


社会学经典教材影印丛书



社会 问题读本

[美] J·M·卡龙 (Joel M. Charon) 编

SOCIAL PROBLEMS
READINGS WITH
FOUR QUESTIONS



北京大学出版社
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Social Problems

Readings with Four Questions

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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

熊跃根

由美国学者 J. M. 卡龙 (Joel M. Charon) 主编的《社会问题读本》(Social Problems: Readings with Four Questions) 的英文原著, 是一本供社会学和其他专业学生修读社会学课程的系列读物之一(准确地说, 这是一本论文集)。本书的目的是帮助人们从社会学的角度批判性地检视社会及其问题。社会问题从本质来说是结构性的, 掌握这一点也是进行社会学认识和分析的一个起点。本书围绕以下四个核心问题展开了讨论: 第一, 什么是社会问题? 第二, 是什么将一个问题变成社会问题? 第三, 社会问题的成因是什么? 第四, 针对社会问题人们可以有何作为?

一、什么是社会问题?

本书的第一部分是有关社会问题的导引, 编者 J. M. 卡龙撰写了“社会问题研究的导论”, 他在文中阐发了本书的主旨, 即上述核心的四个问题。卡龙认为判定一个社会问题的标准有三个: 首先, 此问题应有社会的起源, 其次它影响的人数众多, 最后此问题对社会有伤害。作者进一步指出, 在社会学领域, 人们研究社会问题时采取了不同的视角, 其中包括冲突的视角、共识的视角和互动的视角。社会问题的成因是什么? 作者认为: 第一, 诸多建立和发展起来的社会模式只适合社会中一些人; 第二, 诸多建立和发展起来的社会模式本身存在不足, 因此不能很好地运行。卡龙指出, 社会问题的界定同价值观和社会的目标二者紧密联系在一起。一方面, 人们会对社会问题产生不同的看法, 社会问题有时候也不是一种客观的存在, 而是因为它可能危及到既有的价值观。卡龙的这篇文章提供了阅读和分析本书中其他文献的一个基本思路和宗旨。

本部分中另两篇讨论如何界定社会问题的文章分别由 J. R. 古斯菲尔德 (Joseph R. Gusfield) 和 J. 贝斯特 (Joel Best) 撰写。在古斯菲尔德看来, 社会问题是经过大众论辩的结果, 它同社会中各结构之间的权力关系联系在一起。社会问题有其自身的复杂性、持

久性和整体性,解决起来异常困难。如果缺乏普遍的大众辩论和共识,将社会问题演变为一种政治修辞而忽视总体的社会情境,问题本身将被错误地简单化、扭曲和夸大,而这对一个社会来说无疑是一种风险。

二、社会问题与不平等

本书第二至第四部分中的文章所阐述的核心观点是:社会问题是一种社会阶级关系的结果,即不平等。第二部分中的四篇文章从一般到个别的角度讨论了美国社会中的不平等问题。J. L. 霍克斯奇德(Jennifer L. Horchschild)讨论了作为一种文化信念的“美国之梦”,及其社会涵义和它所折射的种种社会问题。D. L. 巴勒特(Donald L. Barlett)和J. B. 斯蒂尔(James B. Steele)从贫富分化这一问题分析了美国社会中的阶级不平等,指出形成两个明显分化阶级的社会这一事实本身,表明了美国政府政策的失败。K. 纽曼(Katherine Newman)探讨了美国社会中的贫困的工作一族,她以纽约哈莱姆快餐工人为例,指出贫困的工作一族这一困境是市场经济自身的不平等机制引发的后果。本部分最后一篇文章揭示了美国城市中无家可归者的生活境况,作者E. 利博(Elliot Liebow)指出,今日的资本主义市场经济体制仍然在进一步强化“谴责穷人”和自私自利的个人主义的道德伦理。

本书的第三部分分别从不同的角度讨论了种族和民族不平等这一社会问题。L. D. 博博(Lawrence D. Bobo)与R. A. 史密斯(Ryan A. Smith)深入讨论了美国社会中民主与种族歧视之间的矛盾困境。作者认为,造成这一局面的深层原因在于,美国民众并未从内心真正改变他们对黑人等有色人种所持的种种偏见。A. 安克塔(Angelo Ancheta)和R. 苏罗(Roberto Suro)分别讨论了亚裔美国人与拉丁裔美国人在种族歧视方面惊人相似的遭遇,其中指出美国人对亚裔心存芥蒂,而这一点导致他们仍将移民美国多年的亚裔视为外来者、陌生人或外国人。W. J. 威尔逊(William Julius Wilson)讨论了城市少数民族社区的贫困与变迁。他指出,随着社会的转变,社区内商业、社会安全等一系列重要的制度都在衰退,而失业者人数日益上升,这一切都加剧了美国社会中的种族不平等。N. 麦考尔(Nathan McCall)通过美国篮球运动这一例子,阐发了种族主义如何影响黑人个人的期望与成功,论述了美国白人对由黑人主宰的篮球运动所持的矛盾态度。J. R. 费金(Joe R. Feagin)与H. 维拉(Hernan Vera)揭示出,美国白人种族主义态度的深刻根源在于他们含有种族偏见的思维模式。

本书的第四部分从女性与社会结构和过程的关系的角度出发,讨论了性别不平等这一核心的社会问题。J. S. 查菲兹(Janet Saltzman Chafetz)论述了为何当今美国社会中性别分层问题的本质在于,以性别为基础的劳动分工机制强化了性别不平等的制度,而这一制度又是以女性在家庭和政治—经济领域内的地位为基础。K. 西格雷夫(Kerry Segrave)则讨论了女性职业生涯中的性骚扰问题、这一问题的社会原因和性别不平等问

题的复杂性。B. 里兹曼(Barbara Risman)通过对家庭内部儿童社会化的过程,指出性别平等决非是家庭教育与父母影响独立可以实现的,它必须透过相关的社会层面的压力与同辈影响等因素才可能产生更明显的效果。S. 海斯(Sharon Hays)的文章从女性做母亲(mothering)与职业生涯之间的矛盾这一问题入手,讨论了社会中作为女性面临的困惑。S. 法鲁迪(Susan Faludi)的论文讨论了美国社会中男女两性的不平等以及相关的性别角色问题。她指出,男性控制的需要是造成两性关系不平等的根源,而这与男性的性别角色与自我认同有密切联系。

三、与各种社会制度关联的社会问题

C. 莱齐(Charles Reich)把公司视为“看不见的政府”,指出其存在的反民主的趋势和逐利的本质。K. K. 阿普拉库(Kofi K. Apraku)论述了选民政治同大众传媒之间的关系,指出政府和政客对传媒实施的控制,大大影响了选民的判断。P. 列维(Primo Levi)阐发了他个人对纳粹法西斯主义在二战后的复苏的深切忧虑,他告诫世人,欧洲历史可以成为人们反省、觉醒并从中找到力量的源泉。C. 德伯(Charles Derber)论述了美国社会中自私和不负责的个人主义对市民社会成长所产生的负面影响。他认为建立在志愿主义精神基础之上的民主政府也可能因此受到威胁。R. L. 兹瓦根哈夫特(Richard L. Zweigenhaft)和 G. W. 多姆霍夫(G. W. Domhoff)论述了权力精英同民主秩序之间的关系,他们认为,作为一个社会问题,权力精英的代表性不仅同政府而且也同商业世界联系在一起。第六部分的三篇文章讨论了同家庭(制度)相关的社会问题。S. 孔茨(Stephanie Coontz)讨论了在变迁的社会中美国人为何选择离婚以及这一问题对子女的影响,在她看来,婚姻的解体本身并不是一个问题,问题在于婚姻关系的结束对子女的影响。家庭关系的变化和生活的重新调适,要求人们去发展出新的家庭价值观念与支持系统。E. 安德森(Elijah Anderson)的论文选择城里黑人青少年为研究对象,讨论了他们的性关系与未婚怀孕现象。作者认为要理解这一问题要同黑人青年的性观念、心理发育与周围环境等联系在一起,城市经济的衰退和社区持久的贫困造成了黑人少女未婚先孕这一现象。M. B. 津恩(Maxine Baca Zinn)和 D. S. 斯坦利(D. S. Stanley)讨论了家庭的另外一个阴暗面,即家庭暴力问题,他们解释了为什么诸多的妻子受到丈夫的虐待。作者指出,这一问题同男性主导的社会—文化制度紧密联系在一起。本书的第七部分讨论了同教育相关的社会问题,它由三篇文章组成。J. 特劳布(James Traub)的文章以纽约市公立中学为例,讨论了市内中学普遍存在的教育质量低下、学生素质下降和教育资源分配不均的问题,作者指出,这一问题是一系列因素相互作用的结果。J. 科卓尔(Jonathan Kozol)的论文讨论了造成教育不平等这一社会问题的根源,他认为社会制度的缺陷是罪魁祸首,而只有追加城市贫困社区的资源投入,才最终有可能改善教育质量。B. 施瓦茨(Barry Scharwz)的文章发人深省,他讨论了当代美国教育制度的现

状与本质,而这一问题同市场经济的制度文化联系在一起,今日学校和教育本身都在可悲地成为市场文化的一部分。

本书第八部分的三篇文章主要讨论了同医疗照顾相关的社会问题。随着人口老龄化和家庭变迁的发展,老年人特别是高龄老人的医疗照顾与护理成为美国社会中一个突出的问题。B. 弗里丹(Betty Friedan)的文章指出,对老年人来说,在高龄阶段进入护理院很多时候是一个无奈的选择。作者认为,除非个人在此之前对晚年生活的轨迹和死亡本身有充分的意识与准备,否则人们必须承受护理院照顾的种种负面后果。R. 德沃金(Ronald Dworkin)的文章以“医疗照顾中的文化变革”为标题,讨论了美国医疗照顾系统变迁导致的种种问题。C. 多尔蒂(Charles Dougherty)的文章则讨论了美国医疗照顾系统中存在的严重的不平等问题,作者指出,许多贫困和低下阶层并未得到充分的医疗服务,他们的健康状况却每况愈下,这是一个须要正视的社会公正议题,穷人的医疗照顾将是一个令人担忧的政治和道德问题。本书的第九部分讨论了同工作相关的社会问题。B. 施瓦茨的文章讨论了工作的涵义,他认为,市场经济制度的渗透与影响,改变了人们对工作本身看法,而越来越多的人感觉自己的工作索然寡味。S. 阿罗诺维茨(Stanley Aronowitz)帮助我们去理解劳工运动给社会带来的积极变化。随着社会变迁的加剧和美国政府在社会政策领域内的最小干预主义思潮的盛行,作为保护就业者利益的一个重要机制的工会的影响和作用正在衰退。E. 施洛瑟(Eric Schlosser)以加利福尼亚草莓种植业中存在的非法移民劳工为例,解释了为何在美国长期存在租佃种植(Sharecropping)现象以及这种以剥削为基础的经济活动的原因。

本书的第十部分讨论了同犯罪和司法矫正体系相关的社会问题。H. 贝克尔(Howard Becker)在文中主要讨论了越轨行为与社会认同的关系问题。他指出,越轨本身是一种标签化行为。由于人们之间的差异以及价值观和行为方式的不同,人们会给他们所认同的价值观和行为规则相左的人贴上标签,并可能进一步认定为越轨。E. 柯里(Elliot Currie)的两篇文章分别讨论了美国社会中犯罪预防问题以及这个国家中的犯罪和惩罚的关系问题。作者认为,用惩罚而非预防的方式来解决犯罪问题是不明智的。在另一篇文章里,柯里讨论了自20世纪90年代以来城市暴力发生率下降的原因以及所采取的正确措施。他认为,对一个文明社会来说,更重要的是通过怎样的方式去遏制暴力,同时我们更应注重对罪犯的教育而非仅仅去制裁他们。E. 安德森的文章从文化和地缘环境的角度,对城市黑人街区的暴力问题进行了诠释,在他看来黑人暴力问题是一个制度循环的问题,而不平等和种族主义是主要的根源。S. 罗索夫(Stephan Rosoff)等人的文章分析了白领犯罪这一社会问题,并从个人和制度层面解释了问题产生的原因,讨论了这一问题的社会后果和解决方式,作者提醒世人重新反思主流社会的价值观和对社会问题的基本看法。J. 戴维(Joseph Davey)以迅速增加的监狱为例,讨论了美国司法矫治制度中存在的主要问题并对此提出了批评。他认为,美国已从一个福利国家演变成为一个警察国家,人们应该去思考犯罪矫正背后的深层问题而不仅仅是从惩罚的

角度去遏制犯罪率的上升。E. 伯特伦等人的论文主要讨论了美国社会反毒品战中存在的致命错误。他们认为问题的原因并非是资金或制度不完善的问题,而是反毒品战本身的逻辑和策略出了问题,要解决这一问题必须从政治制度和科层治理中去寻求答案。

本书是一本以美国社会为蓝本的社会学读物,这些论文都集中阐述了各种社会问题的本质和原因,并分析了解决问题的可能途径,它们对我们去理解中国社会的社会问题,认识全球化过程中的新趋势,是十分有帮助的。



Preface

Like many sociologists, I was drawn to sociology because I was disturbed by the social problems I saw all around me. I believed that sociology would help me understand why these problems existed and perhaps show me how they could be solved. I wanted to understand—and I wanted to help bring justice to society.

Sociology, I learned, is not simply the study of social problems; it is the study of society, including its problems. I was taught that it is a scientific study; that is, its goal is to understand society critically and carefully. I came to realize that no matter what I thought the world should become, I must try to be as objective as possible in my understanding. I also came to realize that I knew very little about society and its problems, and that it would take patience and a critical attitude to overcome my own ignorance and to come to some partial understanding.

PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK

The purpose of this reader is to examine society and its problems *critically* and *sociologically*. By “critically,” I mean that these readings should encourage us to recognize the biases that we have developed as individuals, groups, and as a society, and to question our most basic beliefs about society and its problems. I believe we are victims to some extent: victims of our cultural bias. If that cultural bias is not faced and understood, it will inevitably get in the way of our understanding and dealing with social problems intelligently. By “sociologically,” I mean that the authors of the readings regard society itself to be the source of the problems they discuss. The purpose of sociological study is to uncover, identify, and understand these problems. The advantage of a collection of readings over a standard textbook is that it can display a wider range of problems and diverse approaches; students gain an opportunity to examine a number of perspectives rather than a single individual’s views.

Social problems such as discrimination, oppression, and exploitation both fascinate and disturb me. As a sociologist, I want to understand them; as a person who seeks a better society, I want to deal with them in an intelligent manner. As a teacher, I believe that learning is accomplished in part through organizing what is to be learned. Students are often told simply to read a collection of unrelated articles and to figure out what is important. I have sought a useful structure for understanding what the authors are saying about society, one that might help students read, understand, listen to, or express an intelligent opinion about any social problem he or she might encounter.

FEATURES AND ORGANIZATION OF THE READER

The structure of the reader is sociological: all the problems have their origin in society. The structure is also critical: social patterns are questioned and how society actually works is examined. Finally, the reader is organized around four central questions:

- What is a problem?
- What makes a problem a social problem?
- What causes a social problem?
- What can be done about a social problem?

These four questions should help students determine the central issues in each article.

SUPPLEMENTS

Wadsworth offers a selection of other valuable materials to accompany this reader. They include:

Online Instructor's Manual with Test Bank. This supplement offers reading summaries, lecture topics, discussion questions, suggested Internet links, and essay, true/false and multiple choice test questions.

Virtual Society: The Wadsworth Sociology Resource Center. This web site (<http://sociology.wadsworth.com>) includes a career center, Sociology in the News, Virtual Tours in Sociology, InfoTrac College Edition, instructor resources, links to other web sites and to the editor's address, and much more.

Understanding Social Problems, Third Edition, by Linda A. Mooney, David Knox, and Caroline Schacht. Instructors who choose to assign this reader in conjunction with Wadsworth's best-selling social problems textbook, *Understanding Social Problems, Third Edition* (ISBN 0-534-96005-7), should contact a Wadsworth representative about a possible discount on this valuable package.

charonj@mnstate.edu. I would like to learn students' and instructors' reactions to the individual selections in this reader or to the book as a whole so that I can make the second edition a better book. Suggestions about other social problems that should be included are also welcome.

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