

中国独生子女：

从“小皇帝”到“新公民”

● 风笑天 主编

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From the Spoiled Child to New Citizen

—Studies on
Chinese Only Children



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风笑天，1990年7月毕业于北京大学社会学系，获博士学位。1993年1月破格晋升为教授，同年获国务院颁发的“政府特殊津贴”。现为教育部社会学教学指导委员会委员、中国社会学常务理事、南京大学社会学系教授、博士生导师。在《中国社会科学》、《社会学研究》等学术刊物上发表论文90余篇，出版了《社会学研究方法》(2001)、《现代社会调查方法》(1996)、《独生子女：他们的家庭、教育和未来》(1992)和《透视社会的艺术》(1990)四部专著，另主编、合著、参编著作12部。主要研究领域为社会研究方法、中国独生子女问题等。

Xiaochan Feng. He graduated from Peking University and got his Ph. D. in Sociology there in 1990. He became a professor of sociology in 1993 and was awarded the “Government Special Allowance” by the State Department in the same year. He is a member of the Instructive Committee in Sociology Education of National Ministry of Education, the council member of the Chinese Sociological Association, and now he is a professor and advisor of Ph. D. students in Sociology Department of Nanjing University. Till now he has published more than 90 articles on the journal such as *Chinese Social Science* and *Sociological Studies*, and some other books, including *Methods of Social Research*(2001), *Survey Research Methods* (1996), *Only children: Their Family, Education and Future* (1992) and *Questionnaire Design in Survey Research* (1990) . His main fields of interest are Chinese only children , family, population and education.

一代新公民

(前言)

20世纪70年代末，在中国这个世界大国之一，发生了两件重大的历史事件：一是改革开放，二是人口控制。二十多年过去了，改革开放已使整个中国的面貌焕然一新，人口控制也有效地降低了中国人口的增长率。而在这二者共同的背景中产生和成长起来的一代新人，特别是其中的独生子女们，也越来越成为整个社会关注的焦点之一。人们发现，“这一代人与我们小时候大不相同”；人们担心，“这一代人能否承担起国家的重任”。

应该怎样看待这一代新人？正确的认识方式是将他们放到特定的社会历史背景中去分析。事实上，在20世纪最后二十年的中国社会中成长起来的这一代新人，具有以往任何一代中国人都不曾有过的成长经历。他们产生和成长的这二十年，正是中国社会急剧变革的二十年，是中国经济建设发展最快、成就最大，中国社会结构转型最为激烈、科学技术发展最为迅速、人们思想观念最为解放、价值观也最为多元化的二十年。正是这种宏观的、无处不在的、我们每个人都置身于其中而无法选择的社会环境，构成我们认识和分析一代新人成长过程及其结果的基本背景和客观前提。只有把发生在这代人身上的各种现象与他们所生活的这个时代、这个社会联系起来，我们才能真正理解他们何以成为今天的他们，就像我们理解中国何以成为今天的中国一样。

首先，他们的成长与整个中国社会的现代化进程相伴随。从他们来到中国社会的那一天开始，就乘上了社会现代化的高速列车，就享受着现代物质文明的丰硕成果。他们所面对的已不是以“手表、自行车、缝纫机”为追求目标的社会物质生活基础，而是直接面对“电视、冰箱、洗衣机”时代，并很快就进入了“电话、电脑、互联网”的时代。日新月异的科学技术，使得新一代在接受和了解最现代的科学技术方面大大地走在了他们父辈的前头。一些学者近来对反向社会化问题的研究，在很大程度上正是受了这种现象的启发。父辈们只有在参加了工作，甚至结婚时才有可能得到的手表，而这一代人在上小学前就已经戴在手腕上了；当电话刚刚开始在城市居民家庭中普及时，这一代人就已经养成了用电话问作业、与同学聊天的习惯；成年人了解甚少的各种游戏机和电脑游戏，早已被这一代人玩得技艺娴熟；就是最先进的计算机技术，也总是孩子比父母学得更快。当一些父母还在为打不开孩子在计算机上写的日记而苦恼时，孩子们已经开始在互联网上用 E-mail 相互联系，用 QQ 相互交谈了。

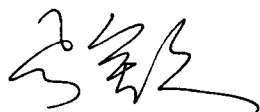
其次，他们的成长与社会观念的急剧变化相伴随。中国的价值观念长期以来一直是单一的、统一的，从来没有像新一代生长的这二十年这样多元化；“外面的世界很精彩”，展现在这一代人面前的世界是那么的广阔无比，那么的五光十色，那么的丰富多彩，那么的纷繁复杂……它早已不再是一种样式、一种颜色、一种声音。无论是人们的人才

观、幸福观、职业观，还是婚姻观、家庭观，都出现了多种不同的标准，多种不同的模式，多种不同的声音；对个人成长产生影响的各种社会环境比如家庭、学校、同辈群体、社区、大众传媒以及广义的社会文化等，也都发生了明显的改变。这些改变自然会在这一代人成长的过程中，悄悄地在他们身上打下深深的烙印。

第三，他们的成长与社会结构转型、社会流动加剧、社会分化明显、社会制度变革、社会问题增加相伴随，他们也遇到了许多他们的父辈所不曾遇到的一些不利的成长环境：也许从来没有一代人像他们这样，从小就生活在没有兄弟姐妹的家庭，家中的生活完全局限在成年人所包围的世界里；同样也没有哪一代人像他们这样，有这么高比例的人要生活在父母离异的家庭中，从小就面对这种不完整、不正常的家庭生活；与国家高考制度的恢复和全社会重知识、重人才、重科学也重文凭相对应的是，他们的中小学是在重升学率、重考试成绩、重名次的体制下度过的；重点小学、重点中学、快慢班，模拟考试、成绩公布、按成绩排考场、按名次排座位……填满了他们的中小学习生活。他们肩负着父辈的高期望，没日没夜、没完没了地在那场早已偏离方向的教育竞争中拼杀。当他们刚刚站在就业市场的面前时，就面临激烈的市场竞争，以及国有企业亏损、职工下岗所带来的严峻的就业形势。

总之，当我们今天看待这一代新人时，既不能用过去的标准来衡量、来要求、来评价，也很难用过去的经验来预测，

因为他们所经历的是我们所不曾经的成长之路，是特定的社会历史造就了一代新的公民。

A handwritten signature in Chinese characters, appearing to be '马银' (Ma Yin), written in a fluid, cursive style.

2003年4月

preface
Xiaotian Feng

In the late 1970s, China, the country with the largest population in the world, initiated two events of historical significance: opening to the outside world, controlling the population. A quarter of the century has witnessed great changes in China: rapid economic development and the decrease of birth rate. The new generation, especially the only child who grows up in this scenario has increasingly become the concern of the whole society. People find "this generation is different from our childhood"; they even worry "will this new generation be capable to assume responsibility of the country and society".

How to understand this new generation? A reasonable way is to understand them in the specific social, historical settings. This new generation who was born in the late 1970s has unique experience different from any other previous generations in China. Since the past twenty years, are the period undergoing fundamental social change: China's economy developed the most rapidly and successfully; China's social structure underwent radical transition; China's science and technology advanced quickly; and Chinese people has been experiencing multiculture and become more liberal minded than ever. Such macro social settings, ubiquitous in everybody's life, constitute the back-

ground and premise for us to understand and analyze the socialization process and outcome of this new generation. Only by way of considering all phenomena concerning can we fully understand how they become a unique generation, which is the same case for us to understand how china becomes today's China.

First, they grew up with the modernization of China. Born into world they began to enjoy the rich fruit of modern civilization. Different from "watch, bicycle and sewing machine" age, their age is first characterized with "television, refrigerator and washing machine", and then quickly advanced into a new age characterized by "telephone, computer and internet". The rapid development of science and technology makes the new generation have easier access to the latest science and technology than their parents. Some researchers are thus, to a certain degree, edified to study the phenomenon of reverse socialization between those parents and children. Parents could only afford a watch after they became adults, yet the new generation can get one before elementary school; when telephone just got popularized in urban Chinese families, the new generation has formed the habit of chatting with classmates by phone; video games which are strange to parents can be played so skillfully by this new generation; the new generation can even excel their parents in computer. When parents still try to read

children's diary in computer, they have already used emails and QQ to communicate.

Then they grew up accompanying radical change of social values. Social values in Chinese society have long been one facet and integrate but the new generation experienced the increasingly multifaceted social values in the past quarter of this century. "Today's world is colorful". What displays before this generation is a world so broad, multifarious and intricate. With different standards, different patterns and different voices. people's values on talents, happiness, career, marriage and family become varied. The social environment that influences an individual's socialization, has changed obviously. The change will naturally imprint deeply on this new generation in the process they are growing.

Last but not the least, this new generation are witnessing great changes in society: social structure transformation, increased social mobility, more evident social stratification, social system reform, and more social problems. They live in such a disadvantageous environment for socialization that their parents had never experienced. No other generation is like them who are brought up without siblings as their company and whose family lives are confined in adults' world; no other generation is like them, a high percentage of whom live in broken families, facing incomplete and abnormal family life from childhood. In

accordance with the restoration of national entrance examination system and the emphasis on knowledge, talents, science and credentials in the whole society, they live under the great pressure of recruitment rate, scores and rank in elementary school and high school. Their school life is thus closely associated with key primary school, key high school, gift class, exams, publicizing scores, attending next exam and arranged seats in classroom according to scores. With parents' high expectation, they struggle day in and day out desperately in the severe educational competition, which has already fallen out of its right trajectory. After graduation they have to face fierce labor market competition which is worsened by the laid-off employees and economic failure of state owned enterprises.

In sum, we cannot judge, require or comment this new generation with outdated criteria. Nor can we predict their future with our own experience. Because they are experiencing different socialization process from ours and it is the specific society and history that fostered a new generation of citizens.

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一、个性特征与差异

独生子女与非独生子女之间在性格特征等方面的差异随着年龄和社区的不同而有所不同。在3~18岁这一年龄段中，二者之间的差异大体呈现出“年龄越小差异越大”的趋势；而在城市和农村这两种不同的社区中，则呈现出“农村两类儿童之间的差异比城市两类儿童之间的差异更大”的特点。

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体上,两部分大学生在理想、求职、学习、交友、个性自评等众多方面不存在显著差异;对于那些存在差异的方面,不能排除学生来源的城乡差异、学生年龄的大小等因素的影响。

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