FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY

社会学要义

李中泽



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Preface

It is upon the completion of this book that a gush of excitement, or maybe relief, came out of my heart. This feeling is virtually derived from the stress and tension during the whole process of the writing. To write on the fundamentals of sociology with my own individual guideline (and some compiled parts) has been a cherished wish ever since the time in late 1980s when I took the course of sociology in a university abroad. Sitting in awe to appreciate the lectures conducted by the professors on and on in a flow of eloquence, I was determined to do my bit in the domain of sociology that actually stands out as one of the leading disciplines in social sciences.

Sociology has, from its beginning, been conceived of as a science. It is also defined as the science of the development, the nature and laws of human society. Its humanistic affinity with history, philosophy and even other sciences proves that sociology is a discipline that encourages an insight into the human world for the purpose of bettering it. The history witnessed rapid changes of all dimensions in early nineteenth century. Such changes exposed people, especially the Europeans, to the experience of great social transformations in many aspects. They actually tore apart the fabric of the societies in Europe as a whole. Sociology, in this particular sense, turned out to be an intellectual response to the peculiar crises of modern Western societies, so to speak.

Regarding the development of sociology in China, it features a fairly long story simply because Chinese society has gone through so many ups and downs especially in these two or three centuries. When Western allied-forces of the imperialists broke through the last fortress enforced by Chinese feudal supremacy, Chinese society was plunged into the most severe national crisis. Under such circumstances, Chinese scholars turned

to the Western arsenal of knowledge and ideology for the ways to save or rescue China. In their pursuits of truth and the approach to strengthening China as a nation-state around the turn of 20th century, Chinese academics including Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong and among many others, introduced sociology into China. Since then sociology in China has been playing different roles, mirroring and revealing the historical episodes of Chinese society respectively.

We moderns should express our gratitude to the changes and revolutions that happened through centuries as they have been attributed to the human achievements and experiences in many fields. The eye-catching " Proposal for Developing Philosophy and Social Sciences" decreed by the Chinese Communist Party Committee in late March 2004 has opened up an interesting and significant orientation. As is known to all, sociology ranks as one of the six leading disciplines in social sciences. It becomes all the more crucial and relevant at a time when China is still undergoing a historic period of social transformation involving a kind of all-round changes in politics, economy, culture, morals, ethics and ideology as a whole. In line with the awareness or understanding of the deficient research on social sciences in recent years, the Committee has recommended special projects to reinforce the efforts in the development of social sciences, including sociology in particular. To be sure, this "Proposal" is both inspiring and encouraging to the researchers in the sociological domain, and meanwhile it portrays a rosy future for the development of Chinese sociology apart from other disciplines in humanities.

The painstaking efforts put into my teaching and research in recent years have eventually yielded the students' appreciation and the completion of this book. The teaching and learning as such are more than necessary and of great need. For most of the Chinese university students are in some way overwhelmed in the whirlpool of the social transformation in China today. In a word, they are expecting much of sociological knowledge and related exploration. My teaching praxis in the past five years justifies the fact that sociology can help students look through society as a kaleidoscope from different perspectives, and at the same time find the right "niche" for the individual in the society. Likewise, sociological

theories and methods introduced and discussed in class workshops actually enrich the students' knowledge and polish their English expression as a win-win result.

It is by no means an exaggerated version if I say this book serves as a crystallization of my teaching and research in recent years. The general structure of the book is basically in line with the curriculum and class progression. The contents covered in the book have been gradually modified so as to meet the students' needs and awaken their thirst for further study not only of sociology, but also of other social sciences. The first three parts in the book focus mainly on the essential substances of sociology, including the origin of sociology, the leading sociologists and their contributions, the key theories and sociological schools. Part four and Part five look at the social elements, social transformation and social problems that have become a crying abuse especially in contemporary Chinese society. Part six by its very nature is a section of guided reading. It is designed to provide students with some original texts by some giant sociologists, intending to benefit the students through reading and second reflection in a timely manner. Well-equipped with the pre-reading guidance followed by further questions, these supplementary reading materials may stir up students' interests and facilitate a fuller understanding in this domain. I guess human beings really need an oasis for their intellectual life as it enables their minds or thoughts to fly around with more freedom.

Now the completion of the book has reduced all my stress and fatigue into a momentary serenity and then long-term self-reflection. I am highly aware of the fact that there is still a long way to go and a lot to do about it. Here on this occasion I would like to extend my thanks to my husband and daughter for their love and support during the process of my contemplating this task. Meanwhile, my thanks will be surely going to my colleagues and friends who once offered me valuable information, worthy suggestions and timely help.

Li Zhongze 2004, Beijing

前 言

在本书即将付梓之际,内心的感触良多也似乎尽在情理之中。 用英文写出一本比较适合中国学生,特别是适合英语专业学生的社 会学教材,应该说是我多年的夙愿。这一愿望最初萌生于80年代后 期在国外学习的阶段。随后,在多年的执教生涯中,进一步了解到学 生们人文知识的匮乏状况,以及他们处于中国目前特殊的社会转型 时期所表现出的迷茫,故而又平添了一种责任意识。虽然在近几年 里本人一直从未间断在这一领域的个人研究、资料整理和教学工作,由于多种原因,"著书立说"的蓝图仍是一纸空文。但是,国外学者在 此领域的大量研究成果,国内社会学的勃兴,以及此课程上学生们的 积极反馈,均强化了我跃跃欲试的念头。这本书的面世,既可以说是 在该领域的"随声附和",又可以说是对于我曾经师从的国外导师的 某种慰藉。他们在人文学科(不仅是社会学)的造诣,他们那拥有知 识底蕴的智慧之语委实使我受益匪浅。社会学的原文经典历练了我 的英文表达,社会学的认知观点又使我在纷繁的大千世界之中,拥有 一片使个人思想飞翔的空间。

西方的社会进程为社会学的生成和发展提供了必要的基础。经过文艺复兴和启蒙运动洗礼的欧洲,在十八、十九世纪迎来了空前的繁荣。工业革命、法国大革命的影响、各种民主和社会变革要求的呼声使英国、法国、德国等主要欧洲国家,都在这一时期产生了不少知名的思想家。一些早期的社会学家,例如,孔德、韦伯、杜尔凯姆和马克思等等,都在人文学科的诸多领域著述颇丰。因此,获得广泛认同的社会学界定为:社会学是对于现代西方社会危机的理性反应。社

会学也曾享有"科学新皇后"之美誉。然而在中国,由于种种特定的社会与历史局限,社会学自从被主张变法维新的康有为、梁启超等先贤引介到中国之后,一直历经磨难。1957年前后的政治动荡、文革时期的极"左"思潮等等,无一不使社会学首当其冲,成为"革命"、批判或封杀的对象。尽管如此,社会学自身的科学性以及在西方社会的学术地位,都使该学科的作用和影响日隆。在当代中国的巨大社会变革之中,社会学研究更是获得学界的重视。

中共中央在2004年3月发表的《关于进一步繁荣发展哲学社会 科学的意见》中指出:在全面建设小康社会、开创中国特色社会社会 主义事业新局面、实现中华民族伟大复兴的历史进程中,哲学社会科 学具有不可替代的作用。必须进一步提高对哲学社会科学重要性的 认识,大力繁荣发展哲学社会科学。该《意见》还指出:繁荣发展哲学 社会科学事关党和国家事业发展的全局。哲学社会科学是人们认识 世界、改造世界的重要工具,是推动历史发展和社会进步的重要力 量。哲学社会科学的研究能力和成果是综合国力的重要组成部分。 在改革开放和社会主义现代化建设进程中,哲学社会科学与自然科 学同样重要,培养高水平的哲学社会科学家与培养高水平的自然科 学家同样重要,提高全民族的哲学社会科学素质与提高全民族的自 然科学素质同样重要,任用好哲学社会科学人才并充分发挥他们的 作用与任用好自然科学人才并充分发挥他们的作用同样重要。因 此,一定要从党和国家事业发展的全局高度,增强责任感和使命感, 把繁荣发展哲学社会科学作为一项重大而紧迫的战略任务,切实抓 紧抓好,努力推动我国哲学社会科学事业有一个新的更大发展。在 为落实此项任务而召开的研讨会上,许多中国社会学界颇有影响的 社会学者一再重申了社会学在哲学社会科学中的特殊地位与作用。 他们一致认为:作为哲学社会科学六大主要学科之一的社会学,应当 从不同的角度获得重视与加强。在中国目前特定的社会转型时期, 社会学正在发挥,并且将进一步发挥其重要的作用。

作为哲学社会科学六大主要学科之一的社会学导源于社会发 展,同时又深深地扎根于社会。它似乎与社会同呼吸,共命运。社会 学的教学进程仿佛也因循着这一规律。在多年本课程的教学过程 中,我针对教学实际,在注重突出社会学起源、主要社会学家及其理 论学说、主要社会学流派与立场观点的同时,还结合当时的国际、国 内形势和热点问题(例如,海湾战争、"9.11"事件、美英对伊战争、家 庭暴力、离婚和爱滋病传播等等)以及个人收集的资料,从理论与实 际的双重角度向学生们展示社会学的理论发展、资本主义的起源、资 本主义精神和本质、社会学实证研究的诸多侧面和社会转型时期出 现的某些问题,以便使学生们从更为客观的角度认识不同社会的本 质与问题。本书的内容表述了课程内容的主要方面,其中包括六大 部分:一、社会学的起源;二、主要社会学家及其理论贡献;三、主要 社会学理论与流派:四、相关的社会及社会学元素:五、社会转型与 社会问题; 六、经典篇章导读。在具体的教学实践过程中经过若干调 整. 上述六个方面所组成的这一社会学教程体系. 更适合于国内英 语专业研究生和本科生的学术知识结构和人文素养的相关需要。通 过调查问卷从学生中所获得的积极反馈, 也有效地推动和改讲了这 一教学实践与实证研究的主要内容。当然,这依然是一个需要不断 完善和逐步深化的开放性实践过程。

在本书出版之际,我由衷地感谢我的导师、学生以及给予我支持、鼓励和帮助的家人、同仁与朋友。同时,诚望此书有助于引发国内读者了解和研究社会学的兴趣。

季中泽

2004 年初夏于北京

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Part One 第一章 The Origin of Sociology 社会学的起源

1. Three Major Factors in the Birth of Sociology

社会学起源的三大主要因素

The human history witnessed a period of rapid changes of all dimensions in the early nineteenth century. The changes really made people, especially those in European countries, experience the greatest changes and social transformations they had never met before. The industrial and political revolutions, as known to some people the "dual revolutions", tore apart the fabric of the societies in the entire Europe. The Enclosure Movement, for instance, drove the farmers off the land. The agricultural revolution, mainly concerning the ways and means of production, forced the peasants to leave the land to which they had been attached for ages. Even though the industrial revolution provided those people with jobs in the cities, the new industrial workers-including women and children-lived and worked in harsh conditions enduring squalid exploitation. By sharp contrast, the newly-built manufacturing, commercial and financial middle class accumulated great wealth and gained prosperity during that industrial boom. Meanwhile, the traditional landed aristocracy was not left behind. They also generally thrived partly

because of its considerable hereditary wealth and power, and partly due to the efforts made by its members who managed to "take advantage" from the industrial expansion.

Apart from the actual happenings in Britain, France and other European countries were undergoing almost a century of social or political turmoil. Politically, the new middle class, by all means, struggled successfully to share power with the supremacy and the aristocracy. In Britain, it managed to acquire civil rights, votes and other political rights without ongoing revolution. With the progression of the century, the claims of the lower class, the working class, for political rights and social justice became more and more strongly asserted. Europe was then swept by the successive changes and revolutions, especially the revolution in 1848. The working class as the prominent part received support from other classes in the revolutions. Karl Marx (1818-1883), the renowned scholar, economist and sociologist, participated in an unsuccessful uprising in Germany that year.

As is known to all, Europe in the nineteenth century turned out to be a battleground between the old regime and its new counterpart, between the traditional and the modern. In the nineteenth century, thinkers drew many different conclusions from their social, cultural studies and the studies of biological evolution as well. Though people during that period of time were aware of mass poverty, mass war and mass disease, thinkers still felt confident that human history was definitely the history of progress, moving ever onwards or upwards though downwards occasionally. The term "Whig" history, as it was parochially named in Britain, reflects the prevailing cognition then. Today, though we all accept the patent evidence of human scientific and technological advance, there is far less confidence that such advance is necessarily and eventually accompanied by a parallel improvement in our ability to devise better social and political arrangements that would enable more people nationwide and worldwide to live better lives. Whatever way it may prove to be, gratitude should be given to the changes and revolutions having occurred centuries before for their contributions to the human success in all dimensions obtained so far.

(1) The Industrial Revolution

There are definitely a couple of ways to define the term of the Industrial Revolution. It may be defined as the application of power-driven machinery to manufacturing. In modern history, it is referred to the process of change from an agrarian, handicraft economy to one dominated by industry and machine manufacture. The term "Industrial Revolution" was first popularized by the English economic historian Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883), and often employed to describe England's economic development from 1760-1840.

From the old commercial empire there remained a fleet, and England still firmly possessed several colonies to furnish raw materials and acted as captive markets for manufactured goods. Tobacco merchants of Glasgow and tea merchants of London and Bristol had capital to invest and the technical know-how derived from the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century. Britain launched wars many times against Spain, Holland and France successively to acquire naval power. At the same time, British slave traders made a huge profit from this deal. Meanwhile, the establishment of the bourgeois political system speeded up capital primitive accumulation from colonial plunder and the Enclosure Movement. All these paved the way and provided an important prerequisite for the Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution was not only a technology revolution but also a great social and cultural upheaval. The technological changes refer to the use of new basic materials, the invention of new machines, a new organization of work known as the factory system, the important developments in transportation and communication, and the increasing application of science to industry. The new developments in non-industrial sphere include agricultural improvements, economic changes as well as new state policies, cultural transformations and psychological change, that is, man's confidence in his ability to use resources and to master nature was strengthened.

As for the leading effects created by the Industrial Revolution inside

Britain, they were conducive to such social and political movements as trade unionism and Chartism (1837-1848) and Marxism. A new class, proletariat, had sprung into existence. Later on, two Englishmen, William and John Lockerill, brought the ideas of the Industrial Revolution to Belgium, then France, Germany, the United States and Japan. At the beginning of the twentieth century the former Soviet Union, China and India got the influence respectively.

(2) The French Revolution

The French Revolution was a series of upheavals that occurred in France mainly between1789 and 1794, which overthrew not only the country's institutions of monarchy, aristocracy and church power, but its whole social structure. The French Revolution was firstly a series of political acts that began in 1789 by reformers in the French government to take away the absolute power of the King and the rich landowners so as to form a Government elected by all the people (a Republic). In the late eighteenth century, commercial prosperity had stimulated the growth of a moneyed middle class that threatened the position of the established landed aristocracy and wanted to abolish feudalism.

With the slogan proposed by revolutionaries—"Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", the Parisians stormed the Bastille and replaced the King with the National Assembly as the new ruling party. In 1789, the Commons took a crucial step of declaring their assembly to be the National Assembly, thereby destroying the States General. This first assertion of the sovereign authority of the nation soon inspired a popular uprising in Paris, marked by the storming of the Bastille Day on July 14. That actually serves as the prologue to the French Revolution. It decreed to abolish the feudal regime and introduced the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in August 1789. But the King refused to sanction the declaration and the decrees. Such being the case, the people of Paris rose again to overthrow the monarchy and founded the Republic of France in 1792. From then on, several different factions (Girondins, Jacobins and Robespierre) began to fight for power and different forms of administration were tried, which