

社会学经典教材影印丛书



当代 社会学读本

[美] 帕特里夏·阿德勒 (Patricia Adler) 彼得·阿德勒 (Peter Adler) 编

SOCIOLOGICAL ODYSSEY
CONTEMPORARY
READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY



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Sociological Odyssey

Contemporary Readings in Sociology

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出版说明

我们引进这套丛书的目的是介绍当前国外社会学理论和方法,使我国的读者能够直接阅读到西方学者撰写的社会学教材。

需要重申的是,作者本人的观点和结论有些值得商榷,甚至是不可取的,对此我们提请读者加以甄别,书中的观点均不代表我们出版社。

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导 读

周长城

社会学对我们自己,对我们的日常生活意味着什么?由帕特里夏·阿德勒(Patricia A. Adler)和彼得·阿德勒(Peter Adler)两位教授主编的这本由47位当代美国著名社会学家撰写的社会学文集可以为我们提供答案。对于一位从未接触过社会学的读者而言,它可能使读者重新认识自己周围的世界,改变对日常生活的看法,这就是社会学家所说的所谓“社会学的想象力”;而对于社会学专业的学生而言,阅读这本文集则可以帮助学生进入社会学专业领域,加深对社会学知识的理解。

《当代社会学读本》共分五个部分,第一部分的7篇文章分别论及社会学家看待日常生活的基本视野。运用社会学来观察和理解社会的第一步就是在你的意识中要建立起不同于其他学科的视角,即社会学的专业视角。在“什么是社会学?”中,科林斯将会教你如何运用“社会学的眼睛”来认识日常生活经验中的主观事实和社会中的抽象力量。之后,米尔斯会教你运用“社会学的想象力”来激发对社会事物更多的好奇与探索。他认为通过这种想象力能更好地理解具体的日常生活和抽象的社会结构与历史作用力之间的关系。在“社会学家是如何思考的?”一文中,查隆(Charon)将分析社会学科学的一般化过程与传统的模式化过程之间的区别,并指出了它们各自的优缺点。接着,编者介绍了社会学的三种基本理论以及社会学家研究问题的三种基本方法,即实验法、调查法和田野法。这里介绍的三种主要的理论包括宏观的功能主义、冲突主义和微观的符号互动论。持宏观理论的社会学家认为社会是一种框架即社会结构,而他们的职责就是去分析更大的实体是如何相互关联在一起的。与宏观理论不一样,微观理论更关注的是社会互动。他们更注重研究人们是如何说话,如何行动,如何使日常生活有意义。对于微观的社会学来说,最重要的是社会中的人们是如何理解和解释这个世界并通过这种解释来互相影响的。在这一部分的最后,作者用3个实证分析的案例来说明社会学研究的方法,即“对一个实验的剖析:文化的价值”、“美国人性行为调查”以及“田野工作:走私犯和交易者的研究”。第一个案例讨论的是方法的逻辑性和目的性,并且着重介绍了实验中的控制过程,以尽量使分析对象不受其他因素的影响。第二项调查着重介绍实施实验过程中的抽样、问卷与采访方面的内容。在第三项研究中,我们可以看到田野工作所拥有的在获取资料的真实性方面不可替代的作用。

第二部分“社会学蓝图”由12篇文章组成,主要论及文化(主流文化、亚文化和反文

化),社会化与认同感的形成(社会性别社会化、认同的转变和对认同感的影响),社会互动(个人呈现、公共呈现以及互动动态机制),以及偏差行为与社会边界(结构机会、偏差行为的产生与偏差行为的控制)。社会规范通过社会化使人们成为合格的社会成员,社会化教给我们一些互动的形式和规则。社会化包括个人生命历程中的对于文化规范、角色界定、信念价值的学习,从而使群体成员形成自我意识和认同。主要承担社会化责任的系统包括家庭、学校、朋友群体和媒介。

学习如何互动对于形成自我意识非常有帮助,自我意识是一组对于“我们是谁”和“我们是什么样的人”的回答,这主要由我们的社会地位、社会位置以及扮演这些角色的方式决定。作者选取了一些人们如何社会化和形构自我认知方式的例子,论述了社会化的影响作用、从被动角色到主动自主角色的转变等。社会化和自我认知这一部分的实证研究包括:性别社会化;流行的性别意识;离家上大学;选择性自我重建预期转变;美丽形象标准对于黑人、白人女孩自我意识的影响(自我意识的影响因素)。

个体或群体间的互动是社会学蓝图的基础,社会化深刻地影响了互动,它教会人们如何反应、行动和预期别人对各种行动的反应。在某种程度上,如何互动就是知道别人如何对你的行动做出反应。作者在此论述了库利的“镜中我”概念。不同角色符号间的互动是有差别的,尤其是当情感因素卷入其中时。我们的行为不是简单的理性选择,其中隐藏着各种动机。戈夫曼的“拟剧理论”就论述了微观互动规范,这些规范管理着我们各个领域的行为。随后,作者还分析了角色失范和社会分界问题对于社会学框架特点及轮廓的影响。在对社会偏差、越轨本质的分析中,我们会发现社会权力的重要作用。而社会越轨的定义是通过“道德运动”塑造的。社会规范是不断演化的,许多现在被界定为越轨的行为随着时间的推移而被认为正常化。越轨对于社会具有正负两种功能,它本身是中性的。人们被引向越轨的原因很多,既有结构性因素也有文化因素和认知性因素。

第三部分由 10 篇文章组成,集中论述了社会不平等,包括社会阶层差异(上层、中层和下层)、种族差异和性别差异。首先说明了世界上不平等现象的普遍性,并将不平等主要划分为社会阶层差异和种族、性别的不平等。描述了美国社会中的上层阶层影响力、强大统治力和同质性强的特点,体现了其社会强势群体的地位。在概述种族差异时,指出种族与族群之间是有差别的,并进一步指出了种族这一概念内涵的变化;其后作者指出,虽然美国国内各族群之间通过通婚、文化同化等逐渐融合,但是种族歧视的存在却也妨碍了各群体之间社会认同感和社会流动性的增强。在描写论述阶层差异时,对阶层界限和阶层期望的描写突出了阶层之间的垂直流动;在论述种族差异方面,从美国的历史到当代,从种族之间的互相攻击到种族歧视再到融合与认同,完全展现出美国的发展史;在论述性别差异时,则将人与人之间的性别差异放在人的社会化过程当中进行论述,从学校到家庭再到工作,人一生中在性别上的差异在社会化的不同阶段都有所表现。

第四部分由 17 篇文章构成,主要讨论了社会制度的内容。这些社会制度包括家庭、宗

教、教育、健康和医疗等。在分析家庭这一社会制度时,作者收集了美国近年来的婚姻现状,对婚姻公平,母亲责任,美国黑人婚姻等问题进行了介绍。比较有意思的是,文章处处体现了作者对美国婚姻问题的担忧以及对性道德的反思。作者在这部分提出了几个比较新颖的观点。第一,指出美国合法婚姻的六大标准(个人选择,成熟,异性爱情,丈夫为首,忠诚与单配偶,父母的身份);第二,将美国的夫妻类型划分为五种,并分析其基本特征。在宗教部分中,主要分析宗教在美国人社会生活中占据的位置,并解释和说明宗教对于他们如此重要的原因。接着,作者讨论并说明宗教与其他制度互动的方式及其相关问题。在对医疗照顾的讨论中,作者对美国的医疗服务机制及医患关系进行了考察。

第五部分讨论了社会变迁问题。如社会的麦当劳化(MaDonaldization)和迪士尼化(Disneyization)问题。所谓社会麦当劳化是指在美国社会中,人们变得越来越理性和注重效率,他们将生活及工作都纳入到经济学的计算之中;在讨论社会的迪士尼化时,作者指出社会工序化消费现象。此外,文章还就美国社会资本做了具体分析。

《当代社会学读本》选材新颖,与传统教材不同,文章的主题都是当今社会的热门话题和存在争议的新问题,通过论述,不仅促进理论创新,而且将推动知识的更新与社会的进步。作者针对某一主题用相当的资料进行分析,理论与实证相结合,不拘于传统教材的形式。文章的科普性较强,与其说是社会学领域的新书,不如说是个体社会化的入门必修课。同时,文章大致采用以说明为主(即以收集实证数据为主)的写作方法,不仅增强文章的可读性,而且增加作者对问题解释的信度与效度,可谓论证周密。穿插于各个章节中的个案透视,体现了作者努力将理论研究回应社会生活的期盼,整本文集因此形成了一种理论观点与现实个案之间相互注释的效果与风格。

文集中流露出作者们对美国社会问题的担忧以及对下层人士、美国黑人的人文关怀。在大变革、大发展的时代前提下,最容易受到忽视和歧视的群体往往是那些包括下层人士在内的弱势群体,这部分人的观点及利益很难得到完整的体现和表达。在这样的社会背景下,作者们用心良苦,选取不同的种族进行对比分析,体现了他们对社会问题的担忧及对社会公正的呼吁,这本身就需要一定的勇气与良知!

文章行文清晰,与其他许多教材不同,作者首先就某一主题进行集中而简练的理论阐述,给读者一个关于该部分内容的大致说明,使读者能够较好地把握作者所要论述的问题。而在这一部分之后,作者用大量的篇幅列举与前面阐述的理论问题相关的实证研究,为读者展示生动而形象的研究实例,引导读者进入社会学分析视野,进行真实的探索和把握。

在整本文集的结构安排上,编者始终坚持一个基本线索和保持各部分内容之间的相通,从而使被人为划分的各章节之间能在保持独立的同时又不失内聚力——社会学想象力和对社会行为的探索、真理知识的追求。当然,本书作为一本国外社会学教材,还是带有太多的美国味道或西方视野,对于世界其他地区和社会的关注不足。在阅读时,需要对其中的分析和所举案例进行本土对照。



To Our Proteges

Kathy, Angela, Laurie, Dana, Joanna, Jen, Katy, Adina, and Kevin

May all teachers be blessed with students such as these



Preface

. . . *what a long strange trip it's been* . . .

So sang the Grateful Dead in the 1970s, when, in retrospect, their careers were only in an intermediate stage. The same refrain can be sung for sociology. This discipline, barely a century old (sociology is a relatively young science—only about 100 years old in Europe and slightly younger than that in America, a mere adolescent by intellectual standards), has witnessed the enormous social changes of the twentieth century. These changes include unsurpassed prosperity, a Depression that wreaked havoc with people's lives, several wars of varying lengths and questionable motivations, numerous natural disasters, an explosion in the production of knowledge, the rise of new media forms such as television, a grassroots student revolution that virtually altered the social patterns of society, so-called mind expanding drugs such as LSD, communication upheavals caused by innovations such as the Internet and cell phones, and myriad other inventions, events, and ideas that have shaped the world in which we now live. And sociology, the science of society, has been there to witness the impact of these profound transformations. Arguably, no other academic discipline is better suited to assess, analyze, evaluate, and predict what these changes have wrought.

You are about to begin an odyssey, a journey into a new realm of thinking that, if taken seriously, can change the way you view the world. The "sociological imagination," as the mid-century sociologist C. Wright Mills referred to it, can transform one's perspective on reality so that even the most mundane, seemingly trivial aspects of everyday life take on added significance. Further, the big issues that face us, such as social inequality, political corruption, crime, and environmental decay, can also be looked at with fresh eyes to lend increasing clarity to

why these exist and how we can improve conditions. Like the visionary filmmaker Stanley Kubrick predicted decades ago, the early twenty-first century will be a space odyssey into domains we could not even have dreamed about a scant decade ago.

We are pleased to be your guides in these travels. Over the course of the next several months, with the assistance of your professor, we will explore parts of society that may either be very familiar to you or seem very far away. In either case, we hope to enlighten you about the social world that surrounds you. For the most part, the selections we have chosen are “experience-near” for you, such as on the change of identity you experienced from high school to college, the popularity of children in cliques, student participation in classrooms, public bathroom behavior, high school reunions, intermarriage, the Internet, and the behavior of some fraternity members. Other topics may not be as integral to your everyday lives, but relevant nevertheless. These include people on welfare, women with sexually transmitted diseases, skinheads, upper-level drug dealers and smugglers, illicit drug use by pharmacists, gang behavior, and the work of impoverished new immigrants. We hope that at the end of this journey you will have a better understanding of the social dynamics of society and the complexities that make up your world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book came to full fruition during the hectic months of the Fall, 1999 semester. For years we had toyed with the idea of creating an exciting, new introductory reader for students to enjoy, but it wasn't until Eve Howard, stalwart acquisitions editor for Wadsworth, flew to Boulder to twist our arms that we finally agreed that the time was ripe. Throughout this process, Eve has been a strong supporter, listening to our worries, fielding our concerns, and doing more than we thought humanly possible to push the project through in record time. To her, we give our sincerest and heartfelt thanks.

We have also had the support of two departments at the University of Colorado and University of Denver, respectively, that have given us the foundation to pursue a project such as this. Our colleagues have been most open to hearing about our various selections, suggesting possible readings, and understanding the value of creating such a text. Most particularly, Paul Colomy (University of Denver), provided critical feedback at a time when we were unsure of the precise direction we wanted to take. His intellectual guidance will forever be appreciated. Our Chairs, Dennis Mileti and Nancy Reichman, gave us the intellectual and emotional support to pursue this endeavor. Other friends and colleagues, such as Dean Birkenkamp, Dan Cress, Gary Alan Fine, Chuck Gallmeier, Bob Granfield, Rik Scarce, and D. Angus Vail, gave us some ideas that were used in making our choices. Our children, Jori (now a superb sociologist in her own right) and Brye, offer us a perspective to evaluate what a college student wants to hear, as well as a model for what parents want to see in their progeny. No thank-you would be

complete without the inclusion of Dorene Miller, Administrative Assistant at the University of Denver, who time and again has bailed us out. She unselfishly does the tough work and lends the type of support without which projects such as these could not flourish. Finally, we are fortunate to have a cadre of comrades, our proteges, who have also given us advice and encouragement along the way. Kathy Fox, Angela Yancik, Laurie Scarborough Voss, Dana Jones Hubbard, Joanna Gregson Higginson, Jennifer Lois, Katy Irwin, Adina Nack, and Kevin David Vryan are all now full-fledged collaborators with us in the joint sociological enterprise we share. We lovingly dedicate this book to them.

A team of sociological reviewers were also an important cog in assuring that the selections in this book had the most relevance to students' lives:

David Boden
Lake Forest College

John Bridges
Kutztown University

Kevin Early
Oakland University

Patti Guiffre
Southwest Texas State University

Jane Johnson
Southwest Texas State University

David Maines
Oakland University

Alvar Nieves
Wheaton College

We are grateful for the quick turnaround they gave in reviewing the book, as well as the thoughtful comments about the numerous ways that introductory sociology can be taught.

At Wadsworth Publishing Company, in addition to the steadfast work of Eve Howard, mentioned previously, there have been a number of individuals who have assisted us. Most especially, Dee Dee Zobian, assistant to Eve Howard, did more of the daily work than anyone else to assure the timeliness of the project. Dee Dee treated us as if we were her only project, when in reality she was simultaneously juggling a dozen or more ventures. Others, such as Jerilyn Emori, Bob Kauser, and Andrea Bednar made sure that the final product was produced with the professionalism that has become the hallmark of Wadsworth's operation. This list would not be complete without mentioning others in the publishing industry who either directly or indirectly helped us. Notably, Serina Beauparlant, formerly of Wadsworth but now holding court at Mayfield, was literally the first person to try to cajole us into doing this book. No other person deserves more credit than Serina for giving birth to the embryo that has culminated in this final product. Dean Birkenkamp (Rowman and Littlefield), Mitch Allen (Alta Mira), and Martha Heller (formerly of Rutgers University Press) are all editors with whom we've worked who remind us of the scholarly and intellectual fortunes, rather than merely economic ones, that are borne out through our books. They represent the best that publishing has to offer.

To our students, past, present, and future, and to our readers, we thank you for your patience, diligence, and understanding. We hope that we have been able to convey the sociological perspective in such a way as to make you as excited about applying it to your lives as it is for us to teach it to you.



About the Editors



Patricia A. Adler (Ph.D., University of California, San Diego) is Professor of Sociology at the University of Colorado. In 1999, she was named as the Outstanding Teacher in the faculty of Arts and Sciences. She has written and taught in the areas of deviance, drugs in society, sociology of gender, and the sociology of children. A second edition of her book *Wheeling and Dealing* (Columbia University Press), a study of upper-level drug traffickers, was released in 1993.

Peter Adler (Ph.D., University of California, San Diego) is Professor of Sociology at the University of Denver, where he served as Chair from 1987 to 1993. In 1998, he was named the University Lecturer, an award that represents outstanding achievement in scholarship and research. His research interests include social psychology, qualitative methods, and the sociology of sport and leisure.

Together the Adlers edited the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* and were the founding editors of *Sociological Studies of Child Development*. They are also editors of another Wadsworth book, *Constructions of Deviance*, a collection of readings on deviant behavior, now in its third edition. Among their other books are *Backboards and Blackboards*, a participant-observation study of college athletes that was published by Columbia University Press in 1991, and *Peer Power*, a study of the culture of elementary schoolchildren that was published by Rutgers University Press in 1998. Currently, they are studying the subculture of resort workers.

Patti and Peter have been writing together for thirty years, ever since they were undergraduates at Washington University in St. Louis. They have two children: a son, Brye, who recently graduated from Boulder High School and attends Emory University, and a daughter, Jori, a sociology major who recently graduated from Emory University. Their dog, Lanai, accompanies them to their classes.

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About the Contributors

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David Karp is Professor of Sociology at Boston College. His earlier books on cities, everyday life, aging, and depression commonly reflect an enduring interest in how people invest their daily worlds with meaning. His book entitled *Speaking of Sadness: Depression, Disconnection, and the Meaning of Illness* was the 1996 recipient of the Charles Horton Cooley Award. A new book, *Committed to Care: Mental Illness, Family Ties, and Moral Responsibility*, will be published by Oxford University Press in 2001.

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