒙古族的书籍和相关课程；(2)蒙古族老乡会，每个参与者都报告了他们加入蒙古族老乡会的经历。他们感觉是否会讲蒙语是决定个体能否被接纳的一个重要条件。然而参与者 3 说内蒙的蒙古族老乡会和新疆的是分开的。这似乎表明，区域认同感超过了民族认同感。本探究的数据显示，地区是自我认同感的主要标准，然后才是民族。

认同感：
一种通过自我探索形成的建构

总之，蒙古族大学生的民族认同感大体上说与其年级，过去学习的教育系统以及家庭或社区有关。本研究发现有三：(1)蒙古族学生入学后其民族认同感出现波动，尤其是刚刚入学后经历了一个"探索民族身份"的过程。民考民与民考汉的学生相比，前者的蒙古族认同感更为稳定；(2)本研究发现蒙古族学生有三类认同感：自认为中华民族的一员，或蒙古人又或者根本不在乎民族认同感。具有蒙古族认同感的学生自己及被他人划分为"纯蒙古族"、"半个蒙古族"、"假蒙古族"三类。划分的标准集中在血缘、是否掌握蒙古族语和区域来源三个因素；(3)对于那些具有强烈稳定的蒙古族身份认同感的学生来说，家庭和社区对于传承蒙古族传统文化起着重要作用。相反，蒙古族认同感较弱的学生几乎没有从家庭和社区获得文化传承。最后，大学校园为蒙古族学生提供了探索自我民族认同感的场所。

tity are classified by themselves either as "true Mongolians", "half Mongolians" or "false Mongolians" (*jiamengguzu*, meaning the same to the Han). The criteria for differentiating among these patterns centre on the perceptions of students about three factors: blood, Mongolian language, and geographic location. Third, as far as the students bestowed with a strong and stable Mongolian identity are concerned, family and community have a vital role in transferring Mongolian traditional cultural practices. While in contrast, students with a weak Mongolian identity had learnt little Mongolian culture from their families and community. Finally, all consider that the university offers Mongolian students a place to explore their ethnic identity.

OUR STUDY provides evidence that the ethnic identity of Mongolian university students is not fixed, and is contingent upon external circumstances, which accounts for the fluctuation in the perception of identity by the students during their university life. However, primordial attachment—"blood", "language" and "geographic location"—plays a vital role in many students' self-identification. These "given" elements are used to determine the degree to which Mongolians regard themselves as "Mongolians", and this can explain why they think of themselves as "true Mongolians", "half Mongolians" and "false Mongolians" in their daily life. Another interesting finding is that some Mongolian students consider themselves as belonging to the Chinese nationality or refuse to join any ethnic group. The data collected do not provide evidence that these participants choose to do so in order to gain more benefits from society. This study therefore supports the view that ethnic identity is constructed through an interaction between circumstances and the group members, and that this construction process is endless. Mongolian students began to construct their ethnic identity in childhood. Their family and community were the first and vital structures for the construction process. The university also offers an interesting venue for self-exploration. Despite the many limitations on the scope of our research in terms of the setting and sampling, it is clear that the construction of ethnic identity in China is an important and complex process involving a variety of factors over time. Given this situation, it would be futile to attempt to generalise these processes across different ethnic groups. ■

本研究证实了蒙古族大学生的民族认同感不是固定的，而是随外界环境发生改变，正因如此，这些学生入学后经历了民族认同感的波动。然而，原生的附属媒介，比如"血液"、"语言"和"那个地方的人"对学生的自我认同感过程产生了主要影响。这些"原生的"东西决定了在多大程度上蒙古族的成员认为自己是蒙古人，这也就是在日常生活中蒙古族成员出现"纯蒙古族"、"半个蒙古族"和"假蒙古族"（等同于汉族）的原因。另一个有趣的研究发现是，有一些蒙古族学生会认为自己是中华民族或者拒绝加入到任何一个民族。从此类参与者中收集到的数据来看，他们作出这种选择并非是为了获取社会某种稀缺资源。因此，本研究支持民族认同感是通过外界环境和民族成员相互作用而构建的，并且这种构建是持续进行的。蒙古族学生从其童年开始就建构民族认同感，家庭和社区是其民族认同感建构的第一个重要的场所，而大学为之提供了一个可以进行自我探索的地方。

尽管本研究在研究地点和样本上有很大的限制，但是它清楚地表明，在中国民族认同感建构是一个重要，复杂，且长时间的过程，它包括很多因素。所以，若想找到适用于不同民族的民族认同感建构过程是徒劳无功的。∎

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