



培文书系·社会科学系列



# Introduction to Political Sociology

# 政治社会学导论

[美] 安东尼·奥鲁姆 著  
Anthony M. Orum

第4版



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# Preface to the Fourth Edition

Several years ago I was asked by Baruch Kimmerling to write a brief essay on the field of political sociology and the course of its development in the United States. I agreed to do the essay, in part because I had not thought much about the field for some time, and I wanted the opportunity to discover where the field had come over the course of a decade or so since I had worked in it. I tried to capture some of the changes in the field by concentrating on the movement from its strong behavioral roots, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, to its greater emphasis on institutions and their development. This theme, I believe, was inspired by an article by David Brian Robertson, "The Return to History and the New Institutionalism in American Political Science," published in 1993 in the journal *Social Science History*.

I received some interesting reactions to my brief essay, most of which I had not anticipated. While some were complimentary, certainly there were defenders of the faith, such as Seymour Martin Lipset and Theda Skocpol, who read the field differently than I. This started me on the course of rethinking my own view of political sociology, which I had first put in the form of a textbook late in the 1970s. How had the field changed since then? As it happened, I had the chance to put my thoughts into some order on the matter when Nancy Roberts, Publisher at Prentice-Hall, suggested that I revise the 1989 edition of my text. I was very pleased to take her up on the offer. I also was astonished, as I began to review writings in the field, to learn how much political sociology had changed in the course of the two decades

since I first drafted the original framework for the book. And I must confess that I was a tad embarrassed because of my earlier failure to revise certain sections of the 1989 edition.

After some hesitation, I decided to embark on a thorough revision of the book. I also decided not to dedicate another four years of my life to such a project, largely because I was not sure whether I had another four years to spare, in part because of other things I wanted to write. The result is the current book.

This is in many ways a much different book than the third edition. Mainly that is because the world itself has changed so dramatically, forcing sociologists to rethink many old questions and issues. I have tried to pay as much attention to the changing world as to the new ideas populating the thinking of political sociologists. At the close of my 1996 essay, I spoke of my concern that political sociology was not nearly so vital a field of endeavor as it had been two or three decades earlier. Parts of the field were still very vigorous, such as the work on social movements, but other parts, such as work on the nature of power and politics in America, seemed almost moribund.

Having now spent the past year reading and reflecting on the field of political sociology, I would say that my assessment in 1996 was not quite accurate. There is a great deal of new and energetic work being done by political sociologists, but because of the rapid pace of events in the world, this work seems quickly outstripped in its relevance by the very changes taking place. I would like to think—though others must make their own judgments on this matter—that my efforts to redo the current edition of *Introduction to Political Sociology* represent at least one scholar's serious attempt to show the persisting relevance of political sociology for the important questions of our times. What are the best forms of government now available? How can the new nations become effectively and durably transformed into democracies? What role can the state play, not only in stimulating the economy, but also in making the lives of its citizens measurably better? How can everyday citizens work to transform the large-scale political institutions that surround them? And how do the lives of cities, and their residents, provide a way for understanding the political world in which we live?

In redoing this edition, I have found that many of the questions that seemed so academic and abstruse twenty, even ten, years ago, now have assumed a much greater urgency and immediacy. Matters of how to achieve democratic governance, and how it has been secured in the past, no longer seem to be merely the musings of scholars. Today they point to real concerns, and thoughtful and lucid answers to these questions can provide the shape of social and political institutions in the years to come. I think, as Baruch Kimmerling said to me some years ago, it is time that political sociologists actively reconnect to the world.

Two critics of my 1989 book played a vital role in helping me to redo this one; I thank them for their extensive and courteous efforts to review that book. One is Diane E. Davis of the New School for Social Research. Her comments were incisive and extraordinarily helpful. I almost think of her as the anonymous coauthor to the new edition. She provided extremely useful comments, not only on particular questions and issues, but also on the reorganization of the book. She also urged me to retain the perspective of Talcott Parsons, but to repackage it. I owe her a great debt of gratitude for the time and imagination she devoted to helping me, through her review, to rethink the format for this new edition. Equally I owe a great debt to Daniel Levy of Columbia University, who, through a similar exacting review, provided me with important new ideas and help in crafting this new edition. In addition, I'd like to thank Mary L. Ertel of Central Connecticut State University for her insightful comments. I, of course, remain responsible for its failings, particularly for my inability to include all the many new writings on the changing societies and politics of today. I hope that teachers who choose to use this book will see it as a device to encourage their students to probe more deeply into some issues that I could only cover here in a limited fashion.

There were many people who played a central role in helping me to craft the three previous editions of this text. Among them, those who played the most significant part were Neil Smelser and Mayer Zald. Though each of these fine scholars takes a different approach to the social world—particularly evident in their views of collective action and social movements—each also furnishes a wonderful role model for the rest of us to imitate.

Lastly, I want to thank the members of my family for their continuing support on this project as on all my other writings and work. They have managed to tolerate my preoccupations with the sort of patient kindness usually reserved for small children and the elderly. I want to dedicate this book, in particular, to my three children—Nicholas, Hannah, and Rebekah. I hope that the world of the twenty-first century is filled with much less violence and much more social justice than that of the century just passed and, especially, that each of my children, in his or her own way, will contribute to bringing such a world into being.

Anthony M. Orum

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Today we live in a time of great and rapid changes. Old nations have collapsed. New states arise from their ashes. Capitalism, and the pursuit of profit, thrives in a world no longer centrally occupied by the forces of communism. Democracy has been victorious, but older democracies still seek ways to revitalize themselves. Territorial barriers between nations have broken down, allowing tens of thousands of immigrants to travel freely across the globe. The world no longer is threatened by the great wars, but acts of terrorism by small bands of individuals lurk as an imminent danger, more ominous and potentially catastrophic than the military force of earlier times.

In this book I shall tell you about the ways that political sociologists think about these matters. Political sociology, as a subfield of the broader discipline of sociology, originated in the writings of several great nineteenth-century social theorists. All of them lived, as we do today, in a world that was undergoing vast changes and upheavals. Revolutions abounded; old regimes died; new social classes surfaced. And these thinkers tried, as we do today, to make sense of the changes.

Certain themes today dominate the work of political sociologists, making it different from other ways of studying politics. For one thing, political sociologists take a panoramic view of the world, seeking to see the connections between political institutions and other world institutions, especially economic ones. For another, political sociologists believe that while political institutions, like the state, can take on a life of their own, such institutions also are necessarily grounded in some fashion in the other institutions of the

成为...基础  
成为...理由  
in some fashion  
以其种...  
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world. Democracies, to take one example, do not spring up full-blown, but depend on a set of special historical and social circumstances to emerge. Likewise, the collapse of old regimes, like authoritarian governments or totalitarian dictatorships, disappear (though often not completely or overnight) not simply because of the personal failures of their leadership, but also because of their inability to navigate the often treacherous waters of international relations. Finally, political sociologists are very interested in the temporal construction and unfolding of political institutions. Thus, time and history are important elements in their calculations, far more so than they would be in the analytical tools employed, let us say, by many modern political scientists.

I have worked in the field of political sociology on and off for about three decades. I have seen it develop a great deal over this period of time. Most of all, I have seen it mature as a field of academic endeavor. Today, more so than ever before, the vital lessons it has to teach us are lessons that must be shared and publicized among all citizens. These are lessons about the success and failure of political institutions—how, for instance, human agents can work to create new durable and responsive democracies. This book will attempt to make these fundamental lessons clear and compelling even for those among you who at this point possess only a limited background in the study of politics.

**POWER AND AUTHORITY**

There are two basic concepts that guide the thinking of political sociologists. These concepts are terms familiar to us from everyday life—power and authority. They provide the central direction and animate the key questions raised by political sociologists. Thus it is important to understand them at the outset of this book.

Power generally refers to the capacity of a person or, more often, a group and institution to be able to manipulate and shape the views and actions of people. When parents can make their children behave, following their orders, we say that the parents have power over their children. Likewise, when a government is able to collect taxes from its citizens, we also say that the government exercises power over its citizens.

Authority is like power except that it always refers to a set of institutions, and institutionalized arrangements, in which it operates. If a bully beats up a coward, using force and violence to subdue him, we say that the bully has been victorious because of his greater power. But the bully has no authority, no set of institutions to back up his force, no set of institutionalized arrangements that compel the coward to obey him. He wins by virtue of his sheer exercise of muscle.

A basic premise of modern sociology is that the social world would not work effectively—it would, in fact, be sheer anarchy—if obedience were



simply grounded in the force, or muscle power, of people. It would be a world occupied only by bullies, and eventually one in which only the person with the biggest muscles would occupy. We know, however, that the world is filled both with bullies and cowards and with all sorts of other people as well. And it works because of the set of social arrangements and institutions that guide it, working almost behind the scenes of our everyday lives. Social institutions operate to establish the set of rules that provide guidance to our lives, and that, in the case of our illustration, permit the cowards of the world to secure compensation if they have been attacked and beaten by bullies. 社会

These rules represent authority. They are the institutional guidelines that dictate the conditions under which one person may fairly ask another to comply with his or her wishes. If the chairman of my academic department asks me to teach certain courses, I do so, not because my chairman is stronger than I am, but because it is part of my contract with the University as a teacher. The University delegates authority to the chairman of my department, and, as chairman, he can demand that I teach courses. If I rejected his claim and disobeyed, he could fire me because of the authority he exercises over me as an official of the University.

Power and authority, then, refer to the exercise of one person or one group's ideas to shape the views and/or action of another. Authority is the routine everyday medium of such relationships in nations. It is the layered and multidimensional element that fundamentally keeps our world working. When large-scale institutions break down, such as occurred with the government of the former Soviet Union, it is their fundamental authority that collapses. Power takes over in these circumstances precisely because, in the absence of institutions, there are no rules to follow. The bullies win.

The real trick, as some political sociologists point out, is not the precise nature of the rules that are to be created when old governments collapse, but how to secure legitimacy in the authority of the regimes that will arise. Legitimacy becomes a key element in the further unfolding from power to authority because essentially it is the sense of trust that is the foundation for the durable and continuing construction and operation of social and political institutions. Where it exists, or can be created, then so too can institutions and the authority they exercise; where legitimacy fails, so too will authority and its various rules. Certain modern social philosophers, such as Jürgen Habermas, pay a great deal of attention to the entire process of *legitimation*, or the creation of legitimate regimes, precisely because of the importance it has for the construction of durable social institutions.

To sum up, all political sociologists come to their study of politics, and the world in general, bearing a strong awareness of matters of power and of authority. These are the common coin of their intellectual realm, playing a role similar to that of atoms (or even quarks) for physicists. They are the basic terms that guide their search of the dominant patterns of the social and political world. In the chapters that follow I shall often use the terms *power*