

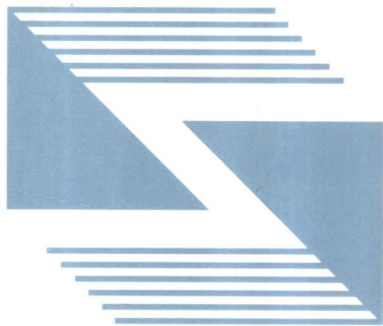


现代社会学文库
研究系列

王小章 ◎ 著

经典社会理论与 现代性

Classical Social Theory
and Modernity



社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)



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内 容 摘 要

形成于启蒙思想中的现代性方案在借助理性、革命和市场等力量而展开实现自身的过程中经历了一系列自我否定的辩证过程，因而当现代性真正作为一种经验现实呈现在托克维尔、马克思、涂尔干、韦伯、齐美尔等经典社会理论家面前时，它已经由一种被追求和向往的价值变成在内在精神世界和外部社会领域引发无穷困惑、焦虑、紧张和冲突的问题。就知识理论的性格而言，经典社会理论是对现代性问题的知识反应。

假如说经典社会理论的根本宗旨就是要认识、理解、应对或规范现代性问题，那么，在具体认识这个问题之前，它首先遭遇的问题则是：我们应该如何认识？而这个问题本身就是显示经典社会理论的现代知识性格的现代性问题：只有价值多元和社会流动的現代性语境，才会导致传统社会哲学或政治哲学向明确区分事实与价值、科学与道德评价、描述性法则和规范性法则的现代社会理论的转变；只有在学者的知识和理论不再被认为是天经地义的“神启”的情形下，才需要以学者的方法论论证来赋予自身以正当性。无论是经典社会理论在其方法论之辩中所表达的对“客观性”的追求，

还是后现代社会理论以话语的狂欢对“客观性”的颠覆，都只是对同一语境的不同反应姿态。

方法论之辩显示了经典社会理论共同的现代知识品格。但每一种具体的社会理论，正如韦伯所说，都是价值关联的。对于每位理论家而言，呈现在其眼中的具体的现代性问题，正是在现实与他们的价值关怀之间的张力中产生的。换言之，由于每位理论家的价值关怀不同（以及与此相连的具体方法论取向不同），他们切入现代性的角度、所侧重的现代性问题的面向也各有不同，由此而形成的现代性诊断也不同。托克维尔无条件珍视的价值是自由，所集中关注的现代社会客观趋势是民主化即平等化，他看到两者之间的紧张，揭示出在民主化（平等化）趋势中包含着对个人自由的巨大威胁，而以法国革命式的手段来追求这种平等则将进一步加剧这种威胁。马克思的价值关怀是每个人作为“类存在物”都能真正成为自觉、自由、自为的存在，是劳动及其产品真正成为人的自我肯定，成为人的本质力量的体现和实现，是实质意义上的“平等的自由”。因此，当他将目光投向现实社会时，他关注的便是现代市民社会（资产阶级社会）中人异化为阶级的存在，并在此基础上建立起了（资产阶级的）总代理人式的国家（政治压迫）和意识形态统制（文化霸权）。涂尔干所关心的是在一种与特定结构形态相适应的道德意识（集体意识）维系之下的社会的和谐整合，即“社会必须成为社会的”，由此，他所关注的现代性问题就是在结构转型过程中由于道德的缺席而出现的整合危机。韦伯和齐美尔在价值关怀的一般方向上颇为接近，即作为个体的人必须通过一种真正有意义的生活而成就一种“人格”、“自我”或“个性”，但在其现代性诊断的路径上则互有区别：韦

伯通过理性的类型学研究，借助于纵向的历史考察和横向的（宗教）比较分析，揭示了理性与意义的动力学，揭示了社会的理性化和世界图式的除魅过程，表达了对“专家没有灵魂，纵欲者没有心肝”的现代人形象的焦虑；齐美尔则一方面从生命哲学的立场揭示出“创造性生命不断地产生出一些不是生命的东西，一些会摧毁生命、用自己强有力的声音对抗生命的东西”的“文化悲剧”，另一方面则又从文化社会学的视角出发，分析出客观文化（物的文化）压抑主观文化（个体文化、精神文化）的现代文化结构特征，并描述了现代文化结构下的个体心性体验。

经典社会理论家们不仅提出了各自的现代性诊断，而且也向我们显示了各自的现代性的治疗学。而由于对自身作为其中一分子的知识分子本身的现代性问题的应对立场的不同，经典社会理论家们的现代性治疗学也相应地可以分为两类，即社会治疗学和个体治疗学（在根本上那是一种自我治疗学）。属于前者的是托克维尔（其基本治疗学主张是“改变旧的法制而不触动旧的信仰”）、马克思（认为必须由资产阶级革命的“政治解放”迈向“人类解放”）和涂尔干（将解决现代社会整合问题的希望寄寓于职业伦理和以“道德个人主义”为基本内容的公民道德）；属于后者的是韦伯（认为在没有神也不见先知的现代世界中，每个个体唯有献身于他自己选择的“事业”并自觉恪守“责任伦理”来成就“人格”）和齐美尔（从其生命哲学立场出发认为在上帝已死的现代世界中个体唯有从感性生命中汲取生命的意义）。

由于每位经典社会理论家的价值关怀、方法论立场的不同，对于现代性问题的切入点、侧重点彼此不同，从而各自的现代

性诊断学以及相应的治疗学也互有差别，不过另一方面，从他们互异的现代性话语中也浮现出了三个现代性核心问题，即：主要体现在结构层面上的“共同体”问题，主要体现在制度层面上的“正当性”问题以及主要体现在个体行动层面上的“自由”问题。经典社会理论的现代性诊断学和治疗学无疑均有其限度，但是它们为我们思考现代性问题提供了基本的入口和路径。并且，只要我们不否认从经典社会理论中呈现出来的上述现代性核心问题于今依然存在——尽管在所谓后现代的以及全球化的语境中这些问题的表现方式改变了——那么，经典社会理论的现代性话语对于我们今天的现实思考也就同样具有刺激作用。

Abstract

The project of modernity, which took its form in the thoughts of Enlightenment, in the course of self-realization via the forces of rationality, revolution and market, has experienced a series of dialectic logics of self-negation. Thus, when modernity, truly as an experience of reality, presented itself before the classic social theorists such as Tocqueville, Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Simmel etc. , it had transformed from the value that was looked upon and sought after into the matter of endless bewilderment or confusion, anxiety, tension, and conflict. To the character of the knowledge, the classic social theories are intellectual reactions toward the issues of modernity.

If the classic social theory is to recognize or identify, understand, deal with or control the issues of modernity, then, prior to one taking steps to recognize or identify such issues, the very first question that one would encounter is how one shall recognize and/or identify those issues. Yet, this question itself is one that reveals the modern nature and characteristics of the classic social theory: only in the modern context of value plurality and social mobility, could the traditional social philosophy or political philosophy transformed into modern social theory clearly distinguishing between facts and value, between science and moral judgment, and between descrip-

tive laws and laws of norm; only in the context that scholar's knowledge and theories and insights no longer be regarded as God's revelation, there will be a need for scholars' methodology to prove or grant to them legitimacy. Both the pursuit of "objectivity" as expressed in the discourse of methodology of classic sociological methodology and the dethronement of "objectivity" with dancing words by the postmodern social theories are the different facets of reaction to the same situation.

The dispute of methodology shows the modern nature and characteristics of knowledge shared by classic social theories. However, each specific one of the social theories, just as Weber stated, is value-reference. To each of the social theorists, the specific issue of modernity presented before their eyes arises out of the constraint between the reality and his value concerns. In other words, due to the difference of the value concern of different social theorists (and the related difference of perspectives of specific methodologies), the angles of their perspectives toward modernity and the facets of modernity issue that they focus are also different. Accordingly, the thus formed diagnostics of modernity are also different. The value that Tocqueville unconditionally treasured is freedom, the objective trend of modern society that he focused is democratization or equalization. He saw the constraint between freedom and democratization and thus revealed that the trend of democratization (equalization) includes a great threat to individual freedom, and the pursuit of equalization with the means of French revolution further facilitates this trend. The value concern of Marx is that every person as a "species-being" could truly become a self-conscious, free and for-self being and that labor and products from labor could truly become the self-affirming of a human being, the embodiment and realization of

the intrinsic force and ability of a human being, and the substantially equal freedom. Accordingly, when Marx cast his eyes to the real society, what he concerned thus was the alienation of human beings into classes in modern civil society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*) and on this basis the formation of the general-agent-like state (political suppression) and the domination of ideology (cultural hegemony). What Durkheim was concerned with is social integration and harmony with the support of a moral conscience (*collective consciousness*) that was in accordance with a given structural state, that is, "the society has to be social". Accordingly, the specific issue of modernity that he was concerned with was the crisis of integration due to the absence of moral conscience in the structural transformation. Weber and Simmel were quite close in the general aspect of value concern, that is, a human being as an individual must go through a meaningful life so as to acquire and achieve a, "personality" "self" or "individuality". Nonetheless, in the diagnostics of modernity they are different from each other: Weber, through the study of typology of rationality, with the vertical historical examination and horizontal (religion) comparison analysis, revealed the kinetics between rationality and significance, revealed the process of rationalization of society and Disenchantment of "Weltbildes", and expressed his concern and anxiety over the modern human being characterized by the statement that "specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart". Simmel, on the one hand, revealed from the perspective of life philosophy the "tragedy of culture" that "those creative lives continually generate things that have no life, that are life-devastating and against life with their strong and forceful sounds"; and on the other hand, from the perspectives of cultural sociology, revealed the characteristics of modern cultural structure

that objective culture (material culture) suppresses subjective culture (individual culture), and described the individual psychological experience in the modern cultural structure.

Classic social theorists not only offered each of their own diagnostics of modernity, but also showed us each of their own therapy for modernity. Yet, the therapies offered by classic social theorists, due to the difference of positions with regard to the reactions and handlings of modernity issues pertaining to intellectuals to which they themselves belong as a member, can also be accordingly classified into two categories, which are social therapy and individual therapy (essentially a type of self-therapy). The former is proposed by Tocqueville (his basic therapy theory is to alter old legal system and not to touch old faith), Marx (who believes it is necessary to go beyond the “political emancipation” of bourgeois revolution over to “human emancipation”) and Durkheim (who placed the hope of resolution of the social integration issues to professional ethics and civil moral which has “moral individualism” as its essential content); and the latter is proposed by Weber (who believed that in the modern world absent of God and Prophet, each individual has to devote itself to the “career” of his own selection and consciously abide to “ethics of responsibility” so as to build up “personality”) and Simmel (on the basis of his life philosophy, he considered that in the modern world where the God is dead, an individual has to extract the significance of life from the life of sense).

Due to the difference among the classic social theorists with regard to their value concerns and their positions of methodology, their perspectives and focuses regarding the issues of modernity are different, and their modernity diagnostics and the corresponding therapies are also different with each other. On the other hand,

there are three kernel issues emerged from their mutually different discourses of modernity, which are: the issue of “community” which is mainly embodied in the structural phase, the issue of “legitimacy” which is mainly embodied in the institutional phase, and the issue of “liberty” which is mainly embodied in the phase of individual actions. The modernity diagnostics and therapy of classic social theory undoubtedly have their limits, but they provided to us the basic gate and avenue to deliberate over the issues of modernity. Also, as long as we do not deny the to-date existence of the above kernel modernity issues-although in the context of so-called post-modernity and globalization, the ways of substantiation of these issues are altered-then, the discourse of modernity of classic social theory is of stimulation as to us reflecting today ’s reality.

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导 言

“现代性”(modernity)是当代西方人文社会科学文献中出现频率最高的词汇之一,无疑也是当代社会学,或者更宽泛地说,当代社会理论关注的一个主题,并且自20世纪90年代以来也逐步成为国内学界讨论的一个热点。现代性问题之所以在岑寂了一段时期之后重又成为社会理论关注的焦点,主要得益于自20世纪70年代以来对于现代性、现代性话语特别是“现代化”话语的反思和质疑。这种反思和质疑既来自不同的方面,也出自不同的角度和立场。首先是西方学界由自身社会文化的发展变迁所引发的反思和质疑。对此,我们大体上可以区分出三种立场。首先是激进的后现代主义者的反思和质疑,他们往往借助于现代语言学、解释学和现象学的研究成果,对现代性和现代性学术话语进行猛烈的抨击。其基本立场是认为“现代性的视野已经关闭”、“现代性已经终结”,后现代性已经取代了现代性,主张以后现代主义话语全面颠覆现代性话语。其代表人物如科学哲学家费耶阿本德(P.K.Feyerabend),社会理论家利奥塔(J.F.Lyotard)、布西亚(J.Baudrillard)、哈桑(I.Hassan),社会心理学家格根(K.J.Gergen)等。^①同样

① 费耶阿本德:《自由社会中的科学》(上海译文出版社,1990),《反对方法》(上海译文出版社,1992),《告别理性》(江苏人民出版社,2002)等;利奥塔:《后现代状态:关于知识的报告》(三联书店,1997),《后现代性与公正游戏》(上海人民出版社,1997)等;布西亚:“Mo-(转下页注)